

INTIMATE COMMUNITIES
HONORIFIC STATUES AND THE POLITICAL CULTURE OF THE CITIES OF AFRICA
PROCONSULARIS IN THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES CE

CHRISTOPHER DAVID DAWSON

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Abstract

This dissertation argues that the inscriptions of honorific statues reveal a dynamic political culture in the cities of the Roman province of Africa Proconsularis in the first three centuries CE. Although the known regulations governing the public life of Roman *municipia* and *coloniae* formally restricted decision making on public matters (outside of the election of magistrates) to the *ordo decurionum*, the inscriptions show that the flexibility existed for the non-decurional members of the community, that is the *populus*, to express their opinion collectively and even, on occasion, to initiate actions.

It is observed that previous studies tend to downplay or even ignore the participation of the *populus* in civic politics, and that they tend to present the picture of an ossified public life dominated by the decurions and leading families in the community. It is suggested that these previous studies focus too narrowly on a single dataset. In contrast, this dissertation employs a two-stage analysis. First, it studies the two political institutions of Roman cities: the *ordo decurionum* and the voting groups into which all adult male local citizens were distributed, the *curiae*. Moreover, it establishes as far as possible the formal procedures for erecting honorific statues. Second, both quantitative analyses and discourse analyses are applied to a catalogue of the 1080 published inscriptions of honorific statues from Africa Proconsularis. This second stage permits the comparison of the practices surrounding one important aspect of public life to the rules governing public life.

The dissertation concludes by proposing that one important contributing factor to the dynamism of civic political culture in Africa Proconsularis was the intimacy of the communities. It is asserted that, despite the participation of the communities in the Roman Empire, people's most important political relationships remained within their community. The face-to-face nature of these small communities made it necessary for the magistrates and decurions to be responsive to the demands of the *populus* and to permit the *populus* the ability to initiate actions in the public realm, as long as those actions conformed to Roman standards of behaviour.

To my mother

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Numerous debts have built up over the course of this dissertation, all of them doubtlessly uncounted and long forgotten by all but me. It takes a wide network of institutions, relatives, colleagues, and friends to support a graduate student. They are all deeply appreciated, but a few I particularly want to mention.

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Table of Contents

Abstract ii

Dedication iv

Acknowledgments v

Table of Contents vii

List of Tables ix

List of Charts x

List of Illustration x

Abbreviations xi

Introduction 1 • 0.1 Previous Scholarship • 0.2 The Epigraphic Catalogue of Honorific Statues •
0.3 Literature and Imperial Culture in Africa Proconsularis • 0.4 Key Terms

1 The Path to Honour: Institutions, Procedures, and Payment Options 38

1.1 Civic Status • 1.2 The *Ordo Decurionum* • 1.3 Procedures for Authorising Public Honours • 1.4
The *Curator Rei Publicae* • 1.5 Financing Public Honours: A) Prices, B) *Pecunia Publica*, C) *Aes Conlatum*, D)
Sua Pecunia • Conclusion

2 The Social and the Political: The North African *Curiae* Revisited 98

2.1 Defining the North African *Curiae* • 2.2 The Internal Structure of the *Curiae* • 2.3 The Social Life
of the *Curiae* • 2.4 The *Curiae* as Civic Institutions • 2.5 Public Votes • 2.6 The *Curiae* as
Independent Civic Actors • 2.7 Curial and Civic Life • 2.8 Conclusion

3 Performing Public Honours 179

3.1 The Decree • 3.2 The Dedication • 3.3 'Extras' at Dedication Ceremonies • 3.4 '*Contentus*'
Inscriptions • 3.5 Remittances and Political Messages • 3.6 Plautius Lupus' Award of a *Biga* (*IRT* 601)
• 3.7 Conclusion

4 Dedicators and Honorees: The Intimacy of Civic Life in Africa Proconsularis 265

4.1 Preliminary Findings • 4.2 Civic Terms: A) Introduction, B) Analysis and Discussion of Civic Terms as
Dedicators, C) *Res Publica*, D) *Populus*, E) Conclusion • 4.3 Sentiment: A) 'Succinct' Inscriptions, B) Effort and
Emotional Investment • 4.4 'Praise' and 'Family' • 4.5 'Praise' and 'Family' Results

5 Virtues and Civic Political Rhetoric in Africa Proconsularis 335

- 5.1 Virtues • 5.2 Euergetism • 5.3 Honourableness and Euergetism • 5.4 The Language of Civic Love: A) Civic Love and Euergetism, B) The Sentiments of Civic Love • 5.5 The Politics of Integrity and Blamelessness: A) The Blameless Administrator, B) Ramifications and Meaning: *Innocentia* and *Integritas* • 5.6 Conclusion

Conclusion 435

Appendices

A: <i>IRT</i> 601: Award of a Statue in a Two-horse Chariot (<i>biga</i>) to (Ti.) Plautius Lupus (Rufinus)	446
B: Terms of Praise Found on the Inscriptions of Honorific Statues in Africa Proconsularis, from the First Century BCE to the Third Century CE	449
C: The Usages of <i>Merita</i> and Cognates	454
D: Quorums, Majorities, and Numbers of Decurions Present	463
E: References to the Civic <i>Curiae</i> in the Roman Empire	466
F: <i>CIL</i> VIII 14683= <i>ILS</i> 6824: The Regulations Adopted by the Curia Iovis of Simitthus, 27 November 185 CE	471
G: The Curia Iovis and Voluntary Associations: Member Conduct towards the Deceased	473
H: Inscriptions of Honorific Statues in Africa Proconsularis Containing Words of Praise, from the First Century BCE to the Third Century CE	476

Bibliography 534

List of Tables

1.1 Temporal Distribution of Inscriptions in the Epigraphic Catalogue of Honorific Statues	39
1.2 <i>Postulationes</i> for Public Honours in Africa Proconsularis	68
3.1 'Extras' at the Dedication of Honorific Statues in Africa Proconsularis	195
3.2 ' <i>Contentus</i> ' Inscriptions of Africa Proconsularis	208
3.3 Inscriptions Similar to ' <i>Contentus</i> ' Inscriptions	219
4.1 Temporal Distribution of Inscriptions in the Epigraphic Catalogue of Honorific Statues	268
5.1 <i>Honestas</i> and <i>Honestus</i>	354
5.2 <i>Amor</i> , <i>Adfectio</i> , <i>Adfectus</i> , <i>Benevolentia</i> , and <i>Studium</i> by Honoree	367
5.3 Dedicators' <i>Amor</i> or <i>Adfectio</i> for the Honoree	370
5.4 Other Instances of <i>Amator</i> in the Western Half of the Empire	378
5.5 <i>Integritas</i> and <i>Integre</i> by Honoree	399
5.6 <i>Innocentia</i> , <i>Innocens</i> , and <i>Innocuus</i> by Honoree	400
5.7 <i>Innocens</i> and <i>Innocuus</i> in Electoral <i>Programmata</i> at Pompeii	429
5.8 <i>Integer</i> in Electoral <i>Programmata</i> at Pompeii	430

List of Charts

1.1 Stated Payment Methods for Honorific Statues	81
4.1 Percentage of Honoree Types	266
4.2 Decurions as Sole Dedicator	273
4.3 Dedicators Described by the Juridical Status of their City	276
4.4 Dedicators Described by a Juridical Denominative	278
4.5 Dedicators Described by an Institutional or Constituency Term	280
4.6 Dedicators Described by a Demonym	281
4.7 Dedicators Described as <i>Res Publica</i>	284
4.8 Dedicators Described as the <i>Curiae</i> or <i>Populus</i>	296
4.9 Comparison of Averages	308
4.10 Inscriptions Indicating Effort and Emotional Investment	317
4.11 Inscriptions Noting Benefactions, Qualities, or Family of Honoree	318
4.12 The Connection of Dedicatory Terms to the Inclusion of 'Praise' and 'Family' Details in Inscriptions	325
5.1 Direct Praise of Acts of Euergetism	347

List of Illustration

3.1 Family Tree of Ti. Plautius Lupus Rufinus	257
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Abbreviations

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i> . Paris, 1888–
<i>Afr.Rom.</i>	<i>L'Africa Romana</i> . Sassari or (later volumes) Rome, 1984–
<i>Ant.Afr.</i>	<i>Antiquités Africaines</i> . Aix-en-Provence, 1967–
<i>Bardo</i>	Zeïneb Benzina Ben Abdallah, <i>Catalogue des Inscriptions latines païennes du Musée du Bardo</i> . Collection de l'École Française de Rome 92. Rome: École française de Rome, 1986.
<i>BCTH</i>	<i>Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques</i> . Paris, 1883–
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Berlin, 1863–
<i>CILim.</i>	Zeïneb Benzina Ben Abdallah, “Catalogue des inscriptions latines inédites de Limisa (Ksar Lemsā),” <i>Ant.Afr.</i> 40-41 (2004-2005): 99-203.
<i>CILPCarth.</i>	Zeïneb Benzina Ben Abdallah and Leïla Ladjimi Sebaï, <i>Catalogue des inscriptions latines païennes inédites du Musée de Carthage</i> . Collection de l'École française de Rome 443. Rome: École française de Rome, 2011.
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i> . Paris, 1857–
<i>Dig.</i>	Th. Mommsen with P. Kreuger (ed.), <i>The Digest of Justinian</i> . 4 Vols. A. Watson (tr.). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985.
<i>Dougga</i>	Mustapha Khanoussi and Louis Maurin (eds.), <i>Dougga, fragments d'histoire. Choix d'inscriptions latines éditées, traduites et commentées</i> . Ausonius Publications, Mémoires 3. Bordeaux and Tunis: Diffusion de Boccard, 2000.
<i>EAOR</i>	<i>Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'occidente romano</i> . Vetera: Recherche di storia epigrafica e antichità. Rome, 1988–
<i>IAM 2</i>	Jacques Gascoü (ed.), <i>Inscriptions antiques du Maroc 2: Inscriptions latines</i> . Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1982.
<i>ICUR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae</i> . N.S. Rome, 1922–
<i>IdAltava</i>	Jean Marcillet-Jaubert (ed.), <i>Les inscriptions d'Altava</i> . Publications des Annales de la Faculté des Lettres d'Aix-en-Provence, N.S. 65. Aix-en-Provence: Éditions Ophrys, 1968.
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> . Berlin, 1877–
<i>ILAfr.</i>	R. Cagnat, A. Merlin, and L. Chatelain (eds.), <i>Inscriptions latines d'Afrique (Tripolitaine, Tunisie, Maroc)</i> . Paris: Publications de l'Institut de France, 1923.
<i>ILAlg. 1</i>	S. Gsell (ed.), <i>Inscriptiones latines de l'Algérie</i> . Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1923.

- ILAlg.* 2.1 S. Gsell and H.-G. Pflaum (eds.), *Inscriptiones latines de l'Algérie, tome deuxième*. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1957.
- ILAlg.* 2.2 S. Gsell and H.-G. Pflaum (eds.), *Inscriptiones latines de l'Algérie, tome deuxième, volume deuxième*. Algiers: Société nationale d'édition et de diffusion, 1976.
- ILAlg.* 2.3 H.-G. Pflaum and X. Dupuis (eds.), *Inscriptiones latines de l'Algérie, tome deuxième, volume troisième*. Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 2003.
- ILCV* E. Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1925-1967.
- ILLimisa* Zeïneb Benzina Ben Abdallah, "Catalogue des inscriptions latines inédites de Limisa (Ksar Lemsa)," *Ant.Afr.* 40-41 (2004-2005): 99-203.
- ILS* H. Dessau (ed.), *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1892-1916.
- ILTun.* A. Merlin, *Inscriptions Latines de la Tunisie*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1944.
- IMustis* Azedine Beschouch, "Mustitana: recueil des nouvelles inscriptions de Mustis, cité romaine de Tunisie," *Karthago* 14: 121-224.
- Inscr.It.* *Inscriptiones Italiae. Academiae italicae consociatae ediderunt*. Rome: Libreria dello stato, 1931–
- IRT* J.M. Reynolds and J.B. Ward-Perkins, *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*. Rome: British School at Rome, 1951.
- IU* Jean Peyras and Louis Maurin (eds.), *Ureu: municipium Uruensium*. Paris: Diffusion Ophrys, 1974.
- Karthago* *Karthago*. Paris, 1950–
- LCGI* 13-20 Antonio Caballos Rufino, *El Nuevo Bronce de Osuna y la Política Colonizadora Romana*. Historia y Geografía 115. Sevilla, 2006.
- LCGI* 61-134 Michael H. Crawford (ed.), "Lex Coloniae Genetivae," *Roman Statutes* 1. *BICS* Supplement 64. London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1996. 393-454 #25.
- LeptisMagna* Ignazio Tantillo and Francesca Bigi (eds.), *Leptis Magna: una città e le sue iscrizioni in epoca tardoromana*. Cassino: Edizioni Dell'Università degli Studi di Cassino, 2010.
- LI* Julian González and Michael H. Crawford, "The Lex Irnitana: A New Copy of the Flavian Municipal Law," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 76: 147-243.
- Libyca* *Libyca: Bulletin du Service des Antiquités. Archéologie, Épigraphie*. Algiers, 1953–
- LM* Thomas Spitzl, *Lex Municipii Malacitani*. Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1984.
- LOTB* Michael H. Crawford (ed.), "Lex Osca Tabulae Bantinae," *Roman Statutes* 1. *BICS* Supplement 64. London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1996. 271-300 #13.
- LT* Michael H. Crawford (ed.), "Lex Tarentina," *Roman Statutes* 1. *BICS* Supplement 64. London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1996. 301-312 #15.

- MEFRA* *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité*. Rome, 1881–
- NDEAmm.* Zeïneb Benzina Ben Abdallah, “Nouveaux documents épigraphiques d'Ammaedara,” in François Baratte, Fathi Bejaoui, and Zeïneb Benzina Ben Abdallah (eds.), *Recherches archéologiques à Haïdra: Miscellanea 2*. Collection de l'École française de Rome 17/2. Rome: École française de Rome, 1999. 3-53.
- NLG* J.B. Greenough, G.L. Kittredge, A.A. Howard, Benj. L. D'Ooge (eds.), *Allen and Greenough's New Latin Grammar*. College Classical Series. New Rochelle, New York: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1983.
- OLD* *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.
- P.Cair.Dem.* W. Spiegelberg (ed.), *Die demotischen Denkmäler 2: Die demotischen Papyrus*. Leipzig: Dragulin, 1908.
- P.Fay.* Bernard P. Grenfell, Arthur S. Hunt, and David G. Hogarth, *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*. Oxford: Horace Hart, 1900.
- P.Lond.* F.G. Kenyon and H.I. Bell, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*. 5 Vols. London: The British Museum, 1893-1917.
- P.Mich. V* E.M. Husselman, A.E.R. Boak, and W.F. Edgerton (eds.), *Papyri from Tebtunis, Part II*. The University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series 29. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1944.
- RE* G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, et al (eds.), *Paulys Realencyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Berlin, 1893–1917.
- RIC* C.H.V. Sutherland, R.A.G. Carson, et al (eds.), *The Roman Imperial Coinage*. 10 Vols. London: Spink and Son Ltd., 1984-1994.
- SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Leiden, 1923–
- ISegermes* Leïla Ladjimi Sebaï, “Les inscriptions de Segermes,” in Søren Dietz, Leïla Ladjimi Sebaï, and Habib Ben Hassen (eds.), *Africa Proconsularis: Regional Studies in the Segermes Valley of Northern Tunisia 2*. Copenhagen: Collection of Near Eastern and Classical Antiquities, The National Museum of Denmark, 1995. 713-75.
- SI* *Supplementa Italica* N.S. Rome, 1981–
- Sbeitla* Noël Duval, “Inventaire des inscriptions latines païennes de Sbeitla,” *MEFRA* 101.1 (1989): 403-488.
- TH* Michael H. Crawford (ed.), “*Tabula Heracleensis*,” *Roman Statutes* 1. *BICS* Supplement 64. London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1996. 355-391 #24.
- ThignicaHM* Habib Ben Hassen, *Thignica (Aïn Tounga) son histoire et ses monuments*. Ortacesus: Nuove Grafiche Puddu, 2006.
- TLL* *Thesaurus linguae latinae*. Leipzig, 1900–
- Uchi 1* Mustapha Khanoussi and Attilio Mastino (eds.), *Uchi Maius 1: Scavi e ricerche epigrafiche in Tunisia*. Sassari: Editrice Democratica Sarda, 1997.
- Uchi 2* Mustapha Khanoussi and Attilio Mastino (eds.), *Uchi Maius 2*. Sassari: Editrice Democratica Sarda, 2006.

- Uthina* 1. Habib Ben Hassen and Louis Maurin, *Oudhna (Uthina). Colonie de vétérans de la XIII^e légion. Histoire, urbanisme, fouilles et mise en valeur des monuments*. Ausonius Éditions: Mémoires 13. Bordeaux, Paris, and Tunis: Ausonius, 2004.
- ZPE* *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*. Bonn, 1967–

Introduction

This dissertation argues that the political culture of the cities of Africa Proconsularis was dynamic, for the political life of the communities was not as tightly controlled by the *ordo decurionum* (roughly the “town council”) as previous studies have suggested. Rather, there were customs that encouraged dialogue and negotiation and room existed in the public sphere for the *populus* of the cities to express opinions collectively and even to initiate actions. It arrives at this conclusion through a study of the inscriptions of public honorific statues, dating from the first century BCE to the late third century CE. It starts with the civic institutions responsible for setting up the statues and their various procedures. Chapter One focuses on the *ordo decurionum*, its powers and the rights of its members, the *decuriones*. It further traces the procedures and payment options involved in setting up honorific statues in the public spaces of Roman cities. Chapter Two turns to the *curiae*, the electoral voting groups into which the citizens of cities with a Roman statute were distributed. Next, Chapter Three explores how the ceremonial side of public honours augmented their meaning and significance. Chapter Four provides a detailed examination of the 1080 known inscriptions of honorific statues set up in Proconsularis by civic institutions and groups. The analysis is largely quantitative, but grounded in the findings of the earlier three chapters. Chapter Five, finally, studies the rhetorical strategies behind key terms of praise found in so many of the inscriptions.

0.1 PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

As far as can be established, such a systematic approach to honorific statues has not previously been undertaken for the western half of the empire, let alone Africa Proconsularis.

Currently, studies of honorific statues tend to take one of two approaches. First, a few studies attempt a general synthesis of honorific statues and draw upon material from across the empire. Peter Stewart's 2003 *Statues in Roman Society* is the most successful example of this approach and proves helpful at points in the dissertation.¹ Second, more common are the studies that analyse an exhaustive catalogue of inscriptions. Such catalogues need a focus in order to be manageable and it tends to be either one 'type' of recipient of honorific statues, such as the emperor (with the material gathered from across the empire), or one city or region with the aim to analyse the network of a wider range of dedicators and honorees. Both approaches have clear strengths and weaknesses. The former succeeds in providing more perspective on the diverse roles the statues could play in cities (many of which were not overtly political), but they fail to analyse any one role in depth, which can lead to generalisations drawn from single examples.

The latter approach features more nuanced analysis, since its focus makes it more sensitive to differences or changes of language, process, and participants, but it too is often hampered by reliance on the catalogue. As discussed further below, supplementary evidence can often be found in other 'types' of inscriptions from the community, in inscriptions from other regions, and in other types of evidence, such as literature. These other forms of evidence are often ignored or not given sufficient weight in the analysis. Two examples of this approach are the 1994 dissertation of Sabine Lefebvre, which draws upon 577 inscriptions mentioning public

¹ See also Jane Fejfer's 2008 *Roman Portraits in Context*. It is a unique blend of epigraphy, archaeology, spatial analysis, and especially art-historical analysis of the few surviving portraits, which is her specialty. It, however, suffers from an uncoordinated selection of evidence from across the empire, from the Roman Republican era to the fourth century CE. The book, thus, ends up being a thin synthesis of primary sources and secondary studies.

honours in the provinces of Baetica, Lusitania, and Mauretania Tingitana, and Elizabeth Forbis' 1996 book *Municipal Virtues in the Roman Empire*, which concentrates on 482 inscriptions from Italy.² Both excel in identifying patterns of commemoration, particularly in establishing connections between the types of laudatory terms the dedicators chose to employ in praise of their honoree and the particular function the honoree filled in the community. The reason is that the information for such findings is readily available in the inscriptions themselves. As discussed further in Chapters 4.2.E and 5.2-5.5, however, both studies falter in interpreting the significance of the usage of the terms, for they do not anchor them firmly enough in their civic, institutional, cultural, and intellectual contexts. That requires turning to other forms of evidence. It is hoped that this dissertation, which also utilises an exhaustive catalogue of inscriptions from a particular region, has successfully built upon their earlier efforts.

Thematically, this dissertation also shares much in common with John Ma's 2013 *Statues and Cities*, despite its concentration on the *poleis* of the Greek east in the Hellenistic era. Ma similarly maintains that honorific statues provide a unique window onto the political culture of the *poleis* and subsequently analyses them from the perspective of inter-personal relationships.³ He argues that cities used honorific statues to strengthen communal identity and affirm the community's claim on the services of the individual, particularly kings, other powerful foreigners, and local leading families, all of whom had interests that competed with those of the community. Despite these commonalities, however, the book is not a scholarly model for this dissertation. For one, it is much more ambitious, attempting to interweave “six themes” into a

² See also the unfortunately timed 1996 dissertation of Freja Martin, which has as its base a catalogue of 517 inscriptions of public honours in Italy.

³ Ma (2013: 11, 291-292) writes that his book is a history of “conflict and pressures” within the cities and that it is “devoted to explaining the feeling and needs” of all involved in the honouring process. He concludes that the honorific statues were “enacting relationality,” meaning part of the negotiations cities conducted for the services of important people. Chapters Three through Five of this dissertation contain similar themes.

narrative, which, in the end, goes far beyond political culture.⁴ As Ma himself writes, he is trying to develop a “unified statue theory” that can write the history of the post-classical *polis* itself, and the analysis suffers somewhat from this lack of focus.⁵ Yet one thing the book does not do, which this dissertation does, is attempt a thorough examination of rhetorical terms and their connection to ideas circulating around the Mediterranean.

Still, Ma's book is a signal that the time is ripe for a systematic study of honorific statues in Africa Proconsularis. The very over-abundance of stimulating questions Ma asks concerning the surviving honorific statues of Hellenistic *poleis* suggests that we are coming to a fertile intersection of sufficient evidence and of intellectual questions and methodologies suited to its strengths and limitations. The scholarship of Roman North Africa is currently in a period of consolidation and review. Because of the recent political instabilities of the region, few new inscriptions are being published. Rather, three surveys of Roman North African history by established scholars have appeared in the last ten years, most recently Jean-Marie Lassère's posthumous *Africa, quasi Roma*.⁶ Moreover, a few monographs have appeared reviewing the evidence for key aspects of Roman North Africa, most significantly for this dissertation Samir Aounallah's monographs on the many small indigenous communities spread across the former territory of Carthage, Gareth Sear's more general *The Cities of Roman Africa*, and Ari Saastamoinen's philological study of Roman North African building inscriptions.⁷ That said, one

⁴ “These are the six themes which this book is built around: the political themes of civic discourse within society, the social function of ‘art’, and monumental space, and the cultural themes of images, bodies, and memory—as elements for a political, cultural, and social history of the Hellenistic *polis*,” Ma 2013: 10, cf. 294.

⁵ Ma 2013: 294. Robin Osborne writes in his review that “for various reasons Ma opens the subject up rather than nailing it down. . . . For all the, often very enlightening, minute analysis of particular texts, the brush strokes end up being so broad that every group between family and city gets assimilated to the one or the other, and even the arrival of the Roman emperor is invisible” (2014: 214). Alternately, Ando (2014), I think fairly, criticises Ma for not being ambitious enough, meaning that he focuses too narrowly on the inscriptions of honorific statues and does not pursue the sociological ramifications of his many observations.

⁶ Briand-Ponsart and Hugoniot 2005; Le Bohec 2005; Lassère 2015.

⁷ Aounallah 2001; 2010; Sears 2011; Saastamoinen 2010.

cannot escape the impression that the number of book-length studies concerning Roman North Africa currently being published are disproportionately small in comparison to other regions of the former Roman Empire, especially when one takes into account the wealth of surviving evidence the region provides.

The other indicator of this period of consolidation and review is the energy put into producing numerous high quality epigraphic catalogues over the last twenty years. The main regional epigraphic catalogues have long since been out of date,⁸ and the response has been to produce more specialised catalogues of museum collections or of individual cities.⁹ These render the services of collecting together and re-examining inscriptions from the same community once spread across numerous publications, as well as editing inscriptions once considered too lacunose for publication.¹⁰ Along side these catalogues are numerous articles studying one inscription or person,¹¹ or which study the inscriptions of a city or region of North Africa within a limited chronological or methodological framework.¹² Articles on socio-historical topics are the most common. They provide crucial background information for this dissertation because of their detailed analysis of particular social groups, such as women, flamens, or senators.¹³ Therefore, sufficient evidence exists, sufficient foundational studies exist, and sufficient opportunity exists for a detailed study of the political culture of the cities of Africa Proconsularis utilising the

⁸ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL; last volume 1916); *Inscriptiones latines de l'Algérie* vol. 1 (ILAlg. 1; 1923); *Inscriptions latines d'Afrique (Tripolitaine, Tunisie, Maroc)* (ILAfr.; 1923); *Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie* (ILTun.; 1944).

⁹ E.g. Sufetula: Duval 1989; Lepcis Minor: Aounallah et al 2006; Hippo Regius: Benzina Ben Abdallah et al 2014.

¹⁰ For instance, see the 2004-2005 "Catalogue des inscriptions latines inédites de Limisa (Ksar Lemsa)," edited by Zeïneb Benzina Ben Abdallah in the journal *Antiquités Africaines* and the 2011 *Catalogue des inscriptions latines païennes inédites du Musée de Carthage* edited by Zeïneb Benzina Ben Abdallah and Leïla Ladjimi Sebaï.

¹¹ E.g. Magioncalda 1991; Dupuis 1993; Lefebvre 1996; Christol 2005a.

¹² E.g. Lepcis Magna during the Principate of Diocletian: Christol 2005c; Thugga: Beschouch 1997; Lepelley 1997.

¹³ E.g. for flamens: Bassignano 1974; Pflaum 1976; Ladjimi Sebaï 1990; Fishwick 2002; for equestrians: Pflaum 1960; 1968; Lefebvre 1999; for senators: Corbier 1982; for women: Hemelrijk 2013; Witschel 2013.

inscriptions of honorific statues as the main source material.

The one area of study that is particularly lacking for Roman North Africa is political institutions, especially the *curiae*. North Africa and Africa Proconsularis in particular contain the majority of epigraphic references to the *curiae*. A small but significant number of inscriptions attest to them being an effective vehicle for erecting public honours. It will be argued that they were a patriotic public institution that wielded limited influence independently of the decurions in their respective cities. In some studies on North Africa, however, they are not even acknowledged.¹⁴ Where they are discussed, this semi-independence is minimised or left out all together, even in studies directly on them. Yet it is crucial to understanding the dynamism of civic politics in Africa Proconsularis. Tadeusz Kotula's study is the most comprehensive on the *curiae* so far published. In it, Kotula acknowledges that the *curiae* once voted on “all resolutions touching on public affairs,” but argues that this right was lost in the second century.¹⁵ When he eventually discusses statues, he treats their decisions to honour benefactors as private.¹⁶ Richard Duncan-Jones, meanwhile, maintains that it would have been “hardly appropriate” for the electoral divisions of the citizenry to vote on a “single statue” to a beneficiary.¹⁷ He prefers to see the *curiae* as “a series of clubs” akin to the “funerary and dining clubs” that supposedly existed in Italy.¹⁸ This view not only ignores strong evidence for their public nature, but it almost seems

¹⁴ E.g. Bénabou 1976; Garnsey 1978; Sears 2011. Even Jacques, who attempts a sensitive study of the active role of the *populus* in civic life (principally in Italy and North Africa), mentions the *curiae* surprisingly little. He focuses on inscriptions citing the *populus* (esp. 1984: 407-425). As observed in Chapter 4.2, however, the *curiae* are listed on inscriptions as the dedicator of statues in Proconsularis much more often than the *populus*.

¹⁵ “Or, les citoyens rassemblés en curies jouissaient du droit de voter toutes les résolutions ayant trait aux affaires publiques. Ce furent pour la plupart des décrets honorifiques en l'honneur de personnages éminents auxquels on élevait des statues” (Kotula 1968: 91, cf. 75).

¹⁶ “En cela les curies agissaient exactement de la même façon que toute autre corporation ou que toute ville désireuse de s'assurer la faveur d'un patron illustre” (Kotula 1968: 109). I.e. the *curiae* did not represent their city, just acted like a city. Their honours only “passed” into the public realm because the erection of the statue and dedicatory celebrations needed to take place on public property, which required a decree of the decurions (Kotula 1968: 110).

¹⁷ Duncan-Jones 1982: 280.

¹⁸ Duncan-Jones 1982: 278-280, cf. 277 n.5.

based on a sense of propriety that might or might not have been ancient. Duncan-Jones never does offer an alternative theory of why and how they were honouring benefactors in public.

This lack of interest in the *curiae* extends to the role of the general *populus*. Most studies concentrate on the other major (and senior) political body in Roman cities: the *ordo decurionum*. This focus is warranted, for the decurions formed the sole body able to authorise the use of public money and land. Yet even here studies tend to ignore or, at best, smooth over the procedures and customs of this body, with the result that the details of individual public honours are washed out. For example, Gerhard Zimmer's influential *Locus Datus Decreto Decurionum* excels at revealing patterns in the location of honorific statues in the *fora* of Cuicul and Thamugadi, Numidia. He finds that the prestige of the honoree determined the location of his or her statue in relation to public buildings and the statues of gods and emperors. But when it comes to explaining just how the decurions implemented these “Statuenprogramme,” he largely repeats the title of his book: “mußten die Dekurionen in ihrer Eigenschaft als oberstes Beschlußgremium der Stadt den Ort für die Statue zuweisen und genehmigen.”¹⁹ One consequence is that he presents the erection of statues in an overly transactional – almost *do ut des* – fashion.²⁰ This is not to deny that element, but it only outlines a broad societal pattern at the expense of more personal motivations evident in many individual inscriptions.²¹

¹⁹ Zimmer 1989: 7, cf. 20.

²⁰ This is a common explanation for cities dedicating statues to dignitaries. Duncan-Jones, for example, attributes to “civic debt” the erection of statues by the *municipes* of Giufi to the wife and daughter of Aurelius Dionysius (*CIL* VIII 866, 23995; 1972: 12). Duncan-Jones theorises that this patron had secured from the emperor the city's promotion to *municipium* status. Zanker similarly characterises honorific statues to civic notables as a “return for their services” (1988: 321-322). Moreover, Zimmer suggests that statues were used to attract patrons to the cities, which is an idea that would have embarrassed the cities and patrons alike (1989: 47; similarly Fejfer 2008: 39-40, 49).

²¹ For example, Zimmer explains the statue erected to Gargilia Marciana as having been “für teures Geld erkaufte,” because her husband, sons, and brother provided “Beiträge” to the decurions and citizens at the statue's dedication (1989: 32). He does not comment on how the dedicators still needed to pay for the statue themselves and says little about the unusual amount of information they added to the inscription: calling her a *marita rarissima*, providing the dates of the *decretum decurionum* and the dedication, and even sharing Gargillia's birthday (1989: 56-57 #C8).

Jacob Munk Højte's explanation in his detailed study of imperial statue bases is similarly unsubstantial.²² When it comes to private dedicators, he strongly implies that all they needed to do was request permission from the “local authorities” and pay for the statue.²³ Despite the many merits of his study of statues to Roman governors, Dirk Erkelenz also does not explain in detail how individuals used their “Einfluß auf die entscheidenden Gremien” in order to have a statue erected.²⁴ Such inattention to process sometimes results in him writing “Städte,” “Gemeinden,” or using the passive voice when the decurions are clearly meant.²⁵ The result is a regrettable loss of detail. There were real politics and personal and social pressures behind statues, which can only be detected by keeping a close eye on the rules, practices, and stated participants.

The effects of not taking into account the procedures and practices surrounding the decree of public honours can be seen in the scholarly treatment of the sixteenth oration of Apuleius' *Florida*. Apuleius uses the speech in Carthage to give thanks to the two agents he considers particularly responsible for the decurions' decree of a statue to him: his current audience made up of the respectable members of Carthaginian society (evidently not the city's decurions alone)²⁶ and the consular and declared friend of Apuleius, Aemilianus Strabo (*Flor.* 16.36). Most commentators focus on Aemilianus' role in the honour and recently have been portraying him as the initiator of the statue.²⁷ But while he was its chief supporter and even intervened in the

²² “The local executive bodies had authority over all dedications on public property, and also granted individuals permission to erect imperial statues” (Højte 2005: 168).

²³ Højte 2005: 171.

²⁴ Erkelenz 2003: 143, cf. 146.

²⁵ E.g. Erkelenz 2003: 142-143, 222-223.

²⁶ It is fairly certain that Apuleius is not speaking in the *curia* of Carthage (contra Lee 2005: 149 *ad* 16.1). He seems to be addressing a more general audience signaled by *vobis* (16.43). He also twice says *in illa curia* (16.41, 44), once *ordini vestro* (16.44), and once *illos* in reference to the decurions (16.41) – further indications that he was not addressing the *ordo* itself. Finally, at 16.45 he distinguishes between the *populus*, the decurions, the magistrates, and the *principes* who are likely the foremost decurions and imperial elites of the city. Thus, Apuleius was probably speaking at an informal gathering made up mostly of decurions and other leading families. For more discussion, see Opeku (1974: 261, 291-292) and Hunink (2001: 155 *ad* 16.1).

²⁷ Rives 1995: 177, followed closely by Hunink 2001: 153, 155, 169 *ad* 16.41; Toschi 2000: 14; Lee 2005: 145. Aemilianus may have been behind the *decretum* all along, for he could not have been too far off if he promptly

process to request a frequented spot for the statue and to promise to pay for it, Apuleius begins the speech by acknowledging that the statue originated in a mass petition, a *postulatio* of respectable citizens.²⁸ Apuleius himself only characterises Aemilianus' letter of support to the decurions as a *sententia* (*Flor.* 16.40)²⁹ and a *testimonium* (*Flor.* 16.34-35), which strongly implies that it came in reaction to the mass petition. In contrast, he refers to the *postulatio* later in the speech as a *mandatum* to the magistrates and leading men of Carthage in order to ensure that the decurions vote a statue to him paid with public money (*Flor.* 16.43). From Apuleius' point of view, the will of the people was clear and a statue paid from private funds would not satisfy it.³⁰ As argued in Chapter 1.3, such *postulationes* were a feature of public life in Africa Proconsularis and to ignore this point is to under appreciate the value placed on public honours by the givers and recipients alike and the hard work and dedication it took to receive one – a point which Apuleius expressly makes.³¹

wrote in support of the *postulatio* and because Apuleius characterises the decurions as eager to follow Aemilianus' lead regarding the decree (*Flor.* 16.40-43). But the only direct evidence has respectable Carthaginians making the petition *en masse*. Fabian Opeku's unpublished dissertation provides a detailed and balanced summation and discussion of the speech (1974: 258-261). Hijmans (1994: 1736, 1769-1770) and Harrison (2000: 116) are good too, for their brevity.

²⁸ At *Flor.* 16.1, Apuleius addresses the audience as *principes A<fricae> v<iri>*, an honorific title which could be used for the general citizenry of Carthage (Opeku 1974: 261). Keith Bradley suggests that this term refers to magistrates or members of the provincial *concilium* (2012a: 141). He goes on to argue, however, that a wide cross-section of the population of Carthage attended Apuleius' speeches, including craftsmen and the illiterate (2012a: 141-143), which undercuts his two suggestions here. Apuleius remarks later in the speech that the decurions remembered the *mandatum* his current audience gave to them (*mandatum sibi a vobis*, *Flor.* 43). As noted below, this *mandatum* must be the *postulatio*. Thus, the orator does distinguish between the two groups, even though he closely associates them together.

²⁹ Opeku 1974: 300-301.

³⁰ Apuleius' speech was delivered after the decurions' approval of a statue in response to the *postulatio* and Aemilianus' letter, but before the payment method had been finalised. It seems that the orator was disappointed to learn that the decurions were considering rolling Aemilianus' promise to pay into the *postulatio*, perhaps in order to spare the city the expense. He reminds his audience (and, in fact, had already mentioned in his resumé of Aemilianus' letter, *Flor.* 16.37) that he has received statues paid at public expense from smaller cities (*mediocribus quidem civitatibus*, *Flor.* 16.46). The orator was not going to be satisfied until he received a statue at public expense at Carthage too, either the current one or a suggested *altera statua* (*Flor.* 16.41).

³¹ “That which was difficult to do and that which was arduous in very truth was not [just] estimated to be so: to win the favour of the *populus*, to be pleasing to the *ordo*, to be approved by the magistrates and leading men; this – knock on wood – somehow just befell me.” (*quod difficile factu erat quodque re vera arduum, non existimabatur: gratum esse populo, placere ordini, probari magistratibus et principibus, id – praefascine dixerim – iam quodam modo mihi obtigit*, *Flor.* 16.45).

In many respects, this dissertation will be closer in approach to studies of “le quotidien municipal”³² characteristic of continental European and particularly French scholarship.³³ By focusing on the *minutiae* of procedure, customs, and the status of the various participants, they do a better job of bringing out the complexity of civic life. Chief examples are Paul Veyne's 1976 book *Le pain et le cirque*,³⁴ Francois Jacques' 1984 book *Le privilège de liberté*,³⁵ and Michel Christol's 1986 article on public honours at Volubilis, Mauretania Tingitana (reprinted in 2005).³⁶ They highlight the interactions of the dedicators, honorees, and even third parties that the honouring process encouraged. All three place public honours within broader contexts: for Veyne and Jacques that of local politics, particularly class politics (in *Le pain et le cirque* from the perspective of the local governing elite; in *Le privilège de liberté* from the perspective of the *populus*). Christol discusses the long term interests of the honoree's families. Most recently, Claude Briand-Ponsart has shown that the *populi* of North African cities were engaged in public life as agents independent from the decurions, by highlighting the multiple stages of public honours and the many possibilities for honouring open to the *populi* of North African cities.³⁷

All four studies, however, still present honorific statues in the straight-forward manner of an exchange for the *beneficia* from notables.³⁸ None focus on the statues as a subject in their own right. Rather, they are using them to further other discussions.³⁹ They are picking only certain

³² Christol 2005b: 136.

³³ See, for example, the second volume of the 2007 edition of *MEFRA*, which contains a series of articles on the “quotidien institutionnel” introduced by Christol (2007: 345-346), and the 2008 collection of articles edited by Clara Berrendonner et al: *Le quotidien municipal dans l'occident romain* (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise-Pascal).

³⁴ Veyne 1976: 280.

³⁵ Jacques 1984: 407-425.

³⁶ Christol 2005b: 139.

³⁷ Briand-Ponsart 2013: 248-251.

³⁸ See Chapter 3.4-3.5 on ‘*contentus*’ inscriptions.

³⁹ Jacques, for example, concludes his discussion of honours asserting that the *populus*' role in civic politics was to distinguish notables who had been particularly generous. According to him, the people did not have an ideology of their own; they did not support “perfect defenders of the plebs, but perfect notables” (1984: 424-425). Veyne, meanwhile, states that honours distinguish the governing class more than the individual honoree. He argues that

practices to highlight (e.g. the *postulatio populi* with Jacques and Briand-Ponsart) and, consequently, do not bring out the full significance of the interactions. Christol and Briand-Ponsart's articles in particular do not go much beyond the surface of their material.⁴⁰ There is much room left for further study along these lines.

0.2 THE EPIGRAPHIC CATALOGUE OF HONORIFIC STATUES

The dataset that forms the backbone of this dissertation includes all of the published inscriptions of public honorific statues dating from the late Republic to 284 CE found in Africa Proconsularis. The rise of the Tetrarchy was taken as the temporal stopping point, in part because of the concomitant administrative and political changes at both the imperial and local levels; epigraphic references to the civic *curiae* fade out around this time, for example.⁴¹ Moreover, by the late third century, alternate forms of self-display were increasingly displacing the traditional forms of statues and their accompanying inscriptions, such as games, festivals, processions, and luxurious lifestyles.⁴² At the heart of Proconsularis is Carthage and its (once) vast *pertica*, which is known to have stretched 133 km west to Mustis, 107 km south-west to Thugga, and 60 km south-east to Pupput.⁴³ The geographical scope of Africa Proconsularis, however, was much greater than its core and changed over time. The version considered here is the Proconsularis of the Severan emperors, the period to which the largest group of inscriptions date. This includes the

honours from the governing class to its own members were expressing the superiority of the entire group, for they pressured their peers to meet the same standards as the current honoree so that the group could continue to legitimise to the *populus* its monopoly on local wealth and political power (1976: 279-280).

⁴⁰ Briand-Ponsart's article is substantially fuller than Christol's, but its conclusions that the local aristocracy could not ignore public opinion and that there was a long-standing tradition of popular participation in civic matters in North Africa are not new (2013: 265). The main contribution of the article is a reworking of the Punic origin thesis to explain the seemingly high level of popular action in the cities of Proconsularis (see Chapter 2.1).

⁴¹ Moreover, Byzacena and Tripolitania were formed into separate provinces in, probably, 303 (Di Vita-Évrard 1985: 168-175).

⁴² Borg and Witschel 2001: 60-64, 92, 116-118.

⁴³ Beschtaouch 1995.

regions of Byzacena to the south-east of Proconsularis and Tripolitania, going as far east as Lepcis Magna.

Numidia on the western side of Proconsularis is not included. Although technically part of Proconsularis since Augustus' merging of Africa Nova with Africa Vetus in 35 BCE, Numidia was directly administered by the *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of the Legio III Augusta since Caligula, rather than by the proconsul of Proconsularis (Tac. *Hist.* 4.48; Cass. Dio 59.20.7). Septimius Severus completed the separation, by organising Numidia into a full province in 197-198.⁴⁴ The boundaries between the two regions are not fully understood. Here, I have followed the attributions of Gsell in the first volume of the *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie (ILAlg.)*.⁴⁵ In brief, I have taken as the dividing line between the two provinces the series of roads starting at the ancient Libyan city of Capsa far to the south in the pre-desert, working northward to Thelepte, then Theveste, Vatri, Tipasa, and finally to Hippo Regius on the Mediterranean coast. Although the old Punic city of Calama lies to the west of this route about mid-way between Tipasa and Hippo Regius, it is included because it was still erecting statues to the proconsul of Africa in the fourth century.⁴⁶

The criteria for identifying a statue as “public” and “honorific” are broad. This is necessary, because so many of the inscriptions were found and published in the 19th and early 20th centuries, when recording and preservation standards were still rudimentary.⁴⁷ In her studies of

⁴⁴ Gsell *ad ILAlg.* 1 p.ix; Pflaum 1957: 74.

⁴⁵ See his discussion of this subject at *ILAlg.* 1 pp.ix-xii.

⁴⁶ See the discussion of Gsell: *ILAlg.* 1 p.x. The city honoured in 342 the proconsul of Africa for his *mirae iustitiae atque eximiae moderationis* (*ILAlg.* 1.271), then the proconsul of 373 (*ILAlg.* 1.272). See also *ILAlg.* 1.273, which may also date to the fourth century.

⁴⁷ Many inscriptions, for example, were found by Victor Guérin and published in his two volume *Voyage archéologique dans la Régence de Tunis* in 1862. He writes in the preface that he had been charged by the “ministre de l'instruction publique” and by “M. le duc de Luynes” and spent most of 1860 exploring “if not the totality, at least a large part” of Tunisia, from where he transported back to France 568 inscriptions or fragments of inscriptions (Guérin 1862: V).

the early European scholarly exploration of North Africa, Monique Dondin-Payre highlights two interconnected themes, one of increasing organisation (most notably with the creation of the Commission des Antiquités de la France in 1819 under the aegis of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres), the other of the increasing professionalisation of the explorers of the region.⁴⁸ Dondin-Payre divides this latter theme into three phases: the early adventurers, traders, and even victims of piracy up to the turn of the nineteenth century; the priests and especially soldiers relied upon by the Commission beginning after the French disembarkation near Algiers in 1830; and the arrival of university trained archaeologists in the final quarter of the nineteenth century, which coincided with the creation of colonial governmental Services in Algeria and Tunisia responsible for the protection, excavation, study, and publication of ancient sites. Even in this last phase, however, amateurs continued to find and publish inscriptions.⁴⁹ The legacy of this period is that much information about the inscriptions was never recorded, most frequently the exact location of their discovery. It is clear that the editors of the major epigraphic catalogues were often working from squeezes sent to Europe by these adventurers, soldiers, priests, and later professionals operating in North Africa. Often little to no indication is given about the nature of the monument onto which the inscription was inscribed or even about the dimensions of the epigraphic field. When information is produced, it is sometimes only “stone” or “block.” In many instances, just the bare words of the inscription are given.

This is not to complain, for many of these inscriptions would now be lost if it were not for

⁴⁸ Dondin-Payre 2011: 273-285.

⁴⁹ Dondin-Payre 2011: 285. For an account of a scandalous and particularly unscientific “archeological” mission to Utica, see Baratte 1971. The Count of Hérison, Maurice d'Irisson, and other members of the Jockey-Club of Paris, an aristocratic sporting club, formed “La Société des fouilles d'Utique” in 1880 with the aims of advancing science and of selling antiquities for profit. Their mission began with the blessing of the French Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, but ended in scandal after d'Irisson's claims about the mission and his descriptions of the finds were exposed as fantastical and even fraudulent (Baratte 1971: 338). In the end, d'Irisson was forced to cancel the sale of the finds and offer them to the Louvre, which Baratte reports lists 784 items from the mission (1971: 340-346).

these pioneers.⁵⁰ René Cagnat, for example, reported in 1885 that what would become *CIL* VIII 15880 – a long inscription containing a full copy of a *decretum ordinis* honouring the memory of a leading decurion's daughter – was destroyed when re-used in the construction of a house “a few days” after his departure from the area. As Cagnat himself said, it was lucky that he had taken a good squeeze and photograph of the inscription.⁵¹ His experience is far from unique.⁵²

Accordingly, there were two options when compiling this epigraphic catalogue of honorific statues: to include only those inscriptions whose statue can be confirmed to have been public and honorific, which would have resulted in a much smaller total number of entries, or to include every inscription whose statue can be reasonably suspected of having being public and honorific and which cannot be suspected of having been private (often funerary). The latter option was chosen so that potentially relevant and valuable information was not unintentionally left out. The challenge was to minimise as much as possible the inclusion of other types of inscriptions, like epitaphs and building and religious dedications.

Inclusion into the catalogue required a high degree of certainty that the inscription was dedicating an honour to a human rather than a god. Honorific dedications are, above all, characterised by having a human recipient, the honoree. Almost every time, his or her name and any titles and offices are in the dative. Thus, many fragmentary or overly succinct inscriptions were rejected, because it could not be established that the honoree was in fact a human and not a god. For example, excluded was a base from Thuburnica with only *posuerunt l(ocus) d(atus)*

⁵⁰ Højte, thus, is not being fair when he says that the “editors of the early *corpora* of inscriptions generally showed little or no interest in the physical form of the monuments on which texts were inscribed, or in the context in which they were found” (2005: 20). The editors of *corpora* generally did share the nature and context of the monument, when their sources informed them.

⁵¹ Cagnat 1885: 79.

⁵² See, for instance, the opening remarks for Calama *ad ILAlg.* 1 p.20. Cf. Dondin-Payre's note that many of the discoveries reported by soldiers and other amateurs in the 1830s through to the 1870s would not have survived to be studied more comprehensively by the later professionals (2011: 278).

d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) surviving of the inscription (*BCTH* 1912, p.363). While this closing formula is typical for statues to local notables, it was also applied to other recipients (e.g. *signum Marsyae*, *AE* 1961, 53; *genius splendidissimi ordinis*, *AE* 2003, 1985; *Plutoni Augusto*, *CIL* VIII 12381). *AE* 1999, 1853 is similarly lacunose: [- - -] *filio* [- - -] *pat]rono perpetuo civitas Titulitana*. It was, however, included because the dative cases make clear that the *civitas* was honouring a person.⁵³ The six statue bases erected at the Grand Baths of Hippo Regius in accordance with the will of L. Asellius Honoratus were not included, however, because all that their inscriptions say is: *ex test(amento) L(uci) Aselli L(uci) f(ili) Quir(ina) Honorati d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*.⁵⁴ It is very possible that he was honouring family members or members of the imperial family, but that is not certain. Similarly, several dedications individuals made in fulfilment of a campaign promise, paid with an office's entrance fee (*summa honoraria*) or “on account of the honour” (*ob honorem*) of having obtained a civic office, have been left out because the inscription does not specify the subject of the statue.⁵⁵ Emperors seem to have been the most frequent recipients of such honours, but gods received them too.⁵⁶

Emperors and their relatives are not the focus of this study. They are included in the catalogue for comparative purposes. As such, certain types of dedications to them have been left out, namely buildings, arches, and dedications “for the well-being” of the emperor (*pro salute*). It was judged that only honours to emperors immediately comparable to civic notables and

⁵³ Similarly: [- - -] *amico omnium curiae universae*, *CIL* VIII 12096.

⁵⁴ *AE* 1958, 135. Similarly, the twin statue bases found in a monument outside of Uzappa, e.g. *Seia Maxima Sex(t)i Anici Saturnini de suo posuit d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*, *AE* 1969/70, 647a-b.

⁵⁵ E.g. *L(ucius) Plancius L(uci) fil(ius) Victorianus f(l)amen p(er)p(etuus)] C(aius) Volussius Statianus fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus) TIIMAIL[- - -] lege eclecti ob honorem patriae suae multiplicatis summis honorari(i)s aedilitatis suae sua liberalitate fecerunt et die dedicationis sportulas decurionibus et epulum et gymnassium civibus dederunt l(ocus) d(atu)s d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*, *CIL* VIII 769=12224; cf. *CIL* VIII 972+p.1282=Bardo 394.

⁵⁶ E.g. Thugga: *[opu]s templi Mercuri*, *ILAfr.* 516=Dougga 34; Mustis: *Aescula[pio Au]g(usto)*, *AE* 1968, 586=IMustis 2; *Mercu[rio] Augusto*, *AE* 1968, 591=IMustis 16; *Plutoni Frugif(ero) Aug(usto) Genio Mustis*, *AE* 1968, 595=IMustis 6; *Iovi Aug(usto)*, *AE* 1997, 1656; Thignica: *Neptuno Augusto*, *AE* 2006, 1762.

members of the imperial elite would be useful, that is those that directly honour emperors and relatives (in the dative case) with statues. There was debate about including triumphal arch dedications, because honouring is their sole function just like statues. Nonetheless, it was decided that there was little to gain from their inclusion, because there was no equivalent monument to civic notables and members of the imperial elite. Arches were simply too unique and prestigious to be comparable to statues in a meaningful way. Besides, even with these strict criteria, dedications to emperors and other members of the imperial family are still the most common inscription in the catalogue.

But what makes an honour public? Here too I have chosen to be broad. The most obvious group of public honours are those given by a public institution. Honours said to be given by the *ordo*, *decuriones*, *populus*, *curiae*, *cives*, *municipes*, *civitas*, *municipium*, *colonia*, *pagus*, or *res publica* are all obviously public, even if it could be suspected that the statue stood on private property. The use of public money to pay for the monument is also a sure indication, because the civic *leges* strictly limited its use to issues affecting the whole community (see Chapter 1.5.B). The formula *p(ublica) p(ecunia) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* is found alone on many inscriptions without a mentioned dedicator in the nominative. In such instances, it is assumed that the *ordo* set up the statue on behalf of the city.

But an honour can still be public without being set up by a civic group officially representing the city. Any honour set up on public property for all to see is public. A statue erected in the market by a father with his own money to his deceased daughter is a public statement by a private person. It must be considered public, although it is a different 'publicness' than a city's statue to Trajan standing in the forum. Because statue bases were often re-used in later constructions, frequently one must rely on textual evidence to establish that they stood in a

public area. Inscriptions sometimes do note the location of the statue, but this is exceedingly rare.⁵⁷ More general but much more common textual indicators that they stood in public space are the formulae *[ex] d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*, *[ex] permissu ordinis*, *l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*, and the like. One did not need the permission of the decurions to set up a statue or another monument on private property; funerary inscriptions, for instance, do not bear these marks.

One cannot, however, rely on textual indicators alone. In many instances, they are simply missing. Their absence, on the other hand, cannot be taken to indicate that the monument was private. The desire is to avoid criteria so rigid that “public honorific nature” is defined by assumptions of what such texts should contain rather than by the evidence, that is that public inscriptions are left out of the catalogue because they do not contain certain phrases. This was a problem of 19th century and early 20th century scholarship. For example, a base found near the Arch of Diocletian at Sufetula bears a simple dedication from a freedman to his patron: *L(ucio) Turrano Gratiano Crispino Lucil[i]ano patrono Septimius lib(ertus)* (*CIL VIII 249=11395=23229*). The text would not be out of place in a funerary context and indeed three separate editors of *CIL VIII* placed it among the funerary inscriptions of Sufetula. The third time it should have been clear, however. P. Gauckler in 1897 had corrected the reading of V. Guérin, who had mistakenly put *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum)* at the top of the inscription.⁵⁸ Gauckler even called the inscription “honorific.” Nonetheless, Dessau, while accepting the new reading for the

⁵⁷ *pio filio statuam poni in foro municipii sui ab ordine postulasset*, *CIL VIII 714=12133=ILS 5499*; (from the fourth century) *statuam in foro novo Severiano*, *IRT 566=LeptisMagna 37*; similarly: *IRT 562=LeptisMagna 40*.

⁵⁸ Gauckler 1897: 383. Guérin (1862: 373 #153) further states that the inscription is an epitaph on a *cippus*. Corbier (1982: 731) similarly calls *CIL VIII 11335* a “funerary inscription,” presumably because it reads: *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(eminae) aviae ad exemplum piissimae*. Confusingly, she then says that *CIL VIII 11336-11337* are honorific statues, even though they are of a similar intimate nature: e.g. *Serveae Fl(aviae) Statianillae Valerianae c(larissimae) p(uellae) Servaeii Eugenius et Vagulus libb(erti)*, *CIL VIII 238+p.2354=11337=Sbeitla 44*.

fourth supplement to *CIL* VIII, still placed it among funerary inscriptions. He does not provide a reason; it must have been that the resemblance of the text to funerary inscriptions overruled both the place of discovery and the medium (the statue base). Noël Duval in his 1989 catalogue of inscriptions from Sufetula was consequently forced to explain that the *CIL* was in error all three times.⁵⁹

Similar cases exist. Without getting into specifics, their funerary nature is questionable for two broad reasons. First, there was a widespread and accepted practice in Africa Proconsularis of family members setting up statues to loved ones in public spaces. Many of these inscriptions explicitly cite the permission of the local decurions, but not all of them. At Lepcis Magna, Caecilia Regina obtained permission from the decurions to set up a statue at the south side of the Severan forum to her “most dutiful” son (*M. Iunius Caecilianus M(arco) Iunio Caeciliano Caecilia Regina mater filio piissimo ex decret(o) ord(inis) p(osuit)*, *IRT* 644). On the other end of Proconsularis at Madauros, M. Gabinius Sabinus erected a series of statues to various family members in the theatre he had constructed, even to extended family (e.g. *M(arco) Cornelio Frontoni Gabiniano amitae filio*, *ILAlg.* 1.2122-7). In contrast to Regina, he does not cite the decurions' permission or even state his own name. The context of the theatre which does proudly state his name (*ILAlg.* 1.2121) makes it clear that he is honouring them. While such succinct inscriptions cannot prove that a monument was honorific or public, they certainly are not evidence that they were funerary and private.

Second, while funerary inscriptions can resemble those of public honorific statues by putting the name of the recipient in the dative case, the dedicator's in the nominative, and by using similar verbs like *posuit*, *fecit*, and *dedicavit*, they do so inconsistently. For example,

⁵⁹ Duval 1989: 440 #61.

epitaphs place the name of the deceased in the nominative case far more often than inscriptions of honorific statues do the honoree's name.⁶⁰ Moreover, epitaphs normally contain content not found in public inscriptions, such as the deceased's age and formulae like *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum)* and *h(ic) s(ita/us) e(st)*.⁶¹ The absence of such funerary epigraphic conventions is a sign that an inscription is not an epitaph. This is not to say that every inscription missing such features should be automatically identified as public, but one should not rush to categorise an inscription as funerary just because it only mentions family members and, perhaps, adds a sentimental remark more typical of epitaphs, such as *piissima/us*.

Statues on inscribed bases did exist in home and funerary settings, but comparatively rarely.⁶² Thus, statue bases – the most common epigraphic medium in the catalogue – are assumed to have been set up in public, when no evidence points to the contrary.⁶³ I have only come across a few inscriptions whose statue could definitely be considered private. At Acholla, the *cultores* of M. Asinius Sextus' *domus* (cos. probably 184-185) erected a statue to the consular, in his very house (*AE* 1955, 122). Furthermore, a monument, which the Bardo Museum calls a base and which the Uthina catalogue calls a “block,” bears a dedication from a husband to a “wife most chaste and scrupulous, a mother most dutiful” (*uxoris castissimae ac sanctissimae matris piissimae*, *ILTun.* 762b=*Bardo* 399=*Uthina* 1.33). It was found during the enlargement of a highway and is thought to have originally belonged to the western necropolis of Uthina.⁶⁴ While normally found in a funerary context, the laudatory terms the husband applies to his wife are also found in the public realm. What confirms the inscription as funerary is not the laudatory epithets

⁶⁰ One rare example from an honorific statue dates to the second half of the first century BCE and honours Sex. Appuleius, the husband of Octavia Maior (*CIL* VIII 24583=*ILS* 8963).

⁶¹ On age, see Shaw 1991: 67-69, cf. 84-85.

⁶² Stewart 2003: 83-86.

⁶³ Cf. Lefebvre 1998: 104-105.

⁶⁴ *Uthina* 1.33 p.70.

for the wife and mother, but the use of *consecravit* rather than *dedicavit*. *Consecravit* has not been found in a public honorific context during the period under study. Even in a religious context, it was rarely used until the late-empire.⁶⁵

Troublesome are inscriptions or monuments given confusing or vague designations by modern editors. For example, several inscriptions are said to be found on “altars” (Latin: *ara*; French: autel). *CIL* VIII is the sole source for the texts of two dedications by a certain P. Hortensius Pietas to his brother and mother in the forum of Gigthis, one on decree of the decurions (*CIL* VIII 22724, 22725). Dessau in Berlin established the texts from squeezes sent to him by Gauckler. Both monuments are called *arae*, which implies a religious purpose over an honorific one. What was meant, though, was statue pedestals in the form of altars, as M. Gauckler explained in the 1902 edition of the *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*.⁶⁶ Somewhere in the trans-continental correspondence, this nuance had been dropped. The reason why Zeïneb Benzina Ben Abdallah in 2004-2005 called a public honour found at Limisa an altar is unknown, however (*ILLimisa* 7=AE 2004, 1679). The inscription explicitly says that the *ordo* of the *municipium* had decreed “publicly” (*publice*) a statue to L. Iunius Proculus, a *flamen perpetuus* of the Augustus. Content with the honour alone, he set it up himself west of the theatre at Limisa with the decurions' permission. Certainly, one would not expect a genuine altar set up to a living local notable. Even the picture and dimensions (height 164cm, width 78cm, depth ?) are consistent with statue bases. Thus, this and another similar “altar”⁶⁷ are included in the epigraphic catalogue.

Not all public honours commemorated by inscriptions were statues (with their

⁶⁵ Mrozek 2004: 126-127; on *consecratio* of emperors, see Dupont 1989: 399-400; Stewart 2003: 32.

⁶⁶ Gauckler *ad BCTH* 1902: cxxviii.

⁶⁷ *CIL* VIII 980+p.1282=*ILTun.* 838=*ILS* 6817+p.188.

accompanying base). *Cippi* and lintel stones are also found dedicated in honour of individuals, albeit rarely. A *cippus* is a large rectangular or cylindrical stone, more commonly used as a funerary or boundary stone. Between 205 and 261, for example, the *res publica* of Thugga used public money on decree of the decurions to honour a local equestrian with a *cippus* placed just north-east of the temple of Mercury.⁶⁸ Given the thinness of the *cippus* (height: 73cm by width 43cm by depth 24cm), it may be a statue base without a statue, meaning that public preservation of one's name on a base-like monument might have been the honour. Furthermore, a lintel stone at Pheradi Maius was found inscribed with a dedication by the *curiae* to a procurator and his wife and children (*AE* 2003, 1933); another at Bulla Regia was inscribed with a dedication from the decurions to an equestrian *flamen perpetuus* and his sons (*ILTun.* 1248=*ILAfr.* 455=*Bardo* 250). Whatever structures these lintel stones originally belonged to, they were public honours.

This brings us to plaques (often of marble), also described in the major epigraphic catalogues as panels, “slabs” (French: dalles), and *tabulae*. In terms of numbers, they are second only to statue bases in the epigraphic catalogue. Yet they are harder to categorise confidently, especially without a known place of discovery, because they are less obviously honorific than statue bases. Several times, editors speculate that the plaque formed part of the ornate facing of a statue base whose core was made from a cheaper material,⁶⁹ but most physical descriptions just say “plaque” or the like. Thus, the exact purpose of the inscription is often impossible to recover definitively.⁷⁰ That said, the same textual rules for statue bases apply to plaques: if a person or

⁶⁸ *Dougga* 58. See also the *cippus* set up by two guilds and the *curiae* of Uthina to a *flaminica perpetua*, with its location chosen by the decurions (*CIL* VIII 10523=12424=*ILS* 7260=*Uthina* 1.29).

⁶⁹ *Karthago* 26 #100 (= *CIL* VIII 24583=*ILS* 8963); *Afr.Rom.* 16.3, p.1874 (= *CIL* VIII 22898); *ILAlg.* 1.307 (= *CIL* VIII 5464+p.1659); *ILAlg.* 1.881 (= *CIL* VIII 17217); *ILAlg.* 1.1290; *LeptisMagna* 51 (= *IRT* 623=*IRT* 786).

⁷⁰ A plaque of yellow marble from Thinissut, for example, might suggest that the Roman citizens who conducted business there worshipped Augustus as a god while he still lived, for it oddly calls him “Augustus the god” (*Augusto deo cives Romani qui Thinissut negotiantur curatore L(ucio) Fabricio*, *ILAfr.* 306=*ILS* 949=*AE* 1978, 836=*Bardo* 190). These early references to Romans within a peregrine community and to Augustus' godhood have combined to attract a fair amount of scholarly attention (e.g. Merlin 1911: 836; Kotula 1962: 161;

group is dedicating something to an individual in public, then it is probably honorific when there is no reason to suspect that it is funerary. This rule holds most truly for local notables and members of the imperial elite; what else was dedicated to them in the public realm but honours? If the plaque did not face a statue base, then it likely adorned an ornamental wall to identify the statue or statue bust in a niche.

Plaques are more of a problem where emperors and their family members are concerned, for more things were dedicated to them in the public realm, most notably buildings and arches. To complicate matters, dedications to emperors tend to be formulaic and devoid of contextual information that might have illuminated the nature of the monument. In the absence of contextual information from editors, the dimensions of the plaque and the size of the letters may also indicate their original purpose. Known bases of equestrian statues generally do not exceed 140cm in length; the longest *biga* statue base is 185cm.⁷¹ Hence, anything longer is probably not dedicating a statue. The one exception is the exceedingly rare *quadriga*, the statue of four horses pulling a chariot and rider. A marble panel reported to be 316cm long contains an inscription dedicating a *quadriga* to a *flamen perpetuus* of Sabratha (IRT 117).⁷² Moreover, a group of dressed limestone blocks, which once rested on a massive concrete foundation at a “crucial intersection” of Sabratha and which still bear a dedication to Septimius Severus, “very possibly” also formed a *quadriga* base. The still *in situ* plinth measures 884cm long and 734cm wide, on

Beschaouch 1974: 233; Fishwick 1978b; Lassère 1997: 116). Even the original publication of the inscription, however, avoids speculating on the nature of the monument to which it was originally attached. Since it seems to have been in a sacred area, near Punic temples and sanctuaries (Merlin 1911: 837), it likely belonged to an altar. Physically, the plaque is small and wider than it is tall (24 by 29cm), dimensions which do not suggest a statue base.

⁷¹ Known length of equestrian statue bases: *CIL* VIII 26622=*Dougga* 56: 135cm; *CIL* VIII 26255=*Uchi* 2.35: 110cm; *IRT* 426: 142cm; *IRT* 591=*LeptisMagna* 49: 142cm. Known length of *biga* statue bases: *ILAlg.* 1.2145: 185cm; *IRT* 603=*LeptisMagna* 50: 118cm; *IRT* 601 (Appendix A): 51cm?; *IRT* 633: 135cm.

⁷² *IRT* 139 mentions a *quadriga*, but it is a very fragmentary marble panel.

top of which the base rested 14cm in from the edge.⁷³ Because statue bases rested on the ground, they did not require large letters to be legible. The average height of the tallest letters of inscriptions is about 6cm.⁷⁴ Letters 7-9cm tall are still common. Thus, I have tended to suspect that inscriptions belonged to arches or buildings without evidence to the contrary, if the letters surpassed 10cm in height, although otherwise typical inscriptions of honorific statues do surpass this limit from time to time.

In the end, it is expected that a few inscriptions not from honorific statues made it into the catalogue.⁷⁵ It must be noted that this is not a catalogue of every instance or possible instance of an inscription recording a dedication of a public honour. I am mainly concerned with the language of the inscriptions. Numerical analysis is just one point of the catalogue. Conclusions from numerical comparisons are only drawn when there is a clear pattern, difference, or correspondence. Significance is not found in differences of a few points. Moreover, all conclusions, when made, are treated as provisional. This is important for four reasons:

- i. The inscriptions are complex, recording multiple layers of commemoration. It is very common for more than one institution, group, and/or individual to be cited among the dedicators. Many examples are discussed throughout the dissertation. One set of examples is the 58 inscriptions containing the abbreviation *l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*, which verifies that the private dedicator had obtained the permission of the decurions to erect the statue. Another set is the 24 inscriptions stating that the statue had been organised by a *curator*, meaning a person who acted on behalf of the

⁷³ *IRT* 33=*AE* 1986, 710=Kenrick 1986: 215-217.

⁷⁴ I took the average maximum letter height of the first fifty complete or nearly-complete inscriptions dedicating honours to civic notables or imperial elites, for the result of 6.28cm.

⁷⁵ Lefebvre (1994: 8-9) and Højte (2005: 21) chose similar methodology as I to identify statue bases and similarly admit that some inscriptions might have been included or excluded in error.

official dedicator(s) to organise the erection of the honour. For example, a centurion who was *prefectus* of 64 peregrine *civitates* is listed as the *curator* of a statue to Trajan at Mactaris, but the *civitates* are said to have made the statue with their own money and to have dedicated it (*AE* 1963, 96). Likely, the centurion facilitated the commissioning of the artisans and materials for the statue and base, and gave input on the honour's dedication. At Sabratha, meanwhile, a mother dedicated a statue to the emperor M. Aurelius in accordance with the will of her daughter, but it was her son-in-law, the probable husband of the daughter, who curated it (*IRT* 22).

- ii. It is common for inscriptions to be fragmentary or lacunose. Some are missing key information about the dedicators and payment process, while in others only this information survives. Many more inscriptions are simply gone. One has only to scan the meagre survivors from Carthage to get an impression of the large number of lost inscriptions.⁷⁶ This has two effects on analysis. First, the stated percentages and ratios are only true for the catalogue and do not represent the number that were actually on display at any one time in antiquity. Second, because many of the inscriptions are fragmentary or lacunose, the known dedicators do not fully align with the known honorees. When known, the dedicator of a statue is counted whether or not the honoree is known, and vice versa. That means that there are usually more dedicators than honorees and more honorees than dedicators, depending on the starting point of the query. To minimise error, the totals of each category are not compared, just the

⁷⁶ For an overview of the poverty of inscriptions from Carthage and the dispersement and poor state of those that have been recovered, see Ben Abdallah and Ladjimi Sebäi *ad CILPCarth.* pp. 2-8.

known relationship between each one.

- iii. Inscriptions are not rational, consistent documents following a single format. While many epigraphic conventions were widely observed leading to limited standardisation, each inscription remains an individual and subjective document. Two honours could result from the exact same process, in the same city and era, yet their inscriptions differ markedly in content and form. The three faces of text detailing the honour of a *biga* to Plautius Lupus is a case in point (Appendix A). Only Apuleius' speech rivals it in the level of detail it provides on the honouring process. P. Hortensius Pietas, moreover, set up two statues in the *forum* of Gigthis: one to his mother, the other to his brother (*CIL* VIII 22724, 22725). Only one is said to have been set up *ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*. Are we to assume that the process differed between the two? Furthermore, *ex testamento* inscriptions range from not sharing the name of the executor of the will (*AE* 1951, 53; *CIL* VIII 11201=*ILS* 5494⁷⁷) to devoting more space to the heir's name than to the testator's (*IRT* 636).⁷⁸ For the former situation, should the unnamed person be counted (one must have existed)? For the latter situation, can one be said to be more the author of the honour than the other?
- iv. Finally, past editors have not hesitated to complete abbreviations nor to restore the text lost in lacunae. The restorations are not even consistent. Does the abbreviation *dd*

⁷⁷ In this case, it is probably the *ordo*, because the money for the statue came out of a legacy the honoree had bequeathed to the *res publica*.

⁷⁸ *ILTun.* 725 and 726 can go in either camp. It is not explicitly stated who the executor of the will is, nor is the name of the testator given, just the explanation that he is the honoree's father. Could it be that the honoree is still alive and is the executor?

stand for *d(onum) d(edit)*, *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*, or *d(e)d(icavit)*? The answer is not always clear.⁷⁹ To rely on a restoration for historical interpretation means building an historical edifice on an unsteady foundation.⁸⁰ Therefore, while the catalogue generally retains the proposed restorations of the epigraphic editors, the policy has been to count only what survives on the stone. At least one surviving letter (for a word) or one word (for a formulaic phrase) must survive for a restoration to be considered countable.⁸¹

In sum, numbers in isolation are not conclusive. One inscription might be counted many times, because it contains many elements, while another just once. Moreover, the final tallies do not come close to reflecting the actual number of times each term or action occurred. Werner Eck makes the same point, observing that databases of inscriptions may not reflect the historical reality nor even the epigraphic reality: the narrow range of ancient life that all once-existing inscriptions reflected.⁸² The only control for potentially missing data that Eck offers is to test the “impression” the surviving epigraphic evidence gives against other evidence. This is the purpose of the use of literary evidence throughout this dissertation.

⁷⁹ The problem is most consistent when the honoree or a relative is said to have remitted the offered money and set up the statue him or herself. Gsell, for example, restores *ILAlg.* 1.1297 as *ordo statuum publice ponendam cum decrevisset ipsa honore contenta sua pecun(ia) posuit d(e)d(icavit)*, perhaps because other inscriptions from Thubursicu Numidarum use *dedicare* (e.g. *ILAlg.* 1.1295). Sometimes, however, the *dd* alone occupies the centre of the final line of the inscription, making *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* the more natural reading (e.g. *CIL* VIII 12253).

⁸⁰ Badian 1989: 68.

⁸¹ Hence, I have accepted . . . *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) [p(ublica)]* as a reference to public money (*ILAfr.* 419a=*Bardo* 437a). Even though it is not stated, I have also counted the inscription for a statue of Cornelia Salonina as having been set up at public expense by decree of the decurions (*CIL* VIII 960+p.1281). The *eorum* in its final line must refer to the twin statue base of Salonina's husband, Gallienus, which says [*d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*] *p(ecunia) p(ublica)* (*CIL* VIII 959).

⁸² Eck 2007: 64.

0.3 LITERATURE AND IMPERIAL CULTURE IN AFRICA PROCONSULARIS

While inscriptions are the main type of evidence for examining the political culture of the cities of Africa Proconsularis, this dissertation also relies on literary sources, both Greek and Latin. This poses a methodological problem. Cicero, Seneca, and Plutarch – three authors to whom frequent reference is made – lived outside of Africa Proconsularis and before the majority of the inscriptions studied here were inscribed. In addition, they came from more prestigious social milieus than the dedicators of the statues. Their works are products of their time and place. For instance, Andrew Lintott has shown how the arguments and claims Cicero makes in his speeches, letters, and philosophical works are reactions to recent political events and reflect his immediate political needs.⁸³ His statements are highly subjective. The orator's *De amicitia* and *De officiis*, two works heavily used in Chapter Five of this dissertation, were both completed in the last months of 44 BCE and both address the conflicting loyalties created by Caesar's assassination (the former between friends; the latter between individuals and the *res publica*).⁸⁴ The *De officiis* is especially programmatic and tendentious, because of its numerous criticisms of Caesar and Antony.⁸⁵

Because of the limited evidence surviving from antiquity, however, there is little choice but to turn to literature to flesh out the ideas and sentiments behind the succinct phrasing on the inscriptions of Africa Proconsularis. Despite the drawbacks, using such supporting evidence can be illuminating rather than misleading for several reasons. First, the works were design to have

⁸³ “One of the first things that students of late-Republican Roman history have to learn is that they cannot treat Ciceronian texts as authentic records of history. They must realize not only that the statements about his own lifetime, especially in his speeches, contain bias and misrepresentation, if not at times downright fantasy, but that most accounts of past history in his works have a persuasive element that tends to overshadow his devotion to the truth as he knows it” (Lintott 2008: 3).

⁸⁴ Lintott 2008: 359-373.

⁸⁵ Long 1995: 215, 224-230, 235; Dyck 1996: 30-36; Atkins 2000: 505. E.g. Cic. *Off.* 1.26, 1.43, 1.64, 2.3, 2.84.

broader applications than their specific contexts suggest. As Miriam Griffin asserts, philosophy did not propose specific policies, but rather supplied tools for weighing options and justifying positions.⁸⁶ This usage is evident in Cicero's *De officiis*, which above all is a work of practical ethics.⁸⁷ It deals with a range of subjects pertaining to the conduct of the notable in his community (including even personal grooming, dress, and choice of friends).⁸⁸ At several points, Cicero presents his work as a decision-making aid to ensure the primacy of community and state (e.g. *Off.* 1.141, 152, 2.32-33). Its ideas, thus, are conservative, designed to reinforce traditional societal and political structures.⁸⁹ This allowed it to remain relevant in the imperial period. The republican structures at Rome were in the process of being undermined by Antony and Octavian while Cicero was composing the work, but they lived on in the cities of Italy and the provinces.⁹⁰ Indeed, subsequent literary references and echoes suggest that the *De officiis* was widely read and even followed.⁹¹

Plutarch too, although he lived in Boeotia and wrote in Greek, remains a useful resource for understanding the Latin West. He was a civic politician himself and wrote mainly for other

⁸⁶ Griffin 1989: 32-37.

⁸⁷ Long 1995: 214; cf. 233 n.30, where Long interprets *Off.* 1.7 to mean that Cicero does not view the *De officiis* as moral theory, but as “the application of moral theory to *institutionem vitae communis*.” See also Atkins 2000: 508.

⁸⁸ In contrast, Seneca's *De beneficiis* is less used, because of its greater abstractness. One of its aims is incorporating the emperor into the code of giving, which is less useful for a study of provincial civic politics (Griffin 2003b: 93, 112-113).

⁸⁹ Long 1995: 240; Dyck 1996: 31, 35. The clearest example is his effort to harmonise his support of private property rights with his belief in the primacy of state interests over individual interests (*Off.* 2. 2.72-74, cf. 1.41).

⁹⁰ D'Errico finds that Cicero's ideals in the *De officiis*, particularly of *iustitia*, were still important to the inhabitants of Italian cities in the fourth century CE (1996: 64, 66). Cicero himself at one point suggests that he wrote with an eye to the communities outside of Rome, for he makes the comment that even those living in the countryside should follow his advice on justice (*Off.* 2.39). This point, however, cannot be taken far, for the comment also has the rhetorical purpose of demonstrating how fundamental justice is to society. He is not actively advocating that country-dwellers read his works.

⁹¹ Dyck 1996: 40-42 with n.98. The elder Pliny recommends to Titus having the *De officiis* on hand at all times and even learning it by heart (*NH* 1.pr.22). Manning has shown that the younger Pliny followed Cicero's precepts on *liberalitas* (Manning 1985: 76). Dyck also points out several instances where Pliny seems to be paraphrasing the *De officiis* (1996: 179, 271). Griffin (2003b: 104-105) similarly observes that Pliny in *Ep.* 9.30 follows the precepts of both Cicero and Seneca.

civic notables.⁹² Of particular importance is his Πολιτικά παραγγέλματα, which poses as a letter of political advice to a probably young notable of Sardis in the province of Asia.⁹³ Plutarch's own rhetoric reflects the encomiastic language of Greek civic politics as recorded on inscriptions.⁹⁴ Indeed, a key correspondence between these inscriptions and those of Africa Proconsularis is noted in Chapter Three of this dissertation. Although many differences remained, G.J.D. Aalders observes that Plutarch saw “no essential difference in the political functioning of the Greeks and Romans” and believed his advice to have “general validity” for both groups.⁹⁵

This leads to the question of how to treat the personages and arguments found in philosophic and other literary works. Their authors were well aware that the ideals seem beyond the reach of ordinary individuals. This was intentional. Griffin argues that, despite the utopian aspirations of their works, both Cicero and Seneca kept the “more sordid realities of life” firmly in mind.⁹⁶ As noted in Chapter Three, Plutarch was similarly pragmatic in his advice.⁹⁷ These writers took into account the selfish and political motivations that fueled people's public conduct. Seneca expressly states in the *De beneficiis* that he is not discussing “sages” (*sapientibus*), who have full control over themselves, but “imperfect men” who only “want to follow the honourable way.”⁹⁸ The idealised argumentative stances and lofty personages that Cicero, Seneca, and others employ are, in fact, a deliberate rhetorical strategy. In essence, they are setting overly high goals, so that, when people fail to reach them, they nonetheless achieve the realistic goals.⁹⁹

⁹² Jones 1971: 110-111; Aalders 1982: 26, cf. 37; cf Swain 1996: 171.

⁹³ Plutarch addresses the notable as Menemachos. For identification, see Carrière 1984: 29-33; Swain 1996: 162-164.

⁹⁴ Jones 1971: 114; Panagopoulos 1977: esp. 199-200; Carrière 1977: 237-238; Carrière 1984: 49; Quet 1978: 51-52; Swain 1996: 179.

⁹⁵ Aalders 1982: 27, 35.

⁹⁶ Griffin 2003b: 94.

⁹⁷ Aalders 1982: 49; similarly Jones 1971: 114, 117; Carrière 1977: 240-241, 246; cf. Desideri 2011: 83-84.

⁹⁸ *qui animum in potestate habent et legem sibi, quam volunt, dicunt, quam dixerunt, servant, sed de imperfectis hominibus honestam viam sequi volentibus*, *Ben.* 2.18.4.

⁹⁹ E.g. *Sen. Ben.* 7.22.1-2. “The function of the ‘pure’ ethics, the ethics of the sage, is to provide a context and

It is not assumed that the drafters of the inscriptions had read these literary works and had been directly influenced by them. Rather, this dissertation shows that literary works and inscriptions alike belonged to the same cultural milieu. The civic notables of the cities of Africa Proconsularis and even the *populus* who elected them were engaging in the same imperial culture as emperors, senators, and other imperial administrators. This can be detected in a variety of ways. Hannah Cotton, for instance, observes that not only did the format of letters of recommendation that Cicero used endure in the provinces into the third century, but also the “modes of behaviour and social and political patterns” that informed the use and content of the letters.¹⁰⁰

Imperial culture, thus, did not pass over the cities of Africa Proconsularis. There are numerous ways that ideas from elsewhere in the empire could come to circulate through the province:

- i. edicts and letters of emperors (e.g. M. Aurelius' letter of recommendation inscribed on the base of an honorific statue at Bulla Regia, in which Aurelius makes *innocentia*, *diligentia*, and *experientia* requirements for retaining his favour [AE 1962, 183]. See also Severus Alexander's command that magistrates in every city set up in public copies of his edict remitting the *aurum coronarium* and proclaiming the φιλανθρωπία, σωφροσύνη, κοσμιότης, and ἐγκράτεια of his Principate [P.Fay. 20 lines 16, 21].)¹⁰¹

motivation for specific aspects of practical advice to the normal moral agent” (Inwood 1995: 254). For more references and discussion, see Griffin 2003b: 94.

¹⁰⁰ Cotton 1981: 38; similarly Vipard 2008: 114-115, who seems unaware of Cotton's study.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Ando 2000: 109-117, 123-124 regarding commands to inscribe imperial pronouncements and the “truth value” they contained in support of imperial statements.

- ii. the edict of the governor on permanent display in cities;¹⁰² other judgments and actions of the governor (Trajan explicitly states that Pliny's mission in Bithynia-Pontus is to mould the *mores* of the province [*formandis istius provinciae moribus*, Plin. *Ep.* 10.117]; Tacitus shows Agricola doing just that in Briton [*Agr.* 21].)¹⁰³
- iii. senatorial and equestrian patrons and other members of the imperial elite connected to the community (e.g. Pliny's speech [*Ep.* 1.8] to the decurions of Comum marking the dedication of a library he had built there.)
- iv. the *curator rei publicae* (see Chapter 1.4)
- v. the civic statute (The institutions, rules, and procedures, backed up by hefty fines, organised local public life according to Roman ideals. They seem to expect *duumviri* to know what would be appropriate at Rome [*LI* 19-20, K, 89-91, 93; *LCGI* 66, 130].)¹⁰⁴
- vi. the provincial council (Cities annually sent delegates selected from among former priests and magistrates.¹⁰⁵ Council meetings likely provided a venue for the sharing of ideas and stimulating local rivalries that drove the adoption of those ideas. The provisions concerning statues, games, and the local *ordo* in the *Lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonensis* [*CIL* XII 6038 lines 1-16], to which a similar *lex*

¹⁰² *LI* 85 with Boatwright 2000: 50-51.

¹⁰³ Woolf 1998: 68-71.

¹⁰⁴ Sherwin-White 1973: 114-116; Le Roux 1991: 579, 581-582; Woolf 1998: 72; Boatwright 2000: 37-54.

¹⁰⁵ Fishwick 2002: 189-197; Rives 1995: 85-92.

likely regulated the council of Proconsularis,¹⁰⁶ further demonstrate the close ties between the council and civic political culture).

vii. the relationship between a peregrine community and a nearby community of Roman citizens (See, for example, Carthage's large *pertica* containing many tributary communities and the so-called “double communities” like Thugga, which had a *pagus* of Roman citizens dominating a nearby *civitas* of peregrines.)¹⁰⁷

viii. traveling philosophers and orators giving speeches (Apuleius notes the custom at *Flor.* 1.2. Apollonios of Tyana is said to have visited North Africa in the first century CE [Phil. *Apol.* 5.11].)¹⁰⁸

ix. schools and educated locals (Apuleius' praise of Carthage speaks to Carthaginians' desire to be considered educated [*Flor.* 18.36, 20.9-10]. Honours and epitaphs which praise philosophy or *studia*¹⁰⁹ and verse inscriptions set up by local notables – often with allusions to Virgil – suggest a strong interest in Roman-style education.)¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Fishwick 1978a: 1222-1223; 2002: 188; Rives 1995: 87.

¹⁰⁷ See discussion in Chapter 1.1.

¹⁰⁸ See also Lucian *Bis Acc.* 27; Hunt 1984: 393. For the educative aspect of epideictic speeches (especially regarding morals), see Apul. *Flor.* 17.18-19; Lee 2005: 23-25.

¹⁰⁹ For examples and discussion, see Bradley 2012b: 160-161; cf. Woolf 1998: 73-74.

¹¹⁰ Gabriel Sanders (1987: 76; similarly Pikhaus 1987: 173) notes, as of the mid-1980s, more than 4,200 Latin verse inscriptions for the empire. 247 come from Proconsularis, 132 from Numidia. Dorathy Pikhaus observes that the “municipal aristocracy” constitutes the largest group of dedicators of *carmina epigraphica* in North Africa (Pikhaus 1987: 183-187). She further argues against an earlier theory that these *carmina* were copied from manuals distributed to workshops, since they are not as formulaic as one would expect if that were the case and since the dedicators typically were educated enough to write the verses themselves (Pikhaus 1987: 187-194). Cf. Beschtaouch 2006c.

Apuleius is the most pertinent example for the last two points. The philosopher, orator, and former decurion of his home town of Madauros was a major participant in the intellectual currents of his day. Educated in Carthage and Athens, he seems to have spent much of his productive life in the cities of Africa Proconsularis, not just in Carthage.¹¹¹ Philosophy, literature, and encomia of high ranking Roman officials are the preferred topics of the *Florida*,¹¹² in which virtues are a recurring theme.¹¹³ Furthermore, Keith Bradley highlights how Apuleius turned his defence speech against a charge of magic at Sabratha into an display piece of his Roman *doctrina*. He was trying to ingratiate himself to the learned governor before an audience of Sabratheans through many references to Greek and Roman literature, as well as to philosophy.¹¹⁴ The delivered speeches might not have been as elaborate as their published versions, but they would not have been artless either.

This line of argument takes up Greg Woolf's theory of an "imperial culture" in his *Becoming Roman*. There was no pure Roman culture even at Rome, Woolf argues, nor was cultural change in the provinces a simplistic process of a superior Roman culture displacing inferior barbaric cultures.¹¹⁵ Rather, to be an effective binding agent for an expansive and diverse empire, culture had to be shared.¹¹⁶ No one controlled it, nor could anyone be confident in their ability to influence it. The matrix of beliefs, values, and practices that made up this imperial culture provided a changing and layered environment that encompassed all inhabitants of the empire in different ways, according to their status, wealth, education, and location.

¹¹¹ For Athens, see *Flor.* 18.15, 42, 20.4; for Carthage, see *Flor.* 18.15, 36, 16.36-37. Our evidence for Apuleius' whereabouts only follows him into his late forties (Apul. *Apol.* 55, 72; Lee 2005: 4-6). But by this time, he had already written the *Apologia* (158/9) and *Florida* (159-160s).

¹¹² Hunink 2001: 16-17; Lee 2005: 24-30.

¹¹³ Apul. *Flor.* 7.10, 9.34-5, 15.27; cf. 8.1, 16.30-2, 34-5, 38, 17.36-52.

¹¹⁴ Bradley 1997: 213-217; 2000: 231-232; 2012b: 159-162.

¹¹⁵ Woolf 1998: 13, 17.

¹¹⁶ Woolf 1998: 12; similarly Lobur 2008: 208-10.

Particularly important to Woolf's cultural theory is the Roman concept of *humanitas*, “civilisation.” *Humanitas* and more generally *mores* (“morals,” e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 6.852; Plin. *Ep.* 10.117) were the words Romans often attached to a cultural script coding dress, speech, body language, and claimed values, by whose careful cultivation people showed themselves to be full participatory members of imperial society. It was a two-way street. By following the script one displayed “cultural competence” and, consequently, found it easier to win the trust of the ruling Romans and eventual acceptance as Roman. In the other direction, the emperor and his administrators were expected to meet civility with civility.¹¹⁷ Pliny makes this exact point in a letter to Sex. Quintilius Valerius Maximus, who was about to become governor of Achaia.¹¹⁸ Picking up on a theme in Cicero's letter to Quintus regarding the governing of Asia (*Q. Fr.* 1.1.27), Pliny reminds Maximus that *humanitas*, along with writing and agriculture, first developed in Greece (*in qua primum humanitas litterae, etiam fruges inventae esse creduntur*, *Ep.* 8.24.2). As the founders of civilisation, the Greeks deserve to be treated not how doctors treat slaves, but how doctors treat free men, that is “gentler and more mildly” (*mollius tamen liberos clementiusque tractari*, *Ep.* 8.24.5). Thus, Pliny advises “let pride and harshness be absent” (*absit superbia asperitas*). To drive his point home, Pliny points to the reputation Maximus had earned as quaestor in Bithynia-Pontus and while holding subsequent offices. If he acted so there, then he is to be “more civilised, better, and more skilful” in provinces closer to Rome in a position appointed by the emperor (*humanior melior peritior fuisse videaris*, *Ep.* 8.24.9).

There were, thus, incentives for participating in this imperial culture. As will be discussed in Chapter 1.1, emperors pointed to the adoption of Greco-Roman urbanism and, more

¹¹⁷ Woolf 1998: 71-73.

¹¹⁸ For the identification of this correspondent, of whom Pliny only states his *cognomen*, see Birley 2000: 84 s.v. Maximus.

importantly, a body of wealthy men able to maintain the standards of Roman political life to support their assent to cities' petitions for a more prestigious Roman civic status. It is well known too that civic notables, who had successfully gained the friendship of high-ranking Romans and subsequently Roman citizenship, saw their status enhanced locally.¹¹⁹ For example, Caecilius Claudianus Aelianus, who already enjoyed high status at Gigthis, having been a *duumvir* and *flamen* of both the city and the province, was honoured with a statue by the decurions of the city, after consulars in Rome testified to his “sense of duty and zeal” following an embassy Aelianus led to the City (*ob [le]gat[i]o[n]e[s] [magna cum in]dustri[a] ges[tas - -] quibus pietatem eius et studium clarissimi viri consulares plenissimo testimonio prosecuti sunt*, *CIL* VIII 31+p.2293=11032=*Bardo* 13). The Gigthenses were proud that one of their own enjoyed a good reputation in the empire's highest circles.

But it was not just a few civic notables who adopted the ideals of *humanitas*. An unpublished inscription from Abbir Maius, of which Azedine Beschouch reports only extracts (with a picture for verification), records that the *ordo* had honoured a *duumvir* and priest of Ceres at Carthage for liberality and praised him for acting “most civilised towards each citizen” (*humanissimus in singulos cives*, *AE* 1992, 1800).¹²⁰ The priest performed *humanitas* and the decurions recognised and appreciated it when they saw it. As noted in Appendix B, moreover, six times an *ordo*, an *ordo* and the local *populus*, or the *curiae* alone honoured a local notable partly for his *mores*.¹²¹ “Virtues” and “studies” could also be topics of praise (Sufetula: *omnium virtutum viro*, *CIL* VIII 11332=*ILS* 6836=*Sbeitla* 41). The *ordo* of Ammaedara, for example,

¹¹⁹ Thébert 1973: 255, 258, 279, 292, 300-301; Bénabou 1976: 515-535; Garnsey 1978: 278-279; Millett 1990a: 68, 101; 1990b: 39; Whittaker 1995: 24; Woolf 1998: 45.

¹²⁰ The text is reported in the nominative case, but the picture shows *humanissimo* (Beschouch 1991: 141-143).

¹²¹ By decurions: *CIL* VIII 357=11546=*ILS* 6810 (Ammaedara); *CIL* VIII 15880=*ILTun.* 1593 (Sicca Veneria); *CIL* VIII 26611=*IL Afr.* 537 (Thugga); by the *curiae*: *IL Afr.* 134=*Sbeitla* 53 (Sufetula); *CIL* VIII 11349=*Sbeitla* 60 (Sufetula); by the *ordo* and the *populus*: *CIL* VIII 11340=*Sbeitla* 48 (Sufetula).

honoured an equestrian provincial priest in the first half of the third century, because of a mixture of “studies, morals, restraint, and services towards his own citizens” (*ob studia mores modestiam et obsequia erg[a] cives suos*, *CIL* VIII 357=11546=*ILS* 6810). As argued in Chapter 5.5.B.2, citizens expected their notables to demonstrate *humanitas* through their conduct. To praise it in others is to suggest the praiser possesses it too.

The careful use of literary sources is, thus, essential for furthering our understanding of the political culture in the cities of Africa Proconsularis. Only when that is combined with an intricate knowledge of the civic institutions, the procedures for erecting honorific statues in public spaces, and a statistical analysis of the published inscriptions from the province, can our understanding of the rhetoric, customs, and general political culture of the cities be nuanced. This dissertation begins the process.

0.4 KEY TERMS

The following are analytical terms used throughout the dissertation. For further discussion, see Chapter 4.1-2:

- i. Civic Notable: an individual or the relative of an individual who has the right to sit in the decurionate and, often, who has held civic magistracies or priesthoods, or fulfilled other public functions in the community (e.g. *munerarius*).
- ii. Dedicatory Term: The word or words used in the nominative case in an inscription of a dedication to identify the dedicators. The dedicatory term may or may not identify the civic institution(s) responsible for authorising and/or organising the honour, e.g. *colonia* when one might expect the *ordo decurionum* as the authoriser and organiser.

- iii. Demonym: a grammatical term for a noun identifying the people of a community by the community's name, e.g. *Lepcitani* from Lepcis Magna and *Gigthenses* from Gigthis.
- iv. Juridical denominative: “Denominative” is a grammatical term for an adjectival substantive derived from a noun. “Juridical denominative” is an adjectival substantive derived from the juridical status of the community, e.g. *coloni*, *municipes*.
- v. Juridical status: the formal Roman legal title of a community, e.g. *civitas*, *colonia*.
- vi. Imperial elite: an individual or close relative of an individual who actively pursued a high-level public career outside of his community of origin at Rome, in Italy, or in the provinces. Examples are governors, regular Roman senators, and *procuratores*.
- vii. Local: an individual honoured by his or her own community irrespective of status. Such a person could be a member of the imperial family or the imperial elite, or a civic notable.

I

The Path to Honour

Institutions, Procedures, and Payment Options

Before investigating what honorific statues can tell us about the political culture of the cities of Africa Proconsularis, it is first necessary to understand as well as possible the spread of Roman civic status in the province and the accompanying *lex* (“statute”) from the emperor that detailed the rules governing public life. It is also necessary to study the various procedural paths that the promoters of an honorific statue could take to obtain the authorisation of the civic *ordo*, a *decretum decurionum*. The payment methods for the statues and their bases were equally variable; understanding them too will provide key information about the political culture of these cities. It was observed in the Introduction (section 0.1) that most studies have so far focussed solely on the *ordo*, which has led to the false impression that the decurions rigidly controlled all aspects of public life in the cities of Africa Proconsularis. It will be argued here that, despite their authority over public land, funds, and all other matters affecting the community outside of the election of magistrates, the decurions did not monopolise the ability to monumentalise public honours and statements. They could and seemingly often did allow the *populus*, *curiae*, and individuals to initiate and dedicate statues in public spaces.

1.1 CIVIC STATUS

836 of the 1080 (77%) inscriptions in the epigraphic catalogue of honorific statues have been dated by scholars. Table 1.1 shows that few honorific statues are known from the first

centuries BCE and CE. The numbers jump significantly in the first half of the second century, continue to climb steeply in the second half, and finally peak under the Severi in the 175-224 CE period. This peak under the Severi is the key feature of the 'epigraphic habit,'¹ the studies of which are based on funerary inscriptions as much as on public inscriptions.² Mrozek's *per annum* figures for public Latin inscriptions empire-wide do show a continual increase over the second century, but also a decline after the Principate of Septimius Severus much sharper than that found for public honours in Proconsularis.³ To a certain extent, Mrozek also notices this and explains Africa's exception as "a certain retardation" in following the trends of Italy.⁴ But the difference may be more a reflection of Africa's continuing wealth, security, and vibrancy of civic life in the third century.⁵

*Table 1.1: Temporal Distribution of Inscriptions in the Epigraphic Catalogue of Honorific Statues (bolded = dates)*⁶

BCE – 5			
1-49 CE – 11	25-74 – 3	1-99 – 5	1-199 – 2
50-99 – 8	75-124 – 12		
100-149 – 62	125-174 – 48	100-199 – 42	
150-199 – 134	175-224 – 211		
200-249 – 99	225-274 – 37	200-299 – 44	100-299 – 42
250-299 – 66	275-324 – 5		

¹ Mrozek 1973: 114-115; 1998: 11-12; Duncan-Jones 1982: 351; MacMullen 1982: 242-244; Meyer 1990: 81-84.

² One difference between the above table and the 'epigraphic habit' is that the increase in public honours in Proconsularis over the second-century was steady, while the evidence of African epitaphs shows a dip in the mid-century (MacMullen 1982: 242; Meyer 1990: 84).

³ Mrozek 1973: 114-118 (followed by MacMullen 1982: 242-244); Mrozek 1998: 11-12, 17-20, with limited commentary on the African evidence at 13-15.

⁴ Mrozek 1998: 19.

⁵ On Africa's continuing prosperity during the 'crisis of the third century,' see: Lepelley 1979: 83-85; Dupuis 1992: esp. 247, 248-249, 256-259, 265-266; Kotula 1995: 80-82.

⁶ From one point of view, what the table presents foremost is our ability to date inscriptions. Because so many of the inscriptions can only be assigned date ranges, it makes more sense to create this table of progressively overlapping dates, than to attribute the inscriptions to Principates or to linear 25 or 50 year periods. It also seems more historically accurate to keep together the dedications to Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Geta, and Julia Domna by assigning them all to the 175-224 CE block, rather than to split them between the 150-199 CE block and the 200-249 CE block. I similarly assigned the dedications to Antoninus Pius to the 125-174 CE block.

These numbers should be taken with a grain of salt. They count published inscriptions of honorific statues, not all that once existed. Some statues erected in the first centuries BCE and CE would have been later rededicated to other honorees or would have collapsed, been toppled, or otherwise been lost and not replaced. So the ratio to later inscriptions is not an accurate reflection of real numbers. Nonetheless, the basic outline of growth over the second century and early third century is likely to reflect political and cultural changes that occurred in the communities of Proconsularis.

Honorific statues were a civic phenomenon.⁷ Their very purpose of commemoration and promotion of civic ideals could only be fully realised when they were set up in a busy location that would maximise visibility, like in the *forum* of a city.⁸ The 1080 inscriptions were found in 159 different cities, ranging in size from small *civitates* to the metropolis of Carthage. For most cities, just 1 to 3 inscriptions are known. A minority of cities, however, contain the majority of inscriptions in the epigraphic catalogue. 14 cities have 20 or more inscriptions for a total of 55% of the 1080 inscriptions (N=596). Lepcis Magna boasts the greatest number of the inscriptions by a comfortable margin at 158, followed by Thugga at 81, then Gigthis at 55. Carthage might very well have been able to boast the greatest number of honorific statues, but only 35 inscriptions survive, many of which are very fragmentary. Indeed, the much less significant city of Uchi Maius matches that number, the majority of which are quite readable. This means that cities and even regions are not represented in the epigraphic catalogue of honorific statues according to their former size, wealth, and importance.⁹ Despite the impression of its many known buildings

⁷ Cf. Woolf's (1998: 91) finding that the distribution of inscriptions in Roman Gaul was influenced by geography, roads, Roman establishments, and "most of all provincial and *civitas* capitals but also some of the larger *vici* [=villages]."

⁸ See the discussion in the introduction to Chapter Three.

⁹ Duncan-Jones 1982: 360-361.

and statues, Thugga, for example, was only of middling size and wealth.¹⁰ The production of inscriptions and our knowledge of them are linked to a number of factors, one of which was culture.

This civic phenomenon had a distinctly Roman cast to it. Out of the 1080 inscriptions, only 13 were explicitly set up by non-Roman institutions: tribal groups attributed to a city,¹¹ Punic sufets,¹² indigenous bodies of elders – the *seniores*¹³ – or by former rural districts of Punic Carthage.¹⁴ Even these can often be shown to have been facilitated by Roman citizens, whether local or an imperial official.¹⁵ In comparison, 368 inscriptions cite a Roman civic term in the nominative case as the dedicator of the inscription. This is unsurprising. Samir Aounallah has shown that Punic Carthage did not actively spread its civic institutions and style of life into its hinterland, which remained largely rural.¹⁶ It was Rome (particularly under Caesar and Augustus) that stimulated the dense urbanism for which Proconsularis became well known.¹⁷ As discussed in the following chapter, it cannot even be shown for the larger Punic and Libyan cities, like Hippo Regius, Thugga, or Lepcis Magna, that the civic institutions and practices recorded in the Latin inscriptions had been adopted from pre-Roman times.¹⁸ Rome's practice was to spread its

¹⁰ Briand-Ponsart 2003: 242-246.

¹¹ Dedicators: at Bilad: *gens Mus(uniorum) Reg(ianorum)* (238-244 CE), *CIL* VIII 23195=*ILTun.* 315; at Gigthis, the Chinitii (138-175 CE), *CIL* VIII 22729=*ILS* 9394=*ILTun.* 38. For *attributio* of tribal groups, see Whittacker 1995: 24.

¹² Dedicators: *civitas* at Tepeltensis with *sufetes* curating (130 CE), *CIL* VIII 12248; Sufet at Themetra (137-161 CE), *AE* 1946, 234; Sufet at Vina (154-160 CE), *AE* 1992, 1803=*AE* 1998, +1503.

¹³ Dedicators: At Ucubi: *seniores Ucubitani* (150 CE), *CIL* VIII 15666=*ILS* 6806; *seniores Ucubitani* with *duumviri quinquennales* dedicating (164-180 CE), *CIL* VIII 15667=15668; *decuriones morantes et seniores kastelli* (214 CE), *CIL* VIII 15669=*ILS* 6807=*ILTun.* 1580; at Nibber: *seniores kastelli* (212 CE probably), *CIL* VIII 1616=15722=*ILS* 444; *CIL* VIII 1615=*CIL* VIII 15721 (212 CE), *CIL* VIII 1615=*CIL* VIII 15721.

¹⁴ Dedicators: Utika in 60 BCE: *stipendiari{e}i pagorum Muxsi Gususi Zeugei*, *IL Afr.* 422=*Bardo* 440=*ILS* 9482=*AE* 1913, 162; at Mactaris in 113 CE: *civitates LXIII pagi Thuscae et Gunzuzi pec(unia) sua fecerunt idemque dedicaveru(n)t curatore Victore Martiali praefecto earum et |(centurione)*, *AE* 1963, 96; Picard et al 1963.

¹⁵ E.g. from the above notes, the centurion curating the statue of the *pagi Thuscae et Gunzuzi* at Mactaris and the decurions or *duumvir quinquennalis* of Sicca Veneria participating in the dedications of the *seniores* of Ucubi.

¹⁶ Aounallah 2001: 104-105; cf. 169-170 on *castella*.

¹⁷ Aounallah 2001: 140, 225-227.

¹⁸ See Chapter 2.1 regarding the Punic thesis for the North African *curiae*.

own model of civic life.

Many more than twelve statues, of course, were set up in cities of Punic or Libyan origin, but those statues were set up after the cities had taken on Roman civic organisation. At the same time as the growth in known honorific statues, the cities of Proconsularis were seeking from the emperors advancement in their juridical status. Leo Teutsch (for the Republican and Augustan periods) and Jacques Gascou (for the first through third centuries CE) have provided the fundamental studies of this phenomenon, which Gascou calls “juridical romanisation.”¹⁹ Juridical status came from the emperor. It defined a community's relationship to neighbours and to Rome, and it affected its political organisation to varying degrees. Juridical romanisation was a community's progression up a “sort of *cursus honorum*” of Roman civic statuses.²⁰ The basic progression for an indigenous community was from tribal group or rural community (often called *castellum* on inscriptions) to *civitas* to *municipium* to *colonia*. A *castellum* had an indigenous form of leadership, such as the *seniores*, but was politically controlled by a Roman military officer²¹ or by a nearby Roman community. An inscription from Formiae, Italy, for example, records that, as a magistrate of Carthage around 26 BCE, M. Caelius Phileros established the next five years worth of *vectigalia* (“taxes”) the eighty-three indigenous communities within the territory owed to the colony.²²

It was the status of *civitas* that marked the beginning of independence. The word implies a cohesive body of *cives* with its own public treasury administered by a town council often called

¹⁹ Gascou 1972: 31, 36, 160, 223, 228, 230, 233-234; cf. Gascou 1982; 2003a. Teutsch speaks more of the “Entwicklung des Städtewesens” (“development of a civic system,” 1962: 234-236).

²⁰ Gascou 1972: 212.

²¹ On *praefecti*, see: Bénabou 1976: 448-455. The “64 *civitates*” [viz. *castella*] in two former rural districts of Punic Carthage still had a centurion as a *praefectus* in 113 CE (*AE* 1963, 96; Picard et al 1963: 129). In 158, the number was down to 62 *civitates* (*CIL* VIII 23599; Aounallah 2010: 25).

²² *CIL* X 6104=*ILS* 1945; Gascou 1984: 118-120; Aounallah 2001: 261-262; 2010: 60-61.

“*ordo*” on inscriptions.²³ The term *oppidum liberum* found in republican and early imperial literary sources, which marked that the provincial community enjoyed internal autonomy for helping Rome, is absent from the later epigraphic record. Rather, these communities and others appear in the inscriptions simply as peregrine *civitates*.²⁴ The *civitates* of the imperial period seem to have been almost uniformly *stipendiariae*, meaning that they owed a yearly tribute (*stipendium*) to Rome. Efforts have been made to subdivide these *civitates* into categories of varying degrees of legal and financial privilege, although without achieving consensus among scholars.²⁵ The essential point is that none were completely independent, particularly those in the vast territories of the Julian colonies Cirta, Sicca Veneria, and Carthage, which covered the northern half of Proconsularis in the first two centuries CE.²⁶ Following the conquests of the Republic, most rural communities had seen their lands seized, declared *ager publicus populi Romani*, and eventually partitioned among Roman veterans who settled among the local Libyan and Punic inhabitants.²⁷ A milestone, for example, records that the same Phileros of Carthage, “by the fairness of Augustus, . . . divided the *castellum* between the colonists [of Carthage] and the [peregrine] Uchitani and established the borders.”²⁸

Like the *castellum* at Uchi Maius, *civitates* in the *pertica* of Carthage were dominated by nearby rural communities of Roman citizens (*pagi*), forming so-called “double-communities.”

²³ Regarding the *civitas* of Limisa, see Benzina Ben Abdallah 1990: 510-512.

²⁴ Aounallah 2001: 172-173.

²⁵ Beschtaouch (1997: 61-62) developed four categories: those attributed to a colony; autonomous *civitates*; attributed *civitates* with the “subordinated” *ius Latinum* (meaning that a peregrine with the *ius Latinum* can hold a magistracy in the colony to which his *civitas* is attributed); and the most prestigious category: autonomous *civitates* with their own Latin right. Beschtaouch's theory of a subordinated *ius Latinum*, adopted from Chastagnol (1990: 354; 1997: 55-58), has been particularly contested (see discussion at Beschtaouch 1997: 72-73; Aounallah 2001: 179; Briand-Ponsart 2005: 108).

²⁶ Beschtaouch 1981: 122. For the regional leadership of Roman Carthage, see Tac. *Hist.* 1.76.

²⁷ Aounallah 2001: 170-171; 2010: 60-67.

²⁸ *e[x] aequitate Imp(eratoris) Aug(usti) M(arcus) C[ae]l(ius) Ph[il]eros castellum divisit inter colonos et Uchitanos termin(os)que constituit, CIL VIII 26274; cf. ILAfr. 301. For discussion, see Beschtaouch 1997: 62-64 and Beschtaouch *ad Uchi* 1 pp. 102-103.*

Thugga is the best known example. The Roman *pagani* held their local citizenship not at Thugga, where they lived, but in far off Carthage. Their lands were immune to taxation, unlike that of their peregrine neighbours, and the richest held office in the mother city, increasing the social distance between them and the local peregrines. This dominance of Carthage and its *pagani* at Thugga is symbolised by an altar set up in 48 CE to the divine Augustus and to Claudius (*CIL* VIII 26517).²⁹ Although the altar was paid by a peregrine family, whose leading member, Iulius Venustus, was a Roman citizen and *flamen* (lines 7-8), and although its erection was curated by Iulius Firmus (line 18), Venustus' son, it was C. Artorius Bassus, a former chief magistrate of Carthage (*duumvir*) and patron of the *pagus*, who dedicated the altar (lines 5-6). Bassus was not even patron of the *civitas*; his connection to the *pagus* was enough to presume his leading role in the dedication.³⁰ Yet the *civitas* had its own deliberative council (*senatus*), popular assembly, and magistracies. The inscription notes that Venustus, his father Thinoba, and his brother Institor had each held all of the civic offices in the *civitas* (*honoribus peractis*, lines 8, 13, 16), that Satorus, another brother, held the *sufeture* twice “by the votes of the city and plebs” (*sufetis II qui a civitate et plebe suffragio*, line 15), and that the *senatus* and *plebs* (viz. peregrine inhabitants of the *civitas*) had voted honorary *sufetures* to Venustus' son Faustus and Venustus' brother Firmus (lines 10-14). The *civitas* was well organised, but that evidently was not enough to secure independence.

Internal independence did not come until the community secured the status of *municipium*, which marked membership in the Roman community.³¹ Each *municipium* received

²⁹ Chastagnol 1997: 51-55; Beschtaouch 1997: 65-66; Zeïneb Benzina Ben Abdallah and Louis Maurin *ad Dougga* 46 pp. 140-142.

³⁰ Beschtaouch 1997: 66.

³¹ Cf. Strabo 4.1.12. Mackie asserts that Latin communities in Baetica, as well as *municipia* and colonies, were less surveilled than peregrine communities, although by convention not formal guarantee (1983: 207-208, 108). Earlier, she explains that Rome considered Latin communities to be “more competent and trustworthy” (1983: 102). That is likely true. Pliny describes a similar situation in Bithynia-Pontus (see below). For the traditional

from Rome a *lex*, a civic statute which regulated the public life of the community according to Roman models. The overlapping Flavian *leges Salpensana*, *Malacitana* (*LM*), and *Irnitana* (*LI*), as well as two recently reported³² fragments from the *lex* of the Municipium of Troesmis in Moesia Inferior dating to the Principate of M. Aurelius and Commodus suggest that *leges* were loosely standardised across the empire.³³ Each *lex* was tailored to the circumstances of the community in details such as number of decurions and cost of fees and fines. Some *municipia* appear to have even kept their pre-Roman magistracies, such as Lepcis Magna whose inscriptions mention the Punic sufeture up until it became a colony in the first half of the Principate of Trajan.³⁴ Overall, however, the institutions, procedures, and their underlying logic were Roman.³⁵ This is demonstrated by *LI* 93, which rules that matters with no explicit provision in the *lex* must be handled according to Roman civil law.³⁶ Local practices were not allowed unless written into the *lex*, meaning that they had to be pre-approved by an imperial official.³⁷ The

meaning of *municeps* of partaking in the *munera* (“duties”) of Rome, see Aul. Gel. 16.13.6; *Dig.* 50.1.1 (Ulpian) with Le Roux 1991: 567.

³² Werner Eck, in a preliminary study of the fragments, asserts that “The *lex* for the Municipium Troesmis shows that, even in such unsettled times as the Principate of Marcus Aurelius at the border of the empire, a community of Roman citizens was created, in public life strictly and nuancly fashioned after Roman rules of law” (2014: 87). Eck points out, however, that many details differ between the surviving parts of the *lex* of Troesmis and those from Baetica, perhaps because the former was a *municipium* of Roman citizens (Eck 2014: 86). Cf. Crawford’s opinion (in an appendix to González 1986: 241-243) that the fragments of a *lex* from Lauriacum, Noricum, – dated to the Principate of Caracalla – resemble the Flavian municipal *leges*.

³³ Le Roux 1991: 571; Jacques 1990: 381-382; Crawford 1995: 424. For the Baetican *leges*: González 1986: 150; Galsterer 1988: 78. For fragments of other *leges* similar to the Flavian *lex* from elsewhere in Baetica, see Tomlin 2002: 282-284.

³⁴ For the *municipium* status of Lepcis Magna in 77-78 and 83 CE respectively, see *IRT* 342, 346. For the sufeture under Domitian, see *IRT* 347, 348, 349; for the sufeture at the transition to colonial status, see *IRT* 412. Discussion: Gasco 1972: 75-77; 1982: 165; Mattingly 1995: 161; Aounallah 2001: 174-175. Di Vita-Évrard (1981: 205-210) argues that the flexibility of the Roman hierarchy of civic statuses makes it possible that Vespasian made Lepcis Magna a *municipium* with the *ius Latinum*, yet with Punic magistracies (accepted by Gasco in the following discussion).

³⁵ Boatwright 2000: 37-54; for the number of decurions, see Nicols 1988: 718-719 and the discussion below.

³⁶ González (1986: 237) observes that “no local rules are allowed, except insofar as they are incorporated in the text of the law . . . , and the only *ius* available to the *municipes* apart from that in the law is that of Roman citizens.” He next notes that the chapter goes on to soften this stance somewhat, but points to Domitian’s letter appended to the end of the *lex*, which demands that, in the future, *municipes* contract marriages according to the statute (and not to local practice).

³⁷ Jacques 1990: 383.

disruption caused by the reception of a *lex* was probably often minimal, since many *civitates* seem to have already adopted Roman political institutions and procedures, perhaps in preparation of their petition for *municipium* status.

The internal independence of *municipia*, thus, was highly structured by the *lex* and the Roman governing principles that informed it. Yet internal independence from the political and financial control of a neighbouring city or imperial official was a real benefit.³⁸ Hartmut Galsterer expresses surprise at the minimal presence of the emperor and especially the governor in the *Lex Irnitana*, but this coincides with a well established Roman practice. *Civitates* and, especially, cities with a Roman statute were expected to be internally self-sufficient on account of a stable local governing class, the civic notables.³⁹ The main reason an unknown emperor gave in the late third or early fourth century for granting Tymandus in Pisidia the status of *civitas* was that it had, in his opinion, a sufficient number of men to serve as decurions.⁴⁰

Prior to receiving *municipium* status (or less likely at the same time), a peregrine community received the “Latin right,” the *ius Latinum/Latii*.⁴¹ The main privilege of this right

³⁸ Aounallah's study is the most complete of why indigenous communities sought juridical promotion from emperors. He argues that these communities desired the *dignitas* of being financially and politically independent. Civic notables, moreover, desired a more direct route to imperial careers (i.e. rather than via a mother city; 2010: 111, 155, 159).

³⁹ Boatwright 2000: 53-54.

⁴⁰ Tymandus in Pisidia: *ILS* 6090. See also the promotions to *civitas* status of Heraclea Sintica in Macedonia (by Galerian in 307-308) and of Orcistus in Phrygia (by Constantine 324-328; *CIL* III 7000=*ILS* 6091 front face of base lines 1.16-20). Both had previously held the status of *civitas*, but lost it, perhaps during the invasions and general instability of the third century. Again, one reason for the promotion seems to have been the renewed ability of the civic notables to take over full responsibility for the governing and financial health of their community from a nearby more prosperous city and/or the governor (Chastagnol 1981: 398-402; more explicitly Lepelley 2004: 227-231).

⁴¹ For the Latin right in Africa Proconsularis, see Uzalís (*oppidum Latinum unum Uzalitanum*, Plin. *NH* 5.29 with Gascou 1982: 142; Chastagnol 1990: 358-359); Thisiduo (*decuriones c(ivium) R(omanorum) et [mun]icipes [T]hisiduenses*, *CIL* VIII 1269=14763=*ILTun.* 1278=*ILS* 6781 with Sherwin-White 1973: 414); Gigthis: *CIL* VIII 22737 (the *ius Latinum maius*) with Briand-Ponsart 2005: 106-107; cf. Lambaesis, Numidia (*ILS* 6848 with Sherwin-White 1973: 414); Icosium, Mauretania Caesariensis: Plin. *NH* 5.20 with Gascou 1982: 159-161; cf. Tac. *Hist.* 1.78, 3.55; *SHA Had.* 21.7. See Beschtaouch 1996 and Aounallah 2001: 175-181 for more tentative identifications of communities with the *ius Latinum*. Le Roux points out that there was more than one type of *municipium* status. There could also be *municipia civium Romanorum* in the provinces. Most *municipia* in Proconsularis, however, were of peregrine origin, although inscriptions do not specify the legal status of the

was that local notables and their immediate families gained Roman citizenship upon successful completion of their first magistracy.⁴² Because it was a civic grant rather than a personal one, a member of the governing class could gain Roman citizenship even by holding a magistracy in a peregrine *civitas* with the right.⁴³ The *ius Latinum*, thus, ensured that a new *municipium* had a core of Roman citizens to lead it. It created a system for integrating into the empire peregrine notables and, thereby, the communities they administered.⁴⁴

True civic prestige, however, only came when the community won colonial status from the emperor. Traditionally, colonies were deductions of veteran Roman soldiers (or, rarely, of Roman citizens) on *ager publicus*, often on the site of former forts. Their main goals were to provide veterans with a retirement benefit of free land, to provide added security to the region by watching over nearby indigenous populations and routes, and to provide an example to local indigenous populations of Roman ideals and standards of behaviour and government.⁴⁵ The last great wave of such deductions in Proconsularis came under Augustus, Carthage being the prime example.⁴⁶ Subsequently, only a few more were founded in the province. When the Legio III Augusta moved further west under Vespasian, the Colonia Flavia Augusta Aemerita Ammaedara was founded on or near the site of the former legionary headquarters. Around the same time, veterans were also settled at Madauros among the local Gaetulian population to create the

municipes. Chastagnol argues (1990: 355, 364) that, from the Principate of Claudius on, one should assume that a mentioned *municipium* in the provinces was a *municipium latinum*.

⁴² *LI* 21; Appian *BC* 2.26; Strabo 4.1.12. Other privileges have been proposed as being included in the *ius Latinum*, most frequently the *ius conubium* – the right to enter into *matrimonium iustum* under Roman law – and the *ius commercium* – the right to enter into certain contracts legally binding on Romans (Sherwin-White 1973: 108-109 with 114-115). These proposals are not fully accepted, however (Mackie 1983: 201-203; Le Roux 1991: 578).

⁴³ Chastagnol 1990: 354, 356; Aounallah 2001: 176-178. Aounallah (2001: 178) raises the possibility that one could gain Roman citizenship by holding a peregrine magistracy such as the *sufeture* in a *civitas* with the *ius Latinum*. He is not able to prove this possibility, however. The difficulty lies in establishing that a former peregrine received Roman citizenship from holding civic office and not from a personal grant from the emperor. The combination of the *ius Latinum* and non-Roman magistracies has yet to be positively established.

⁴⁴ Sherwin-White 1973: 114-116; Le Roux 1991: 573, 579-582.

⁴⁵ Gascou 1972: 30, 142, 210-212; 1982: 162-163; more tendentiously, Bénabou 1976: 397.

⁴⁶ Teutsch 1962: 230-233.

Colonia Flavia Augusta Veteranorum (*ILAlg.* 1.2152; cf. *Apul. Apol.* 21, 24).⁴⁷ The last true veteran colony in Proconsularis Trajan founded at Theveste, which, like Ammaedara, was located on the former headquarters of the Legio III Augusta after it again moved further west into Numidia.⁴⁸ Under Septimius Severus, a small group of unidentified colonists might have been established at Vaga (*colonia deducta*, *CIL* VIII 1217=14395), but the circumstances are unclear, since the community had a long tradition of Roman citizenship dating back to the Republic (*oppida civium Romanorum XV . . . Vagense*, *Plin. NH* 5.29).⁴⁹

By the late second-century CE, the bulk of the colonies in Proconsularis were so-called honorary colonies, a modern term denoting former *municipia* (of peregrine and/or Roman origin) promoted to the status of colony without a settlement of veterans.⁵⁰ The push came from the communities themselves. An oft cited story in Aulus Gellius' *Noctes Atticae* cites Utica as an example of a *municipium* eager to obtain colonial status from Hadrian (*NA* 16.13.4). The reason for such enthusiasm does not appear to have been increased rights and privileges. The one extensive example of a colonial *lex*, the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* from Baetica (*LCGI*), is a century older, differently organised, and more detailed than the Flavian municipal *leges*. In broad strokes, however, the topics it covers and the rules it lays down are the same as those later *leges*.⁵¹ The ordering of public life was not going to change. Colonial status only regularly brought one new benefit: Roman citizenship to all free local citizens – a moot point after the 212 *Constitutio Antoniniana*.⁵² The emperor and his imperial officials could still intervene to correct

⁴⁷ Gascou 1982: 163.

⁴⁸ Gascou 1972: 94.

⁴⁹ Gascou interprets the fragmentary inscriptions to be suggesting that Vaga already had honorary colonial status, but this is far from clear (1972: 168-171).

⁵⁰ Gascou 1972: 37, 45, 72, 114-115; Sherwin-White 1973: 253, 257.

⁵¹ Crawford 1995: 423-424; Boatwright 2000: 43-44; cf. Galsterer 1988: 82-83.

⁵² Boatwright 2000: 49-53.

financial abuses and other problems,⁵³ and immunity to taxation only came with the rare and even more prestigious imperial gift of the *ius Italicum*, which Carthage, Utica, and Lepcis Magna did not receive until Septimius Severus and Caracalla.⁵⁴

The real benefit to colonial status was prestige. The imperial grant symbolically refounded the community as an extension of Rome.⁵⁵ Aulus Gellius observes that people generally believed colonies to be superior because of their perceived close connection to the City (*potior tamen et praestabilior existimatur propter amplitudinem maiestatemque populi Romani*, Aul. Gel. 16.13.9).⁵⁶ He is not doing the subject justice, however. Gascou observes that the promotions of particularly M. Aurelius, Commodus, and Septimius Severus amounted to a dismantling of the *pertica* of Carthage.⁵⁷ These three emperors alone created nine *municipia* out of Carthage's former territory and four or five colonies.⁵⁸ This was a significant financial loss for the Julian colony, which Severus partially addressed with the *ius Italicum*. Primarily, these promotions meant that the pool of wealthy citizens on which Carthage could draw to fulfil expensive *munera*, priesthoods, and magistracies had considerably shrunk. To the wealthy *pagani*, however, local independence was a boon, since they could no longer be forced pay those expenses both locally and at Carthage.⁵⁹ A series of third century inscriptions attesting that Thugga, as a *municipium* and then as a colony, had honoured emperors and a local notable for their defence of the community's *dignitas* and *libertas*, suggest that Carthage had tried to reassert

⁵³ Sherwin-White 1973: 319-321; Mackie 1983: 106-107; Millar 1999: 106.

⁵⁴ *Dig.* 50.15.8.11 (Paulus). Gascou 1972: 196-198; Millar 1999: 106; more generally Sherwin-White 1973: 316-322.

⁵⁵ Jacques 1990: 383-384 with n.17.

⁵⁶ Mackie (1983: 106-107) may be right that colonial status also demanded more respect from the governor and other imperial officials, but this would have been informal.

⁵⁷ Gascou hypothesises that the emperors might have been reducing the political heft of the Julian colonies, particularly in the Senate (Gascou 1972: 229).

⁵⁸ Gascou 1972: 224-230, 233.

⁵⁹ Aounallah 2010: 255.

control over its lost territory.⁶⁰ Communities were probably never fully out of the shadow of the colony to which they had originally been attributed.

It has already been noted that emperors wanted to be satisfied that the community had a sufficient number of citizens with the wealth to support the burdens of Roman civic life, before advancing its juridical status. In addition, they also seem to have wanted to be assured that these wealthy citizens had the will to do so.⁶¹ The correspondance between increased juridical status and increased monumentalisation of the urban core has long been noticed.⁶² The *sacerdotes* and *Cereales* of Vaga, for example, offered in 197 CE to rebuild a temple to Ceres “for the splendour of the colony” (*pro splendore coloniae* [stated twice], *CIL* VIII 10569=14394), seemingly before the community had received its deduction of colonists from Septimius Severus.⁶³ W. Ben Akacha, who has recently published a series of articles on the subject, finds that monumentalisation and promotion of the official Roman juridical status of the communities in Proconsularis were mutually stimulating processes: increased juridical status led to more monumentalisation, which, in turn, led to increased juridical status.⁶⁴ It seems natural that an embassy petitioning an emperor would promote the recent constructions in their city. For the present dissertation, Constantine's

⁶⁰ As a *municipium* Thugga honoured Alexander Severus as *conservator libertatis* (*CIL* VIII 26552) and as a colony it honoured Probus as *conservator dignitatis et libertatis* (*CIL* VIII 26561). Soon afterwards between 260 and 268, the colony honoured Aulus Vitellius Felix Honoratus, a local equestrian with a long career in the imperial service, because he had undertaken an embassy “for the public liberty” (*pro libertate publica*, *CIL* VIII 26582=*ILS* 9018). The interpretation of these inscriptions is contentious. Gascou (1997) and Lepelley (1997) assert that this freedom pertains only to immunity from imperial taxes. One, however, would expect the term *immunitas*, not *libertas*. The assertion, moreover, does not fully explain the presence of *dignitas* in Probus' honour, a word which refers to juridical status. Aounallah is more likely right to connect *libertas* to Carthage, not to the imperial treasury, since no Thuggan is known to have held a magistracy at Carthage after Thugga became a *municipium liberum* in 205 (2010: 148-155).

⁶¹ Pace Whittaker (1995: 24), who downplays the role of urbanisation and “romanization” in the success of petitions for increased civic status. He choses to emphasise the role of “diplomacy, patronage and the caprice of the emperor.”

⁶² For example, the building of a *capitolium* at Thugga is thought to have served as the community's announcement of its intention to become a *municipium* (Gascou 1972: 181; 1997: 102). Similarly the *capitolium* at Numluli: Gascou 1972: 161.

⁶³ Gascou 1972: 168-169.

⁶⁴ Ben Akacha 2011a: 435-436; 2011b: 626-627; 2011c: 111.

explanation for his favourable response to the petition of the citizens of Orcistus, Phrygia, to be granted the status of *civitas* is particularly important. Not only does he point to the vibrant public life of Orcistus, its favourable location, abundant water, and baths, but also to a “forum decorated with statues of ancient *principes*.”⁶⁵ The emperor's attention was naturally on his own station. The general message was that honorific statues are one way that cities can show themselves to be Roman.

1.2 THE *ORDO DECURIONUM*

But how were honorific statues authorised? Cities with a Roman statute (i.e. *municipia* and *coloniae*) in Africa Proconsularis had two decision making bodies for questions of very different sorts: the *ordo decurionum* and the *populus* divided into the *curiae*.⁶⁶ Peregrine *civitates* were typically led just by decurions.⁶⁷ The *ordo* was the senior and sole deliberative body of the community.⁶⁸ As will be discussed in Chapter 2.1, the formal participation of the *curiae* in public life was limited to being the voting groups of the *populus*, principally once a year at the elections.

In the first centuries BCE and CE, *senatus* seems to have been the common term for these councils, after the Senate of Rome.⁶⁹ By the second century, the predominant term was *ordo*. A

⁶⁵ *forum {i}statuis veterum principum ornatum*, *CIL* III 7000=*ILS* 6091 front face of base lines 1.26-27. Orcistus had once been a *civitas*, but lost its independence and was attributed to nearby Nacolia, perhaps during the invasions of the third century (Lepelley 2004: 229). Chastagnol (1981: 404) proposes the interesting reading that Constantine, by specifying that these are statues of “ancient” emperors, is referring to the current lack of an *ordo decurionum* at Orcistus and is implying that a new *ordo* would dedicate statues to him and his sons.

⁶⁶ On the barring of women from public offices and *munera*: *Dig.* 50.17.2.1 (Ulpian).

⁶⁷ *ILS* 6090. Many inscriptions cite the *ordo* or decurions of peregrine cities as the issuer of *decreta*. Rarely a group of *seniores* led the city or *castellum* (*CIL* VIII 1616=15722, 15666, 15667=15668, 15669; Aounallah 2010: 131). *CIL* VIII 26517 records the *populus* voting via the *portae* in the Punic city of Thugga in 48/49 CE, but this is the one time the popular institution is mentioned by North African sources.

⁶⁸ Liebenam 1900: 251; Galsterer 1988: 86-87.

⁶⁹ Carthage: *CIL* VIII 24583 (44-c.15 BCE); Thugga: *CIL* VIII 26517 (from 48/49 CE); Furnos Maius: *AE* 1988, 1111 (from circa 50 CE); Lepcis Magna: *IRT* 615 (1-99 CE); cf. the *tabulum of hospitium* dated to 12 CE set up by a collection of *civitates*: *CIL* VIII 68+pp.925,1102=*ILS* 6095). For later uses of *senatus*, see Gigthis: *CIL* VIII 11039, 11040, 22726=*Bardo* 15=*ILTun.* 35; *CIL* VIII 22739 (as restored); Lepcis Magna: Appendix A line B20. A. Héron de Villefosse (1883: 390 #259) remarked in 1883 that what would become *CIL* VIII 11039 represented

growing trend through the second to fourth centuries was to affix a laudatory adjective to *ordo*: most frequently *splendissimus*, but also *clarissimus*, *sanctissimus*, and *amplissimus*.⁷⁰ *Populus* – the term often opposed to *ordo* on inscriptions to denote the rest of the populace – only once and relatively late had a laudatory adjective applied to it on North African inscriptions: *florentissimus* (“flourishing,” Thubursicu Numidarum: *ILAlg.* 1.1296),⁷¹ an adjective which emphasises its supposed youth and vigour (cf. *pubes*, Appendix A line C10).⁷² In contrast, *senatus* (when used) underlined the seniority and acquired experience of the decurions. While *ordines* could also be described as flourishing (Ureu: *splendidissimus et flo[re]ntissimus ordo*, *AE* 1975, 877), the typical distinction in art and other media was between old, authoritative, and dignified decurions and the young, even adolescent *populus*, seemingly content to observe respectfully as the decurions act on behalf of the community.⁷³ This is despite the presence in *ordines* of the *praetextati* (non-voting teenage sons of current full-members) and that some regular members would have been in their late twenties.⁷⁴

The number of regular voting members of the *ordo* are known to have ranged from fifty to a hundred and possibly more, depending on the size of the population of the city, its wealth,

the first known use of the word *senatus* in Africa instead of the typical *ordo*. Gabriele Wesch-Klein believes that *senatus* on IRT 601 line B20 (=Appendix A; c.190-c.310 CE) is more likely referring to the Senate in Rome (1990: 125). She is not taking into account, however, that this inscription contains two *decreta* of the *ordo* of Lepcis Magna, which are paraphrasing *sententiae* of decurions. The rhetoric is correspondingly elevated (see Chapter 3.6).

⁷⁰ *Splendissimus*: *CIL* VIII 25528, 26618; *AE* 1931, 41; *AE* 1962, 184b; *AE* 1975, 880; IRT 607=*AE* 1950, 158; *clarissimus*: *AE* 1958, 144; *ILAfr.* 324; *sanctissimus*: *ILAlg.* 1.1296; *sanctus*: IRT 638; *amplissimus*: Appendix A line B20; *ILAfr.* 281. Kotula 1968: 92; Zimmer 1989: 48; Salomies 1994: 72. For context, see Garnsey 1970: 244. Dated due to language and the *signum* heading the inscription (Chastagnol 1988: 39-40).

⁷¹ Cf. a father's description of his son on two statue bases at the Municipium Aurelium C[- -]: *filio suo florentissimo adq(ue) prudentissi[mo] adulescenti*, *CIL* VIII 828=12347=23964=*ILS* 5713 and *CIL* VIII 23965.

⁷² Veyne 1961: 229-257, 266, 269, followed by Jacques 1984: 425. Mario Torelli objects to one of Veyne's main pieces of evidence: the sacrificial scene on the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum (1997: 173 n.17). Veyne argues that the senate of Rome and the *ordo* and *populus* of Beneventum are present in the scene. He, however, misread (and mis-cited) Merrill 1901: 63, who identifies the bearded figure in the centre of the scene as the personification of the Senate of Rome and the figure to his immediate left as the personification of the *populus* (presumably of Rome). Merrill's identifications coincide with the dedicators of the arch: *senatus p(opulus)q(ue) r(omanus)* (*CIL* IX 1558=*ILS* 296). Veyne's argument is still partly valid, if now at one remove.

⁷⁴ *LM* 54; *Dig.* 50.2.11 (Marcianus); *Dig.* 50.4.8 (Ulpian). Regarding Pompeii, Mouritsen 1998: 239-240.

and local tradition.⁷⁵ Entry into the *ordo* happened in three ways.⁷⁶ The traditional method from Republican Rome was through holding one of the junior magistracies, either the quaestorship (where it existed) or the aedileship. The second method was adlection into the *ordo* as a *pedanus* – a voting member without the right to speak on issues (the *ius dicendae sententiae*). Adlection as a *pedanus* might have been less used than in Italy,⁷⁷ because cities of North Africa retained a lively democratic element longer than elsewhere in the Roman west, yet it would still have been an important method.⁷⁸

The *duumviri quinquennales* – *duumviri* with censorial powers every fifth year – could enrol new members, normally those suggested by the decurions (*Dig.* 50.2.6.5, Papinianus). The regular *duumviri*, however, also had this power, as long as the cooptation was in replacement of a former decurion (*TH* 2.83-86). The *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* makes clear the central role of the *duumvir* by expecting an eager *colonus* to be aware of a vacancy and to approach the

⁷⁵ For fifty: *ILS* 6090; eighty *SEG* 14.479. Cicero (*Leg. agr.* 2.96) claims that there would be one-hundred decurions for a proposed colony at Capua, but there is reason to believe that he is exaggerating (Mouritsen 1998: 233). *LI* 31 sets the number at sixty-three according to local custom. Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.19) says that 113 senators of *Augusta Treverorum* crossed the Rhine, without specifying whether or not they were all regular voting members (Nicols [1980: 719, P.S.] and Mouritsen, who follows him [1998: 237, cf. 234, n.13], says 130, but the Latin is *centum tredecim*). The album of Canusium lists 125 names for senators, but only 100 were regular voting members (*CIL* IX 338=*ILS* 6121). For further discussion see Nicols 1988; Jacques 1990: 386; Mouritsen 1998: 238. *Dig.* 50.2.2.pr. (Ulpian) and *Tabula Heracleensis* 2.83-88 (with Garnsey 1971b: 315-316 and Crawford 1996: 383) do not give a number, but both indicate that cities did have a set number which needed to be maintained regularly.

⁷⁶ Entry into the *ordo* is variously termed *lectio*, *sublectio*, *adlectio*, *adscriptio*, and *co(o)ptatio* (*TH* lines 83-86; *LCGI* 17, *LI* 30, 31). Garnsey (1971b: 315) and Crawford (*ad* González 1986: 208) both suggest that the terms were largely interchangeable. Crawford later specifies that the exact word depended on one's perspective: "*legito* and *sublegito* [3rd person imperatives] see the process from the point of view of a magistrate looking at the *ordo* from the outside, *coptato* from the point of view of a magistrate as member" (1996: 383, followed by Caballos Rufino 2006: 274). This does not fully convince. It could be that some of the words describe different stages of the same process. *LCGI* 17, for example, says *legito*, *adscribito*, *copt[ato]*: selection, enrolment, and then ceremonial cooptation.

⁷⁷ For Baetica, Galsterer asserts the "fact" that "it was not that ex-magistrates were selected for the *ordo*, but that belonging to the *ordo* was a precondition of election" (Galsterer 1988: 86, 90; similarly Le Roux 1991: 576-577). Regarding Italy, Mouritsen similarly argues that adlection occurred in the first-century and became prevalent in the second as the democratic element was "eliminated" (1998: 240-248). These assertions are partly based on too narrow a reading of *LI* 31, which provides for adlection into the *ordo* only when the number of decurions dips below 63. If membership in the *ordo* was a requirement to hold a magistracy, one would expect the rule to be stated in the chapter on eligibility for office (*LM* 54) or on how to break ties between candidates during the election, which was done on moralistic grounds (*LM* 56).

⁷⁸ Gascou 1972: 57-60.

duumvir, who alone screened him for “worthiness and suitability” (*[sa]tisque fecerit se dignum idoneumque esse*, *LCGI* 17). If he passed the screening, the decurions then had some role in the process, but *lacunae* prevent understanding its exact nature (*[- - - decu]rionibus eum dignum ido[n]eumque esse, qui decurio] col(oniae) lul(iae) sit*, *LCGI* 17).

But did the involvement of the decurions extend to formal approval? According to the *Lex Irnitana*, the decurions could approve new members or select from the names proposed by the *duumviri* once a year.⁷⁹ It is likely that this more balanced system of adlection predominated in the imperial period for non-quinquennial years (*LI* 31).⁸⁰ The famous harvester of Mactaris first states that he was “written in among the *conscripti*” (*inter conscriptos scrip`tus*, *CIL* VIII 11824 line 25), which alone could refer to enrolment by the *duumviri* or *duumviri quinquennales* (which the harvester himself later became). Yet he next specifies that he had been “chosen by the *ordo*” (*ipse fui ordinis in templo delectus ab ordine sedi*, lines 25-26), which must refer to a vote of the decurions.

The third way that people entered the *ordo* was as non-voting honorary members. There were several types: the city's senatorial and equestrian patrons appointed by the decurions, the *praetextati*, and others (such as influential or generous people from neighbouring towns) who were awarded the status and privileges of a decurion, but who generally did not attend meetings.⁸¹ Of these, probably only patrons had the right to give their opinion on matters, if

⁷⁹ *quo anno pauciores in eo municipio decuriones conscriptive quam LXIII, quod ante h(anc) l(egem) rogatam iure more eius municipi fuerunt, <erunt,> nisi si eo anno iam erit facta decurionum conscriptorumve lectio sublectio, qui eo anno duumviri i(ure) d(icundo) praeurunt{i}, ambo alterve eorum primo quoque tempore, uti quod recte factum esse velint, ad decuriones conscriptosve. . . . referto, quo die placeat legi sublegi substitutive eos*, *LI* 31 lines 41-48 with Jacques 1990: 388. González (1986: 208) reads this passage conservatively, however.

⁸⁰ Garnsey (1971b: 315) did not have the benefit of the *Lex Irnitana* when he proposed that adlection was normally made only every five years by the *duumvir quinquennalis* and that this system predominated in provinces like Bithynia-Pontus, but that in Italy it was the *ordo* who chose new members (1971b: 319, cf. 318 n.48).

⁸¹ *Dig.* 50.2.6.2 (Papinianus). Jacques 1984: 486-489; Nicols 1988: 718; Mouritsen 1998: 242-243.

present.⁸²

The prestige of the *ordo* was such that membership alone was considered an *honor*, one worthy of an entry fee (*summa honoraria*) for those who entered it without completing a magistracy (i.e. those adlected).⁸³ As just seen, a decurion at the Colonia Genetiva had to be “worthy and suitable” (*dignum idoneumque*, *LCGI* 17).⁸⁴ Moreover, entry improved one's chances of winning a magistracy and, if in possession of the Latin right, Roman citizenship, since studies have shown that magistrates were increasingly drawn from the *pedani* and, especially, the *praetextati*.⁸⁵ After Gigthis had received the *ius Latinum maius* from Antoninus Pius, membership alone was enough to secure Roman citizenship (*CIL* VIII 22737).⁸⁶ Furthermore, the decurions were the lowest of the three major categories (after senators and equestrians) with the *honestior* legal status. In contrast, the bulk of the citizenry, that is the plebeians whose political engagement was limited to the *curiae* as *curiales*, were *humiliores*.⁸⁷ It did not matter whether decurions were Roman citizens or not;⁸⁸ *honestior* status brought certain privileges and legal protections, such as exemption from mandatory physical labour (the *corporalia* or *sordida munera*) and corporal punishment.⁸⁹

⁸² Nicols 1988: 718.

⁸³ Definite prices for entry into the *ordo* ranged from 1,600HS in the small *civitas* or *municipium* of Muzuc to 20,000HS at Cirta (Duncan-Jones 1982: 108-109; Briand-Ponsart 1999: 228). Garnsey's explanation for the decurional *summa honoraria* is technical and directed towards the question of civic finances. It does not address why people would have been willing to pay it (1971b: 320-323).

⁸⁴ Caballos Rufino 2006: 269-271.

⁸⁵ Sherwin-White 1973: 360ff. On *pedani* and, especially, the *praetextati* as the source for new magistrates: Jacques 1984: 480-481; Mouritsen 1998: 231, 240-247; cf. Garnsey 1970: 254; 1974: 248-249. The jurist Paulus gives the opinion that magistrates were to be chosen from among the members of the *ordo* (*Dig.* 50.2.7.2). Dating of this provision ranges from the Severan period (Garnsey 1974: 249) to the fourth century (Horstkotte 1984: 212-214).

⁸⁶ Gasco 1972: 138; Sherwin-White 1973: 109.

⁸⁷ Garnsey 1970: 242-245. Being a veteran, *iudex*, or magistrate also brought with it *honestior* status or treatment before the law as if one was an *honestior*, even if one was not a decurion (Garnsey 1970: 245-259).

⁸⁸ Garnsey 1970: 266 n.1.

⁸⁹ *Dig.* 48.19.28.2 (Callistratus); *Dig.* 50.2.2.2-6 (Ulpian); *Dig.* 50.2.14 (Paulus); *Dig.* 50.13.5.2 (Callistratus). Garnsey 1970: 263-5, 270; Jacques 1984: 563-566. Garnsey (1970: 274) is careful to point out that decurions sometimes found it hard to have their legal privileges respected, because of their relative lack of influence and access to the emperor in comparison to senators and equestrians.

Roman law expected *ordines* to list their members according to some scheme and suggested one that ranked the decurions by offices held from most prestigious to less, and then by seniority at that rank (*Dig.* 50.3). The chosen scheme would determine the order in which the presiding *duumvir* asked each decurion to speak (*Dig.* 50.3.1.1, Ulpian). The album of the *ordo* of Canusium, Italy, dated to 223, lists first the senatorial patrons, then the equestrian patrons, the *quinquennalicii*, the honorary *quinquennalicii*, the *duumviri*, the aediles, the quaestors, the *pedani*, and finally the *praetextati* (*CIL* IX 338=*ILS* 6121).⁹⁰

The late fourth-century album of the *ordo* of Thamugadi, Numidia, on the other hand, gives more importance to priesthoods.⁹¹ The two citizens who had been provincial priests (*sacerdotes*)⁹² comprise the third category, just after the senators and equestrians. The *curator rei publicae* and the two current *duumviri*, who follow the provincial priests, all have or had priesthoods. Most significantly, between the current *duumviri* and the current junior magistrates, come the *flamines perpetui*, who were not necessarily of duumviral rank,⁹³ then the *pontifices* and augurs. Those of duumviral rank (*duumviralicii*) who were never priests do not appear until after the one current quaestor.⁹⁴ Even among the two equestrians, who come just after the senators near the start of the album, priority is given to the one who was *flamen perpetuus*. Likewise, among the two current *duumviri*, priority was given to the one who was holding a priesthood that year, the augurate.⁹⁵ Thus, while social status and magistracies continued to be the main organising principle of Thamugadi's *ordo*, the emphasis on priesthoods shows that cities had the space to

⁹⁰ Jacques 1984: 459-460. Mouritsen (1998: 249) asserts that the album is not “standard,” but this is in comparison to *ordines* in the first and second centuries CE and only refers to the presence of the *pedani* and *praetextati* in the text.

⁹¹ *CIL* VIII 2403=17824=17903=*ILS* 6122. See Chastagnol 1978 for the most convenient reproduction of the inscription.

⁹² Jarrett 1971: 522.

⁹³ Chastagnol (1978: 29) says that they were chosen from among the ex-aediles, as well as the ex-*duumviri*.

⁹⁴ Chastagnol 1978: 29.

⁹⁵ Jarrett 1971: 522.

develop their own decurional hierarchy.

But that said, François Jacques has demonstrated that a wide range in wealth, education, prestige, and even culture could exist among members of any one *ordo* in the Roman west, for they ranged from senators and equestrians to former centurions who had never held office.⁹⁶ The interpersonal dynamics of *ordines* must have diverged from the strict hierarchy set out in membership lists, for a member might have been of higher social status than someone of higher official rank. This is most notable with the *pedani* and *praetextati*. Even though the *pedani* were voting members of the *ordo*, they seem to have had fewer familial connections to former magistrates, who made up the higher ranks of the *ordo*, in comparison to the *praetextati*. The *pedani* seem to have frequently belonged to less-established families trying to insert themselves into the local aristocracy for the first time. Many would have been rather old upon their entry into the *ordo*.⁹⁷ In contrast, the *praetextati* – frequently the sons of former magistrates (i.e. decurions from established families with the *ius dicendae sententiae*) – succeeded at winning magistracies at a noticeably higher rate than the *pedani*.⁹⁸ Familial reputation and connections, thus, went a long way in the cities of Proconsularis. That a few families enjoyed significant influence over local affairs raises the unanswerable question of how willing a new entrant into the *ordo* – anxious to secure his family's position – would have been willing to speak against the great families.

The powers and responsibilities of the *ordo* can be divided into four overlapping spheres.⁹⁹ First, they advised and directed the magistrates. The civic statutes often required

⁹⁶ Jacques 1984: 526, 541-569, 585-602, 618, 661-687. Jacques is careful to note, however, that this did not mean that plebeians were barred from the *ordo* (1984: 613-617).

⁹⁷ Jacques 1984: 480-485; Mouritsen 1998: 241.

⁹⁸ Garnsey 1974: 248-249; Jacques 1984: 486-489, 507ff; Mouritsen 1998: 231, 240.

⁹⁹ See Liebenam's (1900: 251-252) more detailed summary of the decurions' responsibilities.

magistrates to first seek permission from the decurions before acting (e.g. *LCGI* 125-126, 129; *LI* K, 76-78). Moreover, the magistrates and all those who took on public business or handled public funds had to make full account and justification to the decurions (*LI* 68-71, 80). Second, they controlled the community's finances (*publica pecunia*), of which more will be spoken below (*LCGI* 13, 69; *LI* G, *LI* 67-70, 96). Third, they were the face of the community to the rest of the world. They maintained the community's relationship with the gods (*LCGI* 69);¹⁰⁰ only they could send embassies to the emperor, Roman officials, and other cities (*LCGI* 92; *LI* G-I; cf. *LI* 24; *TH* lines 142-56); and they alone could appoint patrons (*LCGI* 91, 130; *LI* 61)¹⁰¹ and “guests” (*hospites*) of the community (*LCGI* 131). Fourth, the decurions were responsible for the physical fabric of the community. They regulated private construction within the city (*LCGI* 75; *LI* 62), oversaw the community's infrastructure (*LCGI* 99-100, *TH* lines 24-52), and decided how to best employ the five days per year of physical labour inhabitants owed to the community (*LCGI* 98; *LI* 83).

Most important for this study, they alone controlled how public property was used.¹⁰² This meant that the permission of the decurions was necessary in order to erect a building or a statue in a public space.¹⁰³ Certainly, the *ordo* did not need to consult the citizen body through the *curiae*. When Licinia Severa, the daughter of a leading decurion, died in the colony of Sicca

¹⁰⁰ Rives 1995: 47-51, 94.

¹⁰¹ For example, at Agbia, an inscription dating to the Principate of Antoninus Pius states that Cincius Victor “was long ago made patron on consensus of all of the decurions in order to watch over the *res publica*” (*ad tuendam rem public(am) suam ex consensu decurionum omnium iampridem patronus factus esset*, *CIL* VIII 1548=15550)

¹⁰² *LCGI* 126-127; *LI* 78, 82; cf. *LCGI* 77. Even though Pliny seems to have assumed approval, he, nonetheless, still wrote as soon as possible to the decurions of Comum to request that they “assign” to him land for building a temple (*ego statim decurionibus scripseram, ut adsignarent solum in quo templum pecunia mea exstruerem*, *Ep.* 10.8.2).

¹⁰³ Sherk 1970: 74; Christol 2005b: 135; Zimmer 1989: 7. One example of the authority of the decurions over public space is the rarity of the additional honour of permitting the honoree to pick the location of his or her statue (e.g. at Lepcis Magna: *dec(uriones) ce[n]s[u]erunt ut Plautius Lupus sibi bigam quo loco vellet de suo poneret*, Appendix A lines B25-26, C18-19). Such a choice seems to have been a rare honour given to people of high repute or merit (*illi [the decurions] in honorem operis ipsius electionem loci mihi obtulerant*, *Plin. Ep.* 10.8.2; *Cic. Phil.* 5.41). Cf. Lefebvre 1998: 103-104.

Veneria, that day (*hodierna die functam*) the decurions passed a resolution to erect a statue at public expense in the “most beautiful and frequented” spot of the city (*pulcherrimo. . . . celeberrimo*, *CIL* VIII 15880). The reason was fully selfish: “so that, by its perpetual mood, it might serve as witness to the sense of duty of our *ordo* towards Paternus” (*[ut] pietatis ordinis nostri erga Paternum adfecto perpetuo si[t] contestata*). There is no reference to the *curiae* in the inscription.¹⁰⁴ The reverse was not true. The many public honours set up and dedicated by private individuals, the *curiae*, or, more vaguely, the *populus* still required the approval of the decurions.¹⁰⁵ Outside of the annual election of magistrates, officially the decurions controlled public life.

1.3 PROCEDURES FOR AUTHORISING PUBLIC HONOURS

Inscriptions record three main steps in the dedication of public honours: its approval by the decurions (*decrevit; d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*), its creation or erection (*fecit* or *posuit/statuit/locavit*), and its dedication (*dedicavit*). When the *populus* or *curiae* is listed as co-dedicator along with the decurions, the *ordo* is almost always listed first, because of its greater prestige.¹⁰⁶ At the bottom of the inscription, an abbreviated clause is often found. *[Ex] d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* signals the decurions' authorisation of the honour, particularly when paid by public money: *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*. *L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* is the clause most often used for statues individuals or groups set up with private money.¹⁰⁷ Both clauses amount to being stamps of approval, verifying that the *ordo* had indeed authorised the

¹⁰⁴ For further examples, see also *CIL* VIII 26271, 26281 (Uchi Maius); *IL Afr.* 414 (Thuburbo Maius); *ILTun.* 768 (Gor).

¹⁰⁵ Kotula 1968: 110.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Berrendonner 2005: 522 for Italy.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Erkelenz 2003: 144-145. The following alternative formula is also found with varying word order: *impetrato/dato/designato ab ordine loco*, *CIL* VIII 1224=14388, 1828, 10580=14472, 11814, 12020, 12021, 26275; *AE* 1964, 178; *AE* 1978, 844; *AE* 2004: 1874.

public money and/or the location of the statue on public property.¹⁰⁸ So standard were the phrases, in fact, that decurions sometimes included them even on the inscriptions of statues they themselves dedicated, which already stated in the indicative mood and perfect tense the decree of the *ordo*.¹⁰⁹ Nonetheless, a few cities stand out for using different formulae. For instance, at Lepcis Magna *permissu ordinis* is frequently found in place of *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*.¹¹⁰ In rare cases, variations from the epigraphic norms may have been due to the requirement that the text of the decree be established by the end of the meeting or shortly thereafter and then witnessed by decurions.¹¹¹ Rushed situations might have led to the decree being cobbled together.

Following the witnessing, the set text was handed to a scribe, who filed it in the local archive (*tabulae municipii/coloniae* or *tabulae publicae*) under its proper date.¹¹² The decree then formed the basis of the inscription commemorating the public honour. A few inscriptions replicate the decree in full (e.g. *CIL* VIII 15880; Appendix A), but most condense it by varying degrees. A fair sized group of inscriptions still contain some of the laudatory language used to motivate the decree and/or some of the constitutional language of the decree, such as the verb *censuit/erunt* or a *cum* clause with a verb(s) in the subjunctive.¹¹³ But most adopt simple

¹⁰⁸ Zimmer (1989: 20, 41) for Cuicul and Thamugadi; Lefebvre 1998: 102-108; Erkelenz 2003: 144-145. Regarding Italy, Berrendonner (2005: 523) is unsure whether *LDDD* signals an initiative of the *ordo* ratified by the people or the inverse. The formula clearly signals the initiative of the individual or group listed in the nominative as the dedicator, then the subsequent approval of the decurions.

¹⁰⁹ E.g. *universus ordo c[ivita]tis Uzalitanae Sar d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) s[ta]tuam decrevit p(ecunia) p(ublica)*, *AE* 1973, 583; *ordo bene merito civi decrevit d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*, *AE* 1975, 877 (Ureu); cf. *splendidissimus ordo decreto suo statuae honore cumulavit l(ocus) d(atu)s d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*, *CIL* VIII 357=11546=*ILS* 6810 (Ammaedara); cf. *CIL* VIII 23209.

¹¹⁰ *Permissu ordinis* at Lepcis Magna: *IRT* 532, 639, 641, 642, 645. Moreover, Gighis used the Rome-like formula *senatus/ordo populusque* (*CIL* VIII 33, 110810, 11031, 11039, 11040, 22726, 22727, 22732, 22738, 22739, 22746) to introduce a decree, while the more typical formula was *ordo et populus* (often with adjectives).

¹¹¹ *LI C* directs the *duumvir* who had the decree passed to read it back to the decurions by the end of the meeting or at the top of the very next meeting. The practice of the Roman Senate and, seemingly, of *ordines* was for the *relator* and the decurions whom he chose to consult (often three) to fix the text of the decree after the meeting (Sherk 1970: 66-67; Talbert 1984: 303; 1989: 63-64).

¹¹² Sherk 1970: 60, 83-84.

¹¹³ For the number of inscriptions containing laudatory language see, Chapter 4.5; cf. Chapters Three and Five generally. *Cum* clauses: *CIL* VIII 714=12133, 805, 853=12370, 854+p.1272, 5365=17495, 14473, 26276, 26607; *AE* 2004, 1679. *Censuit/erunt*: *CIL* VIII 31+p.2293=11032, 5231+p.962=17416, 12039, 14473, 15880, 22739;

language, listing in succinct fashion the honoree (in the dative case), indications of his or her status in society (rank, offices held, and/or familial connections), the rationale for the honour (often in a motivational clause introduced by *ob*), the individual(s) or civic body(ies) (in the nominative) who had set up the honour and dedicated it, the method of payment, and the stamp of the *ordo* authorising it.¹¹⁴

This 'standard' model is an ideal type. No one inscription matches it perfectly and many hardly at all.¹¹⁵ Rather, the number of elements from the model vary greatly as do their level of detail, doubtlessly because of the factors of time, cost, and the drafters' thoroughness. The name of the honoree was always inscribed and almost always an indication of his or her status, as well as mention of the dedicating party(ies). But the rationale, the method of payment, the stamp of the *ordo*, and verbs in the indicative (*decrevit*, *posuit*, *dedicavit*, etc.) are frequently missing. *Dedicare* seems to have been the action drafters assumed most frequently that readers would understand had happened. Sometimes the text is little more complicated than dative/nominative ("dedicator to honoree"), without any verb in any form whatsoever, including the stamp of the *ordo*. The drafters often depended on readers to use the public setting of the statue to fill in the omissions. Even when given, the rationale for the honour was often a vague phrase like *ob merita* or an adjective in the dative, such as *merenti* or *optimo* (see Appendices B and C). Finally, the order of the elements that are present differ frequently from stone to stone. For instance, sometimes the name(s) of the dedicator(s) comes at the top of the stone rather than near the end,

IRT 117, 563; *AE* 1902, 164; *AE* 1962, 183=*AE* 1971, 491; *AE* 2004, 1679. For the constitutional language of municipal decrees, see Sherk 1970: 59-72.

¹¹⁴ For the inscriptions of Volubilis, Christol (2005b: 135) more simply says: "The text is the most normal possible: in one phrase are associated the beneficiary, the community, and the authority of the decision which gives to the public act its full effectiveness" (Le texte est le plus normal possible: en une phrase simple sont associés le bénéficiaire, la collectivité et l'instance de décision qui donne à l'acte public sa pleine efficacité).

¹¹⁵ Good examples of inscriptions containing most of the elements in the above model are: *CIL* VIII 828=12347=23964, 1170=14287, 1401=15202, 5356=17494, 14698, 23226, 26254, 26275, 23965; *AE* 1958, 137-138; *AE* 1988, 1116; *AE* 2000, 1732; *AE* 2004, 1874; *ILAlg.* 1.2145; *ILTun.* 779.

as if they were the real reason for the honour.¹¹⁶

The style and content of inscriptions accompanying public honours did change over time. Olli Salomies, for example, outlines an empire-wide trend towards *amplificatio* starting under the later Antonines and continuing through to the fifth century, by which he means the inclusion of ever greater information and rhetorical flourishes.¹¹⁷ But the fundamentals outlined above never changed, nor was the trend complete. One finds the simpler inscriptions throughout the period under study here. More detailed inscriptions too can be found in the first centuries BCE and CE (e.g. *CIL* VIII 24583=*ILS* 8963; *CIL* VIII 26517).

What is most confusing for the researcher trying to puzzle out how public honours were duly decreed, is the frequent omission of the *ordo*. Should it be assumed that a public honour recording only that an individual, the *populus*, or the *curiae* had “set up,” “made,” or “dedicated” an honorific statue in public space had the permission of the *ordo*, or does its absence indicate that its permission was somehow not required? The former must be the case, given the well documented authority of the *ordo* over public space. The decurions themselves did not always bother to directly state that they were responsible for a statue.¹¹⁸ It would seem that factors of space, money, and a desire to highlight the main players in the honour often won out over noting every stage in the process leading to the statue standing in a public space.¹¹⁹ For example, in the second half of the second century four men dedicated an item on the balustrade of the steps leading to the entrance of Lepcis Magna's *curia* to the city's consular patron, Ti. Cl. M. Appius Atilius Bradua Regillus Atticus (*IRT* 517). The inscription does not mention the *ordo* or, indeed,

¹¹⁶ E.g. *Senatus p(opulus)q(ue) Lepcitanor(um) C(aio) Macri f(ilio) C(ai) Annonis n(epoti) Phelyssam ob columnas et superfic(m) et forum stratum honoris caus{s}a decreverunt Balitho [M]acri f(ilius) [C]o[m]modus - - -*, *IRT* 615; *CIL* VIII 714=12133 (discussed in Chapter 3.4); cf. *AE* 2005, 1679.

¹¹⁷ Salomies 1994: esp. 71-78.

¹¹⁸ For discussion of inscriptions with *decreto decurionum* as the only indication of the dedicator, see Chapter 4.3.A.

¹¹⁹ For a similar discussion, see Christol 2005b: 138.

contain any verb whatsoever, but its location at the *ordo*'s own meeting house strongly suggests the permission of the decurions. Only slightly less clear are the eight pedestrian statue bases found in the forum area of Sabratha carrying dedications from individual *curiae* to C. Flavius Pudens, a *flamen perpetuus* and former *duumvir* of the city (*IRT* 118-125). The inscriptions are identical except for the name of the *curia* in the nominative case and do not record the permission of the decurions. Their permission can be assumed, however, from a ninth statue in a four-horse chariot that the *ordo* decreed in response to a popular petition and that Pudens himself set up (*IRT* 117). This prestigious award was likely the centre piece of an elaborate collective effort to honour Pudens and intended to provide context for the statues of the *curiae*.¹²⁰ Therefore, if an inscription indicates only that individuals or a civic group had set up the honour in public space, it should still be assumed that it was duly authorised by the *ordo*.

A debate of the decurions leading to a *decretum* was initiated by a formal petition, a *postulatio*. In Avula, for instance, M. Lorenus Lorenianus “petitioned that a statue to his dutiful son be placed in the forum of his *municipium* by the *ordo*, and the *ordo* decreed it to the father.”¹²¹ The *postulatio* could happen in different ways. One was through a decurion, who could beg leave from the presiding *duumvir* at any point in a meeting to speak on a matter unrelated to the business of the agenda (*ius dicendi peto*, Plin. *Ep.* 9.13.7, 9; cf. *Ep.* 2.11.9).¹²² Pliny the

¹²⁰ *IRT* 117 was found in the vaults of the Capitolium along with other inscriptions and debris. Reynolds and Ward-Perkins suspect that they were put there to clear the forum after the Austuriani's sack of the city in 363/365 (*ad IRT* 1).

¹²¹ *pio filio statuam poni in foro municipii sui ab ordine postulasset et or[do pa]tri de[erevisset]*, *CIL* VIII 714=12133. A similar situation might have occurred in Uchi Maius: “[since a person or group] had demanded that a [--- and?] base be made at his [the honoree's] own expense for the memory of the munificence of their family, by which he had adorned the Genium of his native city with statues and had given a banquet three times, the [ordo?] decreed images to him, his father, wife, and children” (*de suo fieri expostulasset pro memor(ia) etiam munificentiae domus eius qua Genium patriae statuīs adornasset et epulum ter dedisset imagines ipsi patri coniugi liberisq(ue) eius decrevit*, *CIL* VIII 26279). The missing beginning of the sentence, however, makes certainty over the role of the *postulatio* impossible.

¹²² Apuleius negatively hints at this method in his speech of thanks. He makes it a point of pride that he did not have to plead or ask for his public statue (*Flor.* 16.25-28).

Younger nonchalantly suggests this approach in a letter to a home-town friend, who was a decurion of Comum (*Ep.* 5.7.4). Alternately, a decurion could make the proposal during his *sententia*. Normally, this would have been in reaction to a related piece of business, such as the report of the successful completion of a project undertaken by the future honoree.¹²³ This seems to have been the process for the statue to M. Servilius Draco Albucianus at Gigthis, for its inscription implies a quick succession from Albucianus' announcement of the successful completion of an embassy, which must have occurred in the *ordo*, to the decree of the statue (*quod . . . feliciter renuntiaverit ordo publice ponendam censuit*, *CIL* VIII 22737). At the *interrogatio* stage of a debate, the presiding *duumvir* asked each decurion to share his opinion on the matter. Doubtlessly many times, as in the Roman senate, a decurion merely expressed support for a previously spoken *sententia*.¹²⁴ But he was also free to give an original opinion, which could include a suggestion that an individual be honoured publicly.

Having a decurion suggest the honour, however, must have been a less sure option. First, it could be spontaneous and risk being premature without sufficient prior groundwork for the decurions to be ready to support it. Second, unlike at Rome, it appears that the presiding *duumvir* alone could put a motion to the vote.¹²⁵ The *Lex Irnitana* makes it clear that the *duumviri* were to block any actions they viewed to be contrary to the well-being of the community.¹²⁶ Thus, they

¹²³ In 144 at Sala, Mauretania Tingitana, the decurions unanimously supported the *sententia* of Q. Cornelius Capella in the discussion which followed the *duumviri*'s report that a successor had been named for Sala's patron, Sulpicius Felix, the local *praefectus cohortis* (*Ilvir(i) rettulerunt . . . praef(ecto) Sulpicio Felici successorem nominatum . . . quit de re fieri placeret, secundum sententiam Q. Cor(nelii) Capellae c(uncti) c(ensuerunt)*, *IAM* 2.307 right face lines 2-3, 6-7).

¹²⁴ The typical phrase in the Roman senate was *adsentior*, but even a gesture or facial expression could suffice (Talbert 1984: 255).

¹²⁵ An example of this practice is preserved in an inscription from Lepcis Magna, where Ancilius Pompeianus, *duumvir*, converts the *sententia* of Marcius Rufus, *flamen perpetuus*, into a *relatio* permitting the honoree to pay for his honour himself (Appendix A lines C14-16). See also Talbert 1984: 281.

¹²⁶ *se, quodcumque ex h(ac) l(ege) exque re communi municipum municipi Flavii Irnitani censeat, recte esse facturum . . . quof[s]que prohibere possit prohibitorium, LI 26 lines 43-46; si qua praeter ea erunt, de quibus ad decuriones referendum esse pro re publica Ilviro eius municipii videbitur, quominus de is, uti h(ac) l(ege) licebit, at decuriones referat, h(ac) l(ege) nihilum rogatur, LI A line 7.*

could ignore the *sententia*, even if well supported, and let the suggestion of a public honour drop. That might have been a rare situation, however. Often during the *interrogatio* momentum built up behind one *sententia*. If a decurion's suggestion to honour someone proved popular, the presiding *duumvir* would have been heavily pressured to convert that *sententia* into a *relatio*.¹²⁷

The surest method to honour someone was for one of the two *duumviri* to raise the issue himself. This is the method which the *Lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonensis*, dated to the Principate of Vespasian, imposed upon the new provincial flamen.¹²⁸ He was also the chair of the provincial council and the *lex* made it his responsibility to bring forward for debate the granting of permission to the previous year's provincial flamen to set up a statue in the confines of the *templum Augusti* at Narbo (*CIL* XII 6038 lines 10-11).¹²⁹ The *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* is the only civic statute to contain a reference to statues, but the text breaks off (*LCGI* 134). Nevertheless, enough remains to show that it puts the initiative into the hands of the *duumviri*.¹³⁰ Indeed, elsewhere in the civic statutes, the *duumviri* are presented as the sole magistrates able to summon the decurions to meetings and the sole magistrates able to set the agenda (*LI* A, E).¹³¹ On other matters, the statutes directed inhabitants to approach a *duumvir* in order to obtain a decision from the decurions. For example, at the Colonia Genetiva a colonist had to approach a *duumvir* in order for the decurions to debate granting him the right to bring overflow water onto his land (*LCGI* 100).¹³² Thus, for a *duumvir* to propose honouring an individual publicly, either he had to

¹²⁷ For a parallel in the Roman Senate, see Talbert 1984: 281.

¹²⁸ On the likelihood that Vespasian was the source of this *lex* and a similar (hypothetical) one for Proconsularis, see: Fishwick 1978a: 1222-1223; 2002: 188; Rives 1995: 87.

¹²⁹ Williamson 1987: 184-185.

¹³⁰ *ne quis Iivir aedilis praefectus c(oloniae) G(enetivae), quicumque erit, post h(anc) l(egem) ad decuriones c(oloniae) G(enetivae) referto neve decuriones consulito d(ecretum) d(ecurionum) facito n<e>ve d(e) e(a) r(e) in tabulas publicas referto neve referri iubeto . . . quo cui pecunia publica a[liutve] quid honoris habendi causa munerisve d[andi poli]cendi <prove> statua danda ponenda detur do[netur]* . . ., *LCGI* 134 lines 39-42, 45-47.

¹³¹ Mommsen 1905: 230.

¹³² A few times even, both the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* and the municipal Flavian *leges* assume that a person will approach a *duumvir* in order to raise an issue with the decurions. Rather than commanding a person to

decide on his own to bring up the matter before the decurions or someone else had to petition (*postulare*)¹³³ him to raise the matter. The latter is the likely procedure for many of the honours set up in public by private individuals.¹³⁴ If need be, the *duumvir* could invite individuals from outside of the *ordo* to address the decurions in support of (or theoretically against) the proposal.¹³⁵

Additionally, the *postulatio* could come from an unanimous expression of group will. As shown in Table 1.2, thirteen cases from Proconsularis involve honours initiated by a mass petition: one from the decurions, seven from the *populus*, and three of which the inexact Latin does not specify whether the petition came from the people and decurions together or the decurions alone (e.g. *expostulantibus universis*, IRT 633). The two essential components of these petitions were a crowd large enough to be considered representative of a segment of the population or the whole population, and a request chanted loudly by the crowd.¹³⁶ A long inscription from Lepcis Magna preserves an excellent example of a decurional petition. It twice states that all of the decurions petitioned that Plautius Lupus, a *duumvir* of the past year, be honoured with a statue in a two-horse chariot at public expense (*[Q]uod expostulantibus*

approach a *duumvir*, they simply say *si quis decurio . . . ab Ilvir(o) praef(ecto)ve postulabit* (LCGI 96 line 3) or *quoi tutor non erit incertusve erit . . . a Ilviro iure dicendo . . . postu[l]averit* (LI 29 lines 16-18).

¹³³ Dig. 50.7.5.1 (Marcianus) for the *ius postulandi*, which seems to have set the same standards for speaking as those for attending and addressing the decurions (see two notes below).

¹³⁴ In the *ordo* of Perusia, Italy, for example, the *duumvir* P. Casinerius Clemens, in his own name and in the name of his colleague, moved a *relatio* incorporating the petition of Annius Leona to erect a statue to Antoninus Pius provided in a will (*quod P(ublius) Casinerius Clemens Ilvir suo et L(uci) Petili Nepotis collegae sui nomine verba fecit Annium Leonan petere ut secundum verba testamenti . . .*, CIL XI 1924=ILS 5503 left side lines 4-8).

¹³⁵ The presiding *duumvir*'s ability to invite non-decurions to address the *ordo* is implied in the rules of the *Tabula Heracleensis* (lines 126-134) forbidding the convener of a meeting of the decurions from ordering someone to attend and speak to the decurions, who is not permitted to attend or speak in the decurionate. The actions that would legally bar someone from a meeting were those which had brought dishonour on him, such as fighting as a gladiator, dishonourable discharge from the army, prostitution, and being found guilty of a variety of crimes (*TH* lines 108-125). Thus, most citizens could address a meeting of the decurions, even if they did not have sufficient wealth to be a member of the *ordo*.

¹³⁶ *iteratis clamoribus postulavit, passio sanctorum, Montani et Lucii* 20.4; *complentes inter alia pleraque congruentissima voce 'insigniter' adclamant petentes*, Apul. *Apol.* 73; cf. *populus in spectaculis adsidue bigas statui postulasset*, CIL X 3704=ILS 5054; *[frequ]entissimis vocibus*, CIL X 7295; *adclamatio*, AE 1967, 549. On acclamations, see Roueché 1984: 181-186.

universis decurionibus uti Plautio Lupo o(ptimo) o(rdinis) n(ostri) vir(o) biga de pub(lico) collocetur, Appendix A lines B1, C1). It further records a current *duumvir* opening the petition up for debate and subsequently turning the *sententia* of a *flamen perpetuus*, M. Rufus, into a *relatio*, which was duly adopted by the decurions (Appendix A lines C7-8, 14-16). The inscription is designed to project unanimity of thought.

Postulationes populi more clearly demonstrate the petition's potential to exert pressure on decision makers, because of the greater difference in status between the *populus* and the decurions. The sources record *postulationes* of the people happening for three broad reasons: to encourage benefactions from local notables,¹³⁷ to initiate a public honour for a notable, and to influence judicial decisions. They are known to have occurred at spectacles,¹³⁸ a packed basilica for one of Apuleius' demonstrative speeches (*Apol.* 73), the Carthaginian *praetorium* during the Valerianic persecution of 259, possibly a banquet,¹³⁹ and just possibly at *contiones* (informal non-voting assemblies where public business was discussed).¹⁴⁰ Philostratus relates that, while Titus was making a public sacrifice at Tarsus, “the assembled city began to petition him on the greatest of matters” (ἔθνε μὲν γὰρ δημοσίᾳ ὁ βασιλεύς, ξυνελθοῦσα δὲ ἡ πόλις ἰκέτευεν ὑπὲρ τῶν

¹³⁷ Ville 1981: 210 n.77; Jacques 1984: 399-406.

¹³⁸ *populus in spectaculis . . . postulasset*, *CIL* X 3704=*ILS* 5054, Jacques 1984: 413 n.18, 420. While the word *postulatio* does not appear, the exuberant *adclamatio* recorded in a mosaic at Smirat, near Thysdrus, is evidence for a *postulatio* during a spectacle. The mosaic records the chant of an audience of a beast hunt pressuring a certain Magerius to pick up the tab for the event (*AE* 1967, 549; Beschtaouch 1966: 134, 140-141; 2006a: 1404; Jacques 1984: 400; cf. Beschtaouch 1985: 458 and Edmondson 2016 re. *CIL* VIII 1884+p.1576=*ILAlg.* 1.3079). See also *CIL* VIII 958=12438 for another non-political *postulatio* at a spectacle. At Sabratha, the popular petition for statue in a four-horse chariot to C. Flavius Pudens might have taken place at the end of a five-day gladiatorial show, since that is the only specified benefaction of Pudens: *Pudens super numerosam munificentiam quam in ciues suos contulit etiam muneris gladiatori spectaculum primus in patria sua per dies quinq(ue) splendidissimum ediderit ordo Sabrathensium populo postulante quadrigam ei de publico ponend(am) censuit*, *IRT* 117.

¹³⁹ [- - - cui cum *populus* propter] voluptates honeste exhibitas ad augendam [optimi viri honorificentiam frequētissimis vocibus bigas centuriatim [postulasset - - -], *CIL* X 7295 with Jacques 1984: 414 n.2.

¹⁴⁰ Several inscriptions from Thugga record that various items for the well-being of Severus Alexander were “promised” by individuals “on demand of the *populus*,” which may refer to *pollicitationes* made by candidates in *contione* (*quod postulante universo populo p[romiseru]nt A(ulus) Vitellius Priva[tus - - -]*, *CIL* VIII 26548; *CIL* VIII 1486=15525=26550; *CIL* VIII 1492=15524=26549).

Table 1.2: Postulationes for Public Honours in Africa Proconsularis

Group	City	Date	Text	Honoree	Citation
1 decurions	Lepcis Magna	c.190/ c.210	(twice): <i>[Q]uod expostulantibus universis decurionibus uti Plautio Lupo o(ptimo) o(rdinis) n(ostri) vir(o) biga de pub(lico) collocetur . . .</i>	<i>flamen and duumvir</i>	Appendix A lines B1, C1
2 <i>universi</i>	Lepcis Magna	100/ 199	<i>. . . expostulantibus universis bigam ordo decr(emit) pater piissimo f(ilio) hon(ore) cont(entus) sua pec(unia) fecit</i>	son of dedicator	IRT 633
3 <i>ordo and populus?</i> ¹⁴¹	Thubursicu Numidarum	102/ 117	<i>. . . cum expostulant(ibus) [splendido(?) or]dine et populo I[- - -]E [- - -] pra]eter[e]a aere conlato [- - - summa re(?)]missa rei p(ublicae) cuius honor [- - - d]ecuriones N[- - -] [pecunia prop]ria posu[erunt - - -]</i>	<i>duumvir</i>	ILAlg. 1.1300
4 decurions or <i>cives</i> and decurions?	Agbia	138/ 161	<i>. . . cumq(ue) propter eiusdem Cinci Victoris merita quae circa r(em) p(ublicam) suam et universos cives exhibuisset M(arcum) Cincium Felicem Iulianum fil(ium) eius ex consensu et favore patronum expostulassent et fecissent . . .</i>	future patron, son of current patron	CIL VIII 1548 = 15550 = ILS 6827
5 <i>principes Africae viri</i>	Carthage	157/ 172	<i>Priusquam vobis occipiam, principes A(fricae) v(iri), gratias agere ob statuam, quam mihi praesenti honeste postulastis et absenti benigne decrevistis . . .</i>	Apuleius, orator	Apul. Flor. 16.1
6 <i>populus</i>	Gigthis		<i>. . . cui ordo expostul(a)nte populo ob munificentiam statuam cum decrevisset isq(ue) remissa rei p(ublicae) pecun(ia) de suo ponere vellet ordo populusq(ue) r= 's? '(ua) p(ecunia) p(onendam) c(uravit)</i>	<i>duumvir</i>	CIL VIII 32+p.921 = 11034
7 <i>populus</i>	Gigthis		<i>. . . ob multiplicem eius erga rem publicam munificentiam expostulante universo populo ordo posuit</i>	<i>flamen perpetuus</i>	CIL VIII 22728 = 22733 = ILTun. 37
8 <i>populus</i>	Gigthis		<i>. . . ornatori patriae expostulante populo consensu decurionum ordo statuam publice decrevit quo honore contentus M(arcus) Ummidius Sed[atus] sua pecunia posu[it dedic(avit)]</i>	local benefactor	CIL VIII 22743 = ILTun. 44
9 <i>populus</i>	Curubis		<i>. . . ob simplicem vitam amoremque largum erga cives et patriam ad</i>	<i>duumvir,</i>	CIL VIII 12453

¹⁴¹ ILAlg. 1.1300 may also refer to a joint *postulatio* of the *ordo* and *populus*, but that depends on how many spaces are missing between *expostulant[ibus?]* and *ordine et populo*. Another possible reading is that unknown people are requesting something *[ab] ordine et populo*.

Group	City	Date	Text	Honoree	Citation
			<i>remunerandam gratiam editorum munerum patris eius et fratris Curubitanus ordo expostulante populo honorem statuae decrevit</i>	<i>munerarius</i>	= 24101
10 <i>populus</i>	Thubba	latest 249	<i>. . . splendidissimus [ordo] petitu eti[am] un[iversi po]puli I[- - -]C[- - -]I[- - -] SI[- - - inco]mparabili iustitia i[n]tegrita[te] bonitate clemen[tia] administrata statu[am] aere collato posuer[unt]</i>	<i>flamen perpetuus</i> (Carthage or Thubba)	<i>CIL VIII 25376</i> = <i>ILTun. 1169</i>
11 <i>populus</i>	Sabratha	100/299	<i>. . . ordo Sabrathensium populo postulante quadrigam ei de publico ponend(am) censuit Fl(avius) Pudens honore contentus sua pecunia posuit</i>	<i>flamen perpetuus, duumviralis</i>	<i>IRT 117</i>
Possible					
12 citizens (for local citizenship)	Oea	157	<i>omnes qui aderant ingenti celebritate basilicam, qui locus auditorii erat, complentes inter alia pleraque congruentissima voce 'insigniter' adclamant petentes, ut remanerem, fierem civis Oeensium. mox auditorio misso Pontianus eo principio me adortus consensum publicae vocis pro divino auspicio interpretatur . . .</i>	Apuleius, orator	<i>Apul. Apol. 73</i>
13 decurions? ¹⁴²	Carthage	c.275	<i>[Quod postulantibus universis decurionibus Pompeius Faustin]us v(ir) c(larissimus) p(atronus) c(oloniae) Ilvir q(uin)q(uennalis) v(erba) f(ecit) de s[tatua de publico ponen]da . . .</i>	aedile post mortem	<i>ILTun. 1066 = AE 1977, 851</i>
14 <i>populus?</i>	Thuburnica		<i>[- - - ex consensu et postulatione(?)] populi d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i>		<i>CIL VIII 14702</i>

¹⁴² The heavy restoration is quite speculative.

μεγίστων, *VA* 6.34.1). The Caesar's presence did make for a unique situation and Philostratus might have embellished or even fabricated the story, but it further shows that Philostratus at least believed it possible for a populace to leverage any occasion to apply pressure on a person in a position to act.¹⁴³

It is possible, however, that a petition was planned by supporters of the honoree or, at least, that it was known ahead of time that the decurions would respond favourably to the content of the petition. An additional possibility will be discussed in Chapters 3.5 and 4.3.B that a *postulatio populi* could have served to highlight the earnestness of the desire to honour rather than to pressure the decurions to authorise the statue, that is as a supplement to the honour of the statue. How to interpret an inscription from Cumae, Italy, which records that the *populus* “constantly” (*adsidue*) petitioned the decurions during spectacles to erect two *bigae* in honour of a local benefactor (*populus in spectaculis adsidue bigas statui postulasset et splendidissim(us) ordo merito decreviss(et)*, *CIL* X 3704=*ILS* 5054, cf. *[frequ]entissimis vocibus*, *CIL* X 7295)? The people might have been boisterously promoting the idea of honouring their benefactor before the decurions, but the decurions might have also been “constantly” cheering along with the *populus*. The inscription distinguishes between the two groups, but that does not necessarily mean that the decurions (who must have also enjoyed the shows) required prompting from the *populus*. The *Passio sanctorum Montani et Lucii* provides a clearer example of a *postulatio* intended to pressure decision makers. It states that in 259 the *populus*, “protesting” (*cum reclamante populo*, 20.4; cf. *publice reclamante populo*, 21.7) at the Carthaginian *praetorium*, “petitioned [the prefect] with repeated shouts” for a Christian to be put to torture in an attempt to reverse his confession (*ad hoc populus exasperatus torqueri eum iteratis clamoribus postulavit*,

¹⁴³ Pliny presents a request *tanto consensu* as difficult to turn down: *Ep.* 6.34.2. Cf. Hurlet's assertion that *postulationes populi* were a form of popular *consensus* to pressure decurions (2002: 170).

20.5). In this judicial context at least, it seems unlikely that the *postulatio populi* had been planned in consultation with the decision makers.

Even if the *postulatio* had been a polite and positive affair, this did not stop the object of the demonstration from using it as political leverage. Apuleius was putting political spin on the popular petition that he be made a citizen of Oea when he called it the “consensus of the public voice.” His step-son, moreover, interpreted it as a “divine omen” (*consensum publicae vocis pro divino auspicio interpretatur*, *Apol.* 73). More strongly, Apuleius characterises the *postulatio* by respectable Carthaginians for a public statue in his honour as a “directive” to the magistrates and other leaders of the city (*ceterum meminerant optimi magistratus et benivolentissimi principes mandatum sibi a vobis*, *Flor.* 16.43). He softens this statement by noting that the magistrates and *principes* themselves “wanted” (*quod volebant*) the statue, but, nevertheless, it too shows that one could leverage a *postulatio* to pressure decision makers who ostensibly agree with it. In fact, that Apuleius so clearly points out that the original *postulatio* has not been completely fulfilled in a speech to the petitioners rather than in the *curia* to the decurions (who decreed the statue) raises the possibility that he was trying to trigger another *postulatio* to pressure the decurions to vote public funds for the current statue or for a new one altogether – the concern which occupies the final part of his speech (*Flor.* 16.41-47).

Nonetheless, the *duumviri* did not have to acquiesce to every popular petition. Only one of the two *postulationes populi* aimed at the prefect at Carthage during the Valerianic persecution succeeded.¹⁴⁴ According to Philostratus, Titus too was only going to present the Tarsians' requests to Vespasian. It took an intervention by Apollonius to convince him to respond immediately (*VA*

¹⁴⁴ *passio sanctorum Montani et Lucii* 15.1, 16.1, 20.4. The judicial nature of these petitions mean that they have a different context and tone than petitions to honour. At a basic level, however, they do suggest that *duumviri* could refuse to forward petitions to the decurions for a vote, if they were firm in their belief that the proposed honoree was unsuitable. This hypothetical situation recalls the *duumviri*'s power to refuse the candidacies of people they deem unsuitable to hold public office (*LM* 54).

6.34.2). Moreover, Apuleius' Oean honour shows that not every popular petition had to have been confrontational. An inscription at Gigthis commemorating a statue to M. Ummidius Sedatus neatly juxtaposes the petition of the people to the decision and resulting decree of the decurions: “with the people petitioning [and] on consensus of the decurions, the *ordo* decreed a statue at public expense” (*expostulante populo consensu decurionum ordo statuem publice decrevit*, *CIL* VIII 22743). The emphasis of the text is on the authority of the *ordo* and the people's subordination to that body.¹⁴⁵ The present participle in the ablative case, *expostulante*, implies that the people were waiting for the decurions to act. As with Plautius Lupus' *biga* petitioned by the decurions of Lepcis Magna, the message of the inscription (although not necessarily the reality) is of proper order and cooperation. Presumably, when the will of the people was so clear, it was easier for one of the *duumviri* to receive it as a formal petition and to put a motion before the decurions than to summon the *curiae* for a vote.¹⁴⁶ Besides, the *duumvir* would also increase his popularity by quickly responding to the will of the people.

1.4 THE *CURATOR REI PUBLICAE*

The presence of a *curator rei publicae* in the community could lead to an extra step for the authorisation of a public honour. Africa Proconsularis contains the third highest number of references to this office in the empire after Italy and Asia. The earliest mention of the office comes from an inscription at Sufetula dated towards 196 (*IL Afr.* 130), almost a century after the first known *curator* in Italy.¹⁴⁷ *Curatores rei publicae* were the officials charged by emperors to

¹⁴⁵ Jacques 1984: 406.

¹⁴⁶ No need to imagine with Jacques (1984: 409, cf. 418) that a subsequent ceremony turned such interventions of the people into *decreta*. Jacques (1984: 407-409, 423; cf. 382-3), however, does seem right to argue (contra Kotula 1968: 93) that *postulationes populi* are not necessarily indicative of a loss of the people's voting rights.

¹⁴⁷ Jacques 1984: 239; Burton 2004: 339. For the dating to 104/106 CE of a seeming precursor to the office of *curator rei publicae* – a *curat(or) coloni' a' r(um) et municipior(um)* at Antiochea, Pisidia –, see Camodeca 1980: 474-475. The earliest secure reference to a *curator rei publicae* in Italy dates generally to the principate of Trajan

set in order the finances of certain struggling cities. They clearly could attend meetings of the *ordo* and influence matters concerning the spending of *publica pecunia* and the assignment of public spaces,¹⁴⁸ both of which concerned public honours. One inscription from Bulla Regia even shows a *curator* confirming a statue to a *flamen perpetuus* and former *duumvir* paid with public money,¹⁴⁹ while a few more show *curatores* dedicating statues to emperors or members of the imperial family.¹⁵⁰ Thus, at first glance, they might have had a large impact on the public honouring process.

Curatores rei publicae, however, were not involved in the day-to-day administration of the city nor were they integrated into the local institutions.¹⁵¹ They seem to have been sent to cities with specific financial problems to solve; only a small minority of cities are known to have had a curator appointed to them and few more than once.¹⁵² Their main tasks were to audit the public accounts of the city, oversee the food supply, stop abuses, institute best practices, and to initiate proceedings to recover misappropriated public money and land. The actual adjudication of cases resulting from the *curator's* efforts had to be done by the governor or another competent authority.¹⁵³ As Giuseppe Camodeca and Jacques both argue, their mission was to ensure civic

(from Beneventum regarding a curatorship of Aecae: *CIL* IX 1619=*ILS* 5502; Camodeca 1980: 502 s.v. Aecae 1).

¹⁴⁸ See for example, *AE* 1927 115; *CIL* X 1814, *CIL* XI 3614, *CIL* XIV 2410. Jacques 1984: 275-279.

¹⁴⁹ “the whole *populus* with sincere votes and the *ordo* with a most weighty judgement, with Burrenius Felix – most illustrious man and *curator* of our *res publica* – decreeing” (*universus populus sinceris suffragiis suis et ordo splendidissimus gravissimo iudicio decernente Burrenio Felice c(larissimo) v(iro) cur(atore) rei p(ublicae) n(ostrae)*, *AE* 1962, 184b). Cf. Mediolanum, Italy: “by the most splendid *ordo* of the Mediolanienses with Sabucius Maior, most illustrious man, *curator rei publicae*, confirming” (*ab splendidissim(o) ordine Mediol(aniensium) confirmant(e) Sabucio Maiore c(larissimo) v(iro) curat(ore) rei p(ublicae)*, *AE* 1974, 345). *CIL* VIII 2437, 12272, 17871; *ILAf*: 130, 131; cf. *CIL* VIII 1297=14799=25837 (from the late 4th century).

¹⁵¹ See Camodeca for the decisive argument that *curatores rei publicae* were responsible to the emperor, not to the cities to which they were appointed (1980: 461-463). Cf. Jacques 1984: 231, 289.

¹⁵² In Proconsularis, thirty-six *curatores* are known before the end of the fourth century for thirty cities (including uncertain curatorships; Jacques 1984: 222-225). Burton finds similar low frequencies of references to the office in the province of Asia (1979: 470-473). He adds that the evidence from Africa suggests that Proconsularis was comparable (1979: 473-474). Returning to the subject in 2004, Burton concludes that “the obvious inference to be drawn from this data is that the number of *curatores* ever appointed was relatively small in comparison both to the total number of cities in the relevant provinces and to the chronological periods analysed” (2004: 339).

¹⁵³ Tasks: Camodeca 1980: 457-473; Jacques 1984: 281-282; resolution of disputes: Jacques 1984: 291.

harmony and the long-term viability of local institutions, rather than to undermine them or to increase the emperor's control over local affairs.¹⁵⁴

When curators dedicated statues or exerted influence on issues outside of their narrow range of responsibilities, it was not through formal authority, but rather through *auctoritas*, for they generally enjoyed greater social standing than the local governing class.¹⁵⁵ They did not have any ability to initiate decrees.¹⁵⁶ Even in the few above-mentioned instances where they were involved in decrees of the decurions, they were confirming decisions after the fact, sometimes seemingly only because the decurions chose to ask them.¹⁵⁷ Besides, proconsuls and civic patrons are also found confirming decisions of decurions.¹⁵⁸ Therefore, the occasional confirmation or dedication by a *curator* in the third century does not signal a sudden loss of control by the *ordo*.¹⁵⁹ *Curatores* were not even always present in the city to which they were assigned, and, when they were, their appointment probably lasted at most one year.¹⁶⁰ Given all of these

¹⁵⁴ Camodeca 1980: 487-489; Jacques 1984: 281-282, 292-300; cf. Burton 1979: 480-481; 2004: 337, 340-341.

Already in 1896 Jules Toutain felt it necessary “to combat” the idea that the *curator rei publicae* was a mechanism by which the emperors sought to control the financial decisions of North African cities (1896: 356-358). Nonetheless, the opposing view continued. C. Lucas, for instance, argued that the *curatores rei publicae* “encroached upon the work of *ordo* and magistrates” and represented “the encroachment of the central imperial service into local affairs” (Lucas 1940: 70, cf. 72-74).

¹⁵⁵ Jacques 1984: 299, pace Camodeca who asserts that *curatores rei publicae* had jurisdiction equivalent to the governor (1980: 458-460). Africa Proconsularis stands out in number of senatorial *curatores rei publicae* (six confirmed before 270); some were even posted to cities of secondary importance (Jacques 1984: 233-234). There were many of equestrian status as well. Within the *pertica* of Carthage, *curatores* tended to be from the *ordo* of the *colonia*, but even these had greater wealth and status than the members of the governing class of their assigned cities (Jacques 1984: 235-238).

¹⁵⁶ Jacques 1984: 281.

¹⁵⁷ Jacques 1984: 274-279; Burton 2004: 338. Jacques' main evidence is the four months between when the decurions of Caere decided to consult their *curator rei publicae* about their decision (*ex consensu decurionum*, *CIL* XI 3614) to authorise alienation of public land and the actual sending of the letter (the *curator* lived in a different community). His agreement with their decision was more rapidly given (one month after the sending of the letter).

¹⁵⁸ *CIL* VIII 98, 4845=17521, 14758; *Dig.* 50.10.3.1 (Macer); *Dig.* 50.10.6 (Modestinus).

¹⁵⁹ Burton 1979: 475-476.

¹⁶⁰ See the letters copied in *CIL* XI 3614 for the absence of at least one *curator rei publicae*. On duration of stay in cities, see Jacques 1984: 283-287; Burton 2004: 340. Much of the argument is based on logic, resting on ideas of how long someone of high rank would have been content to stay in a city not their own, especially senatorial *curatores*.

considerations, the long-term impact of *curatores rei publicae* on the public honouring process was probably minimal. If there was any long-term influence, it was that their presence in cities or the threat of their imposition helped to ensure that the decurions followed the procedures outlined above. This last point, of course, implies that the decurions sometimes did not follow proper procedure (cf. *Dig.* 50.9.4, Ulpian).

1.5 FINANCING PUBLIC HONOURS

A) PRICES

Statues were a sizable expense for cities and wealthy individuals alike. Duncan-Jones observes in his study of prices in North Africa that the reported cost of statues range from 460 to 66,000HS.¹⁶¹ Pedestrian statues, which were by far the most common type, generally ranged from 3,000 to 6,999HS. The main factors controlling the cost were the material (silver, bronze, marble), the size and type of statue (pedestrian, equestrian, bigate, quadrigate), and the quality of the artistry. Most of the inscriptions containing prices were commemorating statues either of a religious nature or to emperors and members of their families. On average, more money might have been spent on these types of statues than on statues of local civic notables.¹⁶² Of Duncan-Jones' 135 examples of stated statue prices in North Africa, only four pertain to honours to individuals outside of the imperial family. All are local notables, three of whom were honoured in Africa Proconsularis. The most expensive cost 6,661HS in the mid 3rd century (Thabarbusis: *AE* 1960, 214);¹⁶³ the second most expensive, possibly from late in the third century,¹⁶⁴ cost 3,200HS

¹⁶¹ Duncan-Jones 1982: 78-79, 93-99; cf. Duncan-Jones: 1962: 62.

¹⁶² Zimmer 1989: 7.

¹⁶³ The inscription notes that Calama had the status of *municipium*, which it still had in 211 (*AE* 1955, 149; *ILAlg.* 1.241=*CIL* VIII 5328). It became a colony at the very latest in 283 (*ILAlg.* 1. p.20 and *ad* 247).

¹⁶⁴ Gascou 1972: 59 n.2.

(Zucchar: *CIL* VIII 11201), while the least expensive one was made for 3,000HS at an unknown date (Numiulis: *CIL* VIII 15392). The fourth, also undated, was found in Mauretania Caesariensis and cost 6,000HS (Tupusuctu: *CIL* VIII 8840+p.1950).

But what do these statue prices mean? 2,000HS is “something of a standard figure” in the empire for *summae honorariae*, according to Duncan-Jones.¹⁶⁵ This is the fee individuals had to pay to the city in order to enter the *ordo* as a *pedanus*, to occupy a municipal office, or to take up a priesthood. Increasingly over the second and early third centuries, it represented an “essential” revenue stream for cities.¹⁶⁶ The actual figures varied widely. 4,000 and 5,000HS are commonly found in cities of middle size in Proconsularis.¹⁶⁷ The largest and most prosperous cities, such as Carthage and Cirta, charged up to 38,000HS (for the *quinquennialitas*), while 20,000HS is more common as the high-end of the fee structure.

Summae honorariae were, thus, *grosso modo*, equivalent to the cost of statues. When the decurions of a city of average size and wealth decided to erect a statue at public expense, they were essentially cancelling out the money which one of that year's magistrates had put into the civic treasury. For many individuals, even though they were wealthy enough to be a part of the governing class, statues must have represented an unusually large expense, which might have been difficult to afford more than a few times over the course of their lives in addition to the other high costs of their positions.¹⁶⁸ This is especially true if Jacques is correct that the (unofficial) minimum census to be a decurion in Africa Proconsularis ranged between 35,000HS (for a small *civitas*) to 400,000HS (for the largest cities like Carthage), with the average for

¹⁶⁵ Duncan-Jones 1982: 83.

¹⁶⁶ Briand-Ponsart 1999: 229-231; cf. Mouritsen 1998: 249. See also the argument of Garnsey (1971b: 320-323) that Pliny (*Ep.* 10.112-113) and emperors (after Trajan) increasingly believed that decurions needed to take more financial responsibility for their cities, which mostly meant paying higher *summae honorariae*.

¹⁶⁷ Duncan-Jones 1962: 68-69.

¹⁶⁸ Erkelenz (2005: 222) estimates that the cost of statues exceeded the yearly wage of a legionary soldier.

medium-sized towns being 80,000 to 100,000HS.¹⁶⁹ A statue worth 5,000HS, therefore, would have represented 1/16 to 1/20 of the average decurion's net worth. While they were not exorbitantly expensive, statues were not a trifling expense either. Indeed, even wealthy cities are known to have tried disreputable means to avoid their cost, like re-dedicating old statues (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.100-104, 109, 116-119; cf. *Dig.* 50.12.6.3, Ulpian).

B) PECUNIA PUBLICA

There were three main ways to finance statues: by public money (*[ex] pecunia publica*, normally abbreviated as *p.p.*), by private money (*[de/ex] sua pecunia*, normally abbreviated as *s.p.*), and by collected money (*[ex] aere conlato*, unabbreviated). While *pecunia publica* is by far the most common phrase to signal the use of public funds, one also finds the prepositional phrase *de publico*.¹⁷⁰ Public funds are also included in the package of ideas covered by the adverb *publice*, found most frequently in Tripolitania.¹⁷¹ The brief inscription from a statue base at Gigthis is a good example: *Aurelio Vero Caesari Gigthenses publice* (CIL VIII 22708). The adverb supports the dedicatory term *Gigthenses* to suggest more concretely that this was a dedication of the entire community, the *ordo* and *populus* together.¹⁷² It also refers to the statue's location in a public space, in this case the forum of Gigthis.¹⁷³ That it also signals the use of

¹⁶⁹ Jacques 1984: 527-532. The starting point for Jacques' analysis is Pliny's estimate of an Italian's wealth to be 100,000HS, because he is a decurion (*Ep.* 1.19.2).

¹⁷⁰ CIL VIII 5366, 14703+p.2543; Appendix A lines B2, C6. Cf. Saastamoinen 2010a: 312-313.

¹⁷¹ OLD s.v. *publice*; Hinard and Dumont 2003: 123; Tran 2007: 427-428.

¹⁷² Contra Tran (2007: 428) who suggests that ancient readers of inscriptions might have read *publice* as synonymous with *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*. Of course, a decree of the decurions was necessary, but this does not rule out the participation of the *populus*. Tran next suggests more strongly that dedicatory terms like *Gigthenses* were only the "official identity" and not the "real identity," which was the decurions. For further discussion, see Chapter 4.2.

¹⁷³ The sole surviving fragment of one base from Gigthis reads *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) publice locus datus* (CIL VIII 22748). Likely, the statue was the initiative of an individual who was only requesting that it be erected in a public space.

public funds can be inferred from the lack of alternative payment details. This connotation is confirmed by four inscriptions recording that the honorees had set up at their own expense the statue “publicly” decreed to them.¹⁷⁴ In other words, they spared the city the expense. *Publice*, thus, typically covers the senses of both *l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* and *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*.¹⁷⁵

Only the decurions could authorise the use of public funds.¹⁷⁶ The municipal and colonial statutes from Baetica carefully regulated their spending. Even the annual expenditures on religious observances, games, and communal dinners had to be decided by the decurions “at the earliest possible moment” in the *duumviri*’s term and when at least one-half of them were present (*LI* 77; cf. *LI* 79, H; *LCGI* 69). Irregular expenditures or distributions of public money required three-quarters of the decurions to be present just for the *duumviri* to raise the matter (*LI* 79). Typically, quorums, when set, were one-half plus one or two-thirds, the latter quorum being more frequently attested.¹⁷⁷ Even when three-quarters were in attendance, the same decurions had to take the unusual steps of swearing an oath to Jupiter, the Penates, and the deified emperors, and then of voting by secret ballot, in order to ratify the proposed irregular expenditure or distribution. To ensure that such rules were followed, the statutes allowed the decurions and, in

¹⁷⁴ E.g. in the Principate of Antoninus Pius at Gigthis, the *ordo* “decreed that a [statue] be set up publicly” to a *flamen perpetuus*, who then “remitted the money to the *res publica*” (*ordo publice ponendam censuit et cum is honore contentus pecuniam rei p(ublicae) remisisset populus de suo posuit*, *CIL* VIII 22737). Plainly, *pecunia publica* was part of the initial decree. See also: *Libyca* 2.1, 1954, #9, 393-5; *CIL* VIII 22743=*ILTun.* 44; *ILAlg.* 1.1297=*ILS* 9392; cf. *CIL* VIII 23820; *IRT* 600.

¹⁷⁵ One inscription suggests that *publice* does not include public money, for it reads *Gigthisenses publice d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*. *Publice*, then, could be referring only to the collective action of the *Gigthisenses* and the probable public location of the statue. More likely, the *p(ecunia) p(ublica)* was redundant.

¹⁷⁶ *LI* 79 on the extraordinary distribution or expenditure of common funds. *LI* 68-69 and *LCGI* 96 make the *ordo* the proper place for initiating enquiries and trying cases concerning the mishandling of public funds. *LCGI* 69 on the letting out of public contracts to contractors. *LI* H on the amount of money to provide ambassadors for undertaking embassies. *LI* 77 and *LI* 79 on the amount of expenses for religious observances, games, and dinners. One inscription from Sidi Bu Urqub might have once made explicit the authority of the *ordo* over the use of public money for statues: [- - - *pec(unia) pu]bl(ica) ex decr(eto) spl(endidissimi) o[r]dinis*], *ILAfr.* 324.

¹⁷⁷ See Appendix D.

some cases, the citizens at large to sue if they were violated.¹⁷⁸

Once the decurions decided to spend public money, it was carefully tracked and accounted for. One could not handle additional public funds before one had returned any unspent money from the last project managed on behalf of the community and until one had turned over one's accounts to the decurions or a specially commissioned individual for inspection and approval.¹⁷⁹ Governors and Roman officials specially appointed by the emperor – most notably *curatores rei publicae* – reserved the right to audit the accounts of provincial cities, impose new practices, and to initiate procedures to recover public money, if they felt that civic funds were being improperly managed by the decurions.¹⁸⁰ Hence, there was great pressure on the decurions to manage public money carefully.¹⁸¹

It is unclear where public expenditures on honours fit into the above decision making model. For one, honours to leading citizens were well accepted as an award for exceptional services to the community; they would not have been as controversial as a distribution of public funds or expensive building projects. A partially preserved chapter in the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* (134) was clearly preparing to set a minimum quorum of an unknown limit just for the *duumviri* to raise the issue of using *pecunia publica* for a statue and for a decurion to give a

¹⁷⁸ See the provisions for lawsuits at the end of *LCGI* 130 and 131 for parallels of the incomplete *LCGI* 134. Cf. *LCGI* 96.

¹⁷⁹ *LI G*, 67; *LT* lines 22-25. Just to be eligible for office, prospective candidates (and/or their guarantors) had to first pledge sufficient wealth to cover the amount of public funds they would handle over the course of their term, in case the city needed to recover it (*LCGI* 13; *LI/M* 60; cf. *Dig.* 50.1.11, Papinianus; *Dig.* 50.1.13, Papinianus; *Dig.* 50.1.38.6, Papirius Iustus). The decurions reserved the right to investigate any suspected malfeasance (including the appointment of a special prosecutor with the power to summon witness under threat of fines and seizure of pledges) and, if prosecution was determined to be warranted, to try the case (if under 1000HS at Irni) or to forward it to the governor (if over 1000HS; *LI* 68-69).

¹⁸⁰ See Burton's study (2004: *passim*, esp. 318-323, 335) on the relationship between the imperial government and local cities concerning finances. Pliny's special appointment to Bithynia-Pontus is the classic example of a governor's involvement in regulating the finances of individual cities (Plin. *Ep.* 10.17-18; Burton 2004: 327-328).

¹⁸¹ An electoral *programma* from Pompeii suggests that *populi* too were expected to care about the stability of civic finances. The supporter of Bruttius Balbus, who was a candidate for the duumvirate, promises that Balbus will "conserve the treasury" (*hic aerarium conservabit*, *CIL* IV 3702=*ILS* 6405).

sententia on it.¹⁸² Two-thirds is likely for the use of public money, since that is the standard limit for decisions affecting civic resources in the *Lex Irnitana*,¹⁸³ but three-quarters is also possible.¹⁸⁴ The quorum may have been lower for a less ambitious petition to place a statue on public property with private money.¹⁸⁵ When the quorum was reached, the vote might have been by ballot and, possibly, oath.¹⁸⁶

Whatever the exact details were, the decurions were required to be circumspect when decreeing the use of public funds to honour individuals. That is why it is interesting that *pecunia publica* is easily the most attested form of payment for public honours at 322 times (compared to 95 instances of *sua pecunia* and 31 instances of *aes conlatum*). As expected, 255 times (79%) the *ordo* is cited in the inscription, most often as authorizing agent: *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*. Another 52 inscriptions (16%) use a broad civic term as dedicator, of which the *ordo* would have been the leader, such as *municipium*, *civitas*, *res publica*, *Lepcitani*, *cives*, and *pagani*.¹⁸⁷ Special dedicators¹⁸⁸ or *curatores*,¹⁸⁹ who oversaw the process of erecting the statue, are sometimes

¹⁸² This is based on the chapter's similar structure to *LCGI* 130 and 131.

¹⁸³ E.g. *LI* G (auditing and approving the handling of public funds); *LI* 72 (manumission of public slaves); *LI* 76 (inspecting civic territories and sources of revenue). *LI* 79 sets one half quorum for public spending on religious observances, games, dinners for decurions and *municipes*, but *LCGI* 64 has two-thirds for similar expenses.

¹⁸⁴ E.g. *LI* 79 (distribution of funds to *municipes*); *LI* 80 (public loans); *LI* 83 (public building).

¹⁸⁵ Roman statutes were careful to adjust the strictness of decurional votes in proportion to the importance of the proposal (Talbert 1989: 62).

¹⁸⁶ *LCGI* 130 and 131 both required votes by ballot to appoint patrons and *hospites*. The *Lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonensis* required a vote by oath and, probably, by ballot (*CIL* XII 6038 lines 10-11).

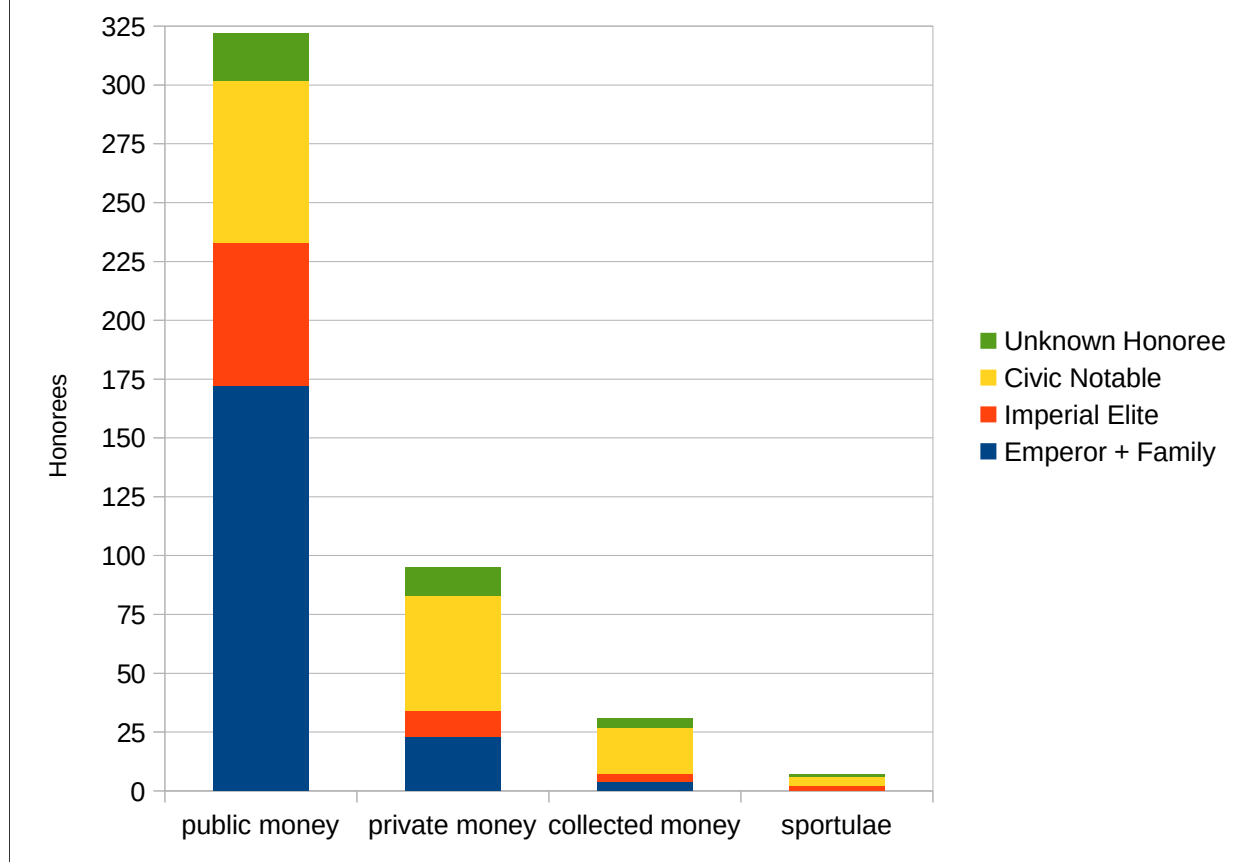
¹⁸⁷ For the leadership of the *ordo* when abstract nouns are used as the dedicator, see, for example, *CIL* VIII 26622 from Thugga: *civi et patro[no] . . . uterque ordo [rem]uneratus boni civis et [p]atroni merita qua decreti s[u]l[i] auctoritate honoraverant [s]tatuum equestrem res publ(ica) mun(icipii) Sep(timi) Aur(eli) lib(eri) Thugg(ensium) posuit*. Cf. *CIL* VIII 17259; *ILTun.* 84. Concerning the *ordo* and *res publica*, see Gascou 1979: 396-397. From Thugga, one inscription reads: *posuit loco a re p(ublica) d(ato)* (*AE* 1966, 512). The formula traditionally contains *ordine* and it probably was the *ordo* that authorised the location in this case too.

¹⁸⁸ Sufetula: *Iuliae Domnae Aug(ustae) . . . d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica) dedicante P(ublio) Aelio Rustico cur(atori) rei p(ublicae) e(gregio) v(iro)*, *IL Afr.* 130=Sbeitla 22; *IL Afr.* 131=Sbeitla 23. Possibly Civitas Maraguitana Sara: *ILTun.* 614=AE 1992, 1776; Utica: *IL Afr.* 419a=Bardo 437a.

¹⁸⁹ Ghardimaou: *e(gregio) v(iro) patrono d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica) curatore C(aio) Iulio Optato*, *CIL* VIII 14729+p.2550; Thugga: *CIL* VIII 1494=26609=Dougga 83; *CIL* VIII 26615=ILS 9404; *CIL* VIII 26604=Dougga 82; Tepeltensis: *Sufes* of *civitas* curating (*CIL* VIII 12248); Simitthus: *CIL* VIII 14611=ILS 6811; possibly Uchi Maius: *CIL* VIII 26252. Alternately, the dedication was sometimes of a larger structure to which the individual had contributed his or her own money (*CIL* VIII 5324+p.1658, 12272, 16441, 24593; *Dig.*

named for statues paid with public money to the emperor or a Roman of high rank, such as a patron, governor, or *curator rei publicae*. In these few cases, the *ordo* was still the primary dedicator. No instance is known of an individual being the sole responsible agent for a statue paid with public funds.¹⁹⁰

Chart 1.1: Stated Payment Methods for Honorific Statues



Emperors and members of the imperial family are the largest group of honorees whose honours received public funding (172/322, 53%). Members of the imperial elite were also

50.10.7.1, Callistratus; cf. *Dig.* 50.10.3.2, Macer).

¹⁹⁰ Twice an individual is listed as co-dedicator because he had contributed money in addition to or in lieu of the originally authorised public money (Uchi Maius: *CIL* VIII 26255=*Uchi* 2.35=*ILS* 9401; Calama: *CIL* VIII 5324+p.1658=*ILAlg.* 1.237). Additionally, one of the two statues a *primus pilus* ordered in his will bears the stamp *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*, which suggests that the *vicani* had to top up the bequeathed money in order to cover the expenses (*ILTun.* 779).

considered worthy of honours at public expense: 61/322 (19%).¹⁹¹ 33 are described as patron(s) of the honouring city. This number includes 4 proconsuls of Africa,¹⁹² 2 more proconsuls without specification,¹⁹³ 2 consular *curatores rei publicae* (Calama: *CIL* VIII 5356=17494=*ILAlg.* 1.283; Utica: *CIL* VIII 1181+p.1388), 4 more *consulares*,¹⁹⁴ a *legatus pro praetore* of Africa twice in the same region (Thibiuca: *CIL* VIII 25367=*Bardo* 204; *IL Afr.* 418), and 14 other people of senatorial rank including women and children, as well as several equestrians high ranking in the imperial service.¹⁹⁵ As Saller argues, such patrons were the access points for imperial benefactions.¹⁹⁶ Moreover, obtaining the patronage of an imperial official currently posted to Proconsularis might have induced better treatment from him and deterred misconduct by other imperial officials.¹⁹⁷ Status, thus, was an important factor in warranting public funds, yet it was often not enough. The city also had to have received services or to expect them in the future. It is not a coincidence that the civic body that was the public face of the city to the rest of the Roman world used public funds to represent the city in honouring the very influential. The other voting institution of *municipia* and *coloniae*, the *curiae*, are not known to have been the dedicators when public funds were used.

Surprising is the number of civic notables deemed worthy of a statue paid by public funds: 69/322 (21%). 23 times, however, the honoree or a relative remitted the public money. As

¹⁹¹ Observed for Volubilis by Christol (2005b: 136). Erkelenz (2003: 222 n.802) says little more than that *aes conlatum* was “seldom” used to pay for an honour to a provincial governor.

¹⁹² Thubursicu: *ILAlg.* 1.1283=*AE* 1967, +536=*AE* 1917/18, 60=*AE* 1919, +46; Lepcis Magna: *IRT* 536=*Epigraphica*-2008-240; Turris Tamalleni: *CIL* VIII 84+p.925, 2347=11226; Puppunt: *CIL* VIII 24094=*Bardo* 417=*ILS* 8973=*ILTun.* 797.

¹⁹³ One is honoured first at Gigthis as *legatus pro praetore* (*CIL* VIII 11026) then as proconsul (*CIL* VIII 11030). For the son of a proconsul, see *CIL* VIII 12291=*ILS* 1085 at Bisica.

¹⁹⁴ Furnos Maius: *CIL* VIII 23800; *AE* 1988, 1111; Thuburbo Maius: *IL Afr.* 281; Thugga: *CIL* VIII 26579=*Dougga* 64.

¹⁹⁵ Ghardimaou: *praefectus classis*, *CIL* VIII 14729+p.2550; Thuburbo Minus: former *ab epistulis* of Antoninus Pius, *CIL* VIII 1174=*ILS* 1451; Uchi Maius: *praefecto praetorio eminentissimo viro civi et patrono*, *CIL* VIII 15454=26270=*ILS* 1334=*Uchi*-1-Ugh-app 3=*Uchi* 2.69.

¹⁹⁶ Saller 1982: 177, 188-189.

¹⁹⁷ Saller 1982: 192.

will be discussed in Chapter 3.4, it is possible that the decurions authorised the use of public money with foreknowledge of the honoree's remittance. That would mean that they knew that the public money would never be accepted. Yet this explanation accounts for just one-third of the authorisations of public money to pay for honours to civic notables. In the following, I will concentrate on the 46 inscriptions which do not record that any public money had been remitted.

9 of the 46 honours paid out of public funds were again to civic patrons. But unlike with imperial elite patrons, in each case, the honouring city was small and limited in importance. Information on 3 of the patrons is minimal.¹⁹⁸ For the remaining 6, the most important of the cities was Uchi Maius, which was a colony by the time it honoured two equestrian patrons in the latter half of the third century (*CIL* VIII 26272=*Uchi* 2.73; *CIL* VIII 15455=*Uchi* 2.74). In both cases, the honoree appears to have hailed from among the most powerful of the locally based families.¹⁹⁹ The *duumviris* patron of Ureu was probably of similar local importance (*AE* 1975, 876). Meanwhile, Thibaris (*CIL* VIII 26185=*ILTun.* 1361) and Thugga twice (*CIL* VIII 26624=*ILTun.* 1438=*Dougga* 53; *CIL* VIII 1494=26609=*Dougga* 83) were honouring local notables in the second century while they were still dependent on Carthage. All 3 honorees were citizens of Carthage and said to hold positions there. Their patronage, thus, was limited to mediating the relationship between the colony and the *pagus* and/or *civitas*, and did not require extensive contacts at the imperial level.

The criteria for meriting public funds, thus, was partly determined by the size and importance of the honouring community. Similar thinking likely informed the usage of public

¹⁹⁸ The *civitas* of Gor calls a seeming Roman citizen of local origin (*civi*) patron (*ILTun.* 768). Two inscriptions at Vallis honour the same two men (*CIL* VIII 14785, 14786). The top half of both stones is missing, however. Thus, it cannot be certain if the career information (including *patronus*) in the genitive pertains to them or, more likely, their father.

¹⁹⁹ See the comments *ad Uchi* 2.73-74 pp. 209-211.

funds to notables of similar status as the patrons, but without the title. For example, communities in the *pertica* of Carthage used public funds to honour 4 other people who held important positions at Carthage: 2 for their munificence (Thuburbo Maius: *IL Afr.* 280; Pupput: *AE* 1995, 1656),²⁰⁰ 1 for his father's merits (*IL Afr.* 512), another 2 for no stated reason.²⁰¹ In addition, 18 local flamens, many of which held other civic offices, were honoured. 2 more honorees were *flaminicae* (Henchir Brik: *CIL* VIII 12317=23888; Calama: *CIL* VIII 5366=*IL Alg.* 1.287) and another four were wives of flamens. An equestrian who obtained the duumvirate (*CIL* VIII 11173=*ILTun.* 258=*ISegermes* 19), another the quinquennialitate, and a third the provincial priesthood (*BCTH* 1951/52-197) were also so honoured. Moreover, 17 of the 46 individuals who did not remit the public money were honoured for their generosity towards the city and their fellow citizens.

Thus, holding office or priesthods and high personal status in comparison to the importance of the honouring community were important criteria for receiving honours paid from public funds. But often more was needed. It seems that services, benefits, or the hope for them were also required. Thus, that two philosophers received statues at public expense may be surprising. One of the philosophers is likely Apuleius from Madauros, who had been active as a decurion there.²⁰² The *cives* explain that he is “their own ornament” (*ornamento suo*, *IL Alg.* 1.2115=4010). By increasing the fame of Madauros around the empire, he too was a benefactor in his own way.

This explanatory note for Apuleius' statue is emblematic of inscriptions commemorating

²⁰⁰ An additional priest of Asculapius was honoured for his *liberalitas* at Thugga (*CIL* VIII 26625=*ILTun.* 1438=*Dougga* 128). It is not certain, however, if the cult was Carthaginian or local (*ad Dougga* 128 p.255).

²⁰¹ Thugga: *CIL* VIII 26615=*ILS* 9404; *CIL* VIII 26624=*ILTun.* 1438=*Dougga* 53 (with commentary on the honoree *ad Dougga* 54).

²⁰² *Apul. Apol.* 24.8-9; Bradley 2012: 259-261.

the use of public funds for statues to local honorees: they are marked by the greater detail of the inscription. 16 of the 61 (26%) such honours to members of the imperial elite cite virtues, family, or a specific reason for the honour. For civic notables, 31 of the 46 (67%) cite virtues, family, or a specific reason. An explanation may be that the decurions felt more pressure to explain expenditures of public money for honours to civic notables than for honours to members of the imperial family or imperial elite.²⁰³

C) AES CONLATUM

31 public honours are known to have been paid with *aes conlatum*. In other words, the honour was paid out of a fund made up of contributions, and indeed two inscriptions say just that: *ex collatione* (CIL VIII 12297, 17259). Cicero observes (negatively) that such collections are a feature of groups, both public and private (*ordo aliqui censorum est, collegium, genus aliquod hominum?*, *Verr.* 2.2.137). While he is severely critical of Verres for forcing local censors to organise collections to erect statues to himself, the orator does not question fundamentally that magistrates would run such funds. An inscription from Capena, Italy, records that a decree of an *ordo* had authorised a collection.²⁰⁴ It does not follow, however, that every collection required pre-authorisation by the decurions.

Several inscriptions from Proconsularis also hint at how the money was collected. Two from quite opposite ends of the province (Hippo Regius and Gigthis) note that the money had been collected *viritim*, that is person by person.²⁰⁵ The implication is that someone canvassed for

²⁰³ Géza Alföldy made similar observations for the region of Venetia and Histria in north-eastern Italy (1984: 62-65).

²⁰⁴ From Capena : *ex decreto ordinis conlatione facta dec(urionum) et Aug(ustalium) item vicanorum*, AE 1954, 167=AE 2003, 642. Berrendonner 2005: 534.

²⁰⁵ *viritim aere conlato*, CIL VIII 5231=17416, 22739. Lefebvre claims without support that *viritim* refers to the financial participation of the decurions in the collection (1994: 37).

the money. Another inscription from Thagaste, to the south of Hippo Regius, states that the canvassing was competitive, suggesting that groups were friendly rivals in the collective effort to honour a local equestrian known for his loyalty, goodness, and munificence (*conlata certatim pecunia*, *CIL* VIII 5146).²⁰⁶ Finally, thirty-two kilometres north-west at Thubursicu Numidarum the specification that the *populus* was distributed into *curiae* in order to honour the first provincial priest from that city indicates that the *populus* could use the organisational structures provided by the *curiae* to collect money for honours (*o[rdo et popul]us in cu[r]ias cont[ributus] a[ere conla]to*, *ILAlg.* 1.1295).

A marble *tabula* from Veii, Italy, gives the only indication of the space in which a collection took place.²⁰⁷ It relates that the *seviri*, *Augustales*, *municipes intramurani*, and fellow men on the centumviral court at Rome (*Cviri*) honoured a centumviral judge with “money which was collected in the *orchestra* at the games” put on by the *duumviri* (*ex aer{a}e quod in orchestra conlatum est ludis quos fecerunt Vergilius Cogitatus Iulius Senecio Ilviri*, *CIL* XI 3808). The location of the *orchestra* between the stage and the seating area and the ablative *ludis*, which has temporal and locative aspects to it,²⁰⁸ raise the possibility that there were many people in the audience looking down on the contributors as they entered the orchestra to make their donation. Berrendonner notes that the seating of theatres and other venues for spectacles was hierarchically organised, with the seats reserved for the increasingly more privileged as they got nearer to the floor.²⁰⁹ The *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* (127), for example, reserves seating in the town's orchestra exclusively for Romans of senatorial rank, Roman (pro)magistrates, and the

²⁰⁶ Ferguson (1918: 517) interprets the phrase as a collection “drive.”

²⁰⁷ Berrendonner (2008: 322) assumes that, because the *curiae* had passed some honours using *aes conlatum*, that the collection happened during the assembly (*ILAlg.* 1.1295, 1301). This is not certain.

²⁰⁸ *NLG* #424 d.

²⁰⁹ Berrendonner 2005: 536-537; cf. *LI* 81.

praefectus fabrum of the Roman provincial governor of Baetica. Berrendonner hesitates to draw a conclusion from this observation,²¹⁰ but it does suggest that the more privileged members of the audience (sitting closer) contributed first and set the precedent. The collection at Veii, thus, seems designed to maximise social pressure in order to encourage people to donate. This was doubtlessly a special case, but then all efforts to collect money in order to honour would have been special occasions, given the required effort and their relative infrequency. The inscription is evidence that collections happened in public and that each person's act of donation was witnessed by many fellow citizens.

The individuals honoured through collected money were noticeably more local in character than honours paid from public funds. 8 statues are the sum of honours to individuals from outside of the community: 4 to emperors,²¹¹ 2 to former proconsuls (one of which was a civic patron), 1 to a military tribune who was civic patron, and 1 to a *curator rei publicae* from Carthage.²¹² 20 other times, the honorees were local magistrates, civic and provincial flamens, their relatives, and other members of the local governing class. Even the two proconsuls had long-term connections to Proconsularis. The consular patron of Thibuica had been quaestor of Africa probably well before his last stated office of proconsul of Crete and Cyrene. Meanwhile, the other proconsul, deceased, is likely to have been native to the honouring community (Municipium Cincaritanum), for the *curiales* only started the collection after his mother gave an unspecified gift to them (*universi curiales mun(icipii) Cin(caritani) provocati largit[io]ne matris eius aer{a}e collato de s[uo] posuerunt*, *CIL* VIII 14769). The inscription does not even

²¹⁰ Berrendonner proposes that the noted *municipes* (*intra* and *extra murani*) designated the notables alone or merely that contributors gave their money in the orchestra (2005: 538).

²¹¹ *CIL* VIII 15666, 15667, 15669, 17259.

²¹² Municipium Cincaritanum: deceased proconsul, *CIL* VIII 14769; Thibuica: proconsul and patron, *CIL* VIII 14291=*ILS* 1096; Calama: a military tribune, *CIL* VIII 5363+p.1658=*ILAlg.* 1.284; Furnos Minus: *curator rei publicae*, *CIL* VIII 25808b=*ILS* 9403=*AE* 1909, 162.

summarise his career, as if it was already well known by the community.

The collections for the emperors, meanwhile, all occurred in *castella*, small peregrine villages: 3 times at Ucubi,²¹³ which was stipendiary to Sicca Veneria, and once at a regional centre of a rural *pagus* near Numidia known only by its modern name, Kudiat Setieh.²¹⁴ The local leaders of Ucubi were *seniores* rather than decurions, although decurions of Sicca Veneria did reside there. Kudiat Setieh was developed enough to call its leaders *decuriones* (probably) and the community a *res publica*. It, thus, likely possessed a public treasury, but no expenditures of public funds are known. Both communities might have resorted to collection, because they did not control sufficient public funds to erect statues in addition to their annual expenditures. Collection then could be an alternative payment method when regular funds were insufficient.

In other situations, a collection might have served as an act of consensus, as Berrendonner has proposed.²¹⁵ The practice was not limited to poor communities and groups. The decurions of Ammaedara (once) and Thubursicu Numidarum (twice), the *cives* of Calama (twice), and the *ordo* and *populus* of Gigthis and Madauros – all cities perfectly capable of authorizing public funds for honours – still used collection. There is even evidence for collections at Carthage, although it is highly fragmentary.²¹⁶

It is noticeable that the decurions, despite their ability to decree public money, seem to have been the most frequent users of collection to pay for statues (12/31, including 5 times with the *populus* or *curiae*). This may be because the strict usage of public money imposed by the civic statutes caused them to seek out alternative ways to pay for statues.²¹⁷ It was established

²¹³ *CIL* VIII 15666=*ILS* 6806; *CIL* VIII 15667=15668; *CIL* VIII 15669=*ILS* 6807=*ILTun.* 1580. Aounallah 2010: 88-89.

²¹⁴ *CIL* VIII 17259=*ILAlg.* 1.952=*ILS* 449+p.171. For discussion of Kudiat Setieh, see Gsell's comments *ad ILAlg.* p.88.

²¹⁵ Berrendonner 2005: 533; 2008: 325-326.

²¹⁶ *Karthago* 26 #29; *CILPCarth.* 123-125.

²¹⁷ Berrendonner 2008: 325.

above that emperors were by far the most frequent recipients of statues paid with public funds. The use of *aes conlatum*, therefore, may sometimes be explained by concern that the provincial governor and others could disagree that local honorees warranted the expenditure of public money. But careful management of public funds is unlikely to be the only reason.²¹⁸

Given the more local flavour of *aes conlatum* honours, it is probably not a coincidence that the inscriptions identify the dedicators more concretely. Abstract terms are used to denote the civic dedicators of the honours, but relatively rarely: twice demonyms and once denominatives derived from the juridical status of the dedicators, that is the *cives Romani* together with the *Afri*, who are identified as the members of the provincial council of Proconsularis.²¹⁹ Another (uncounted) inscription recalls a statue erected with collected money in the past to the current honoree's father by the *cives* of Calama (*cui aere conlato universi cives statuam posuissent*, *CIL* VIII 5365=17495=*ILAlg.* 1.286). Absent from the 31 known statues paid with *aes conlatum* are terms that identify the civic dedicators by the Roman juridical status of the community, like *civitas*, *municipium*, or *pagus*. Rather, more specific terms tended to be used to identify the dedicator. As with public money, the *ordo* is the most numerous stated dedicator of the statues (4 times alone), but new as dedicators are the *curiae* (6 times, including once with the decurions).²²⁰ *Populus* is the sole stated dedicator 4 times collected money is used and 3 times more with the decurions. The one time that the vaguer term *res publica* is used to represent the dedicator of an honour paid by *aes conlatum* the decurions are nevertheless specified as the source of the collected money: *res publica ex decreto et collatione [decu]r(ionum)*, *CIL* VIII 17259=*ILAlg.*

²¹⁸ F. Martin finds similarly for Italy (1996: 132).

²¹⁹ *Thibiucenses*, *CIL* VIII 14291=*ILS* 1096; *Calamenses*, *CIL* VIII 5363+p.1658=*ILAlg.* 1.284. *Afri et cives Romani* at Suas: *CIL* VIII 25850=*ILS* 6776. For *Afri* as the delegates to the provincial council, see Pflaum 1970: 99; Rives 1995: 89.

²²⁰ *CIL* VIII 14769, 1261=10594=14612, 23226; *AE* 1996, 1700; *ILAlg.* 1.1295; *ILAlg.* 1.1301.

1.952.

Furthermore, out of the 31 *aes conlatum* inscriptions, three state that the *decuriones* were responsible for making the dedication rather than the *ordo*, while three more from Ucubi state that the *seniores* were responsible (*CIL* VIII 15666, 15667=15668, 15669). There is not a single case from among the 326 inscriptions noting the use of *pecunia publica*.²²¹ 3 other inscriptions list the *curiales* as the dedicators of the statue rather than the *curiae*, and once the *populus* is explained to have been “distributed into *curiae*” (see discussion in Chapter 2.1).²²² It is as if the process of collecting money person by person focused the drafter's attention away from broad juridical concepts and onto the institutions and individuals doing the honouring.²²³

Such a possibility would be a demonstration of the general epigraphic principle of acknowledging the sponsors of monuments in an order that delicately balanced their status and contribution. The inscription of a statue from Gigthis lists the dedicators as “the *ordo* and *populus* of Gigthis with contributing *incolae*” (*ordo populusq(ue) Gigthenses conferentibus et incolis*, *CIL* VIII 30+p.921=11044). The total body of *incolae* (residents without local citizenship) is referred to, but only those who had helped to pay for the honour are included. It is unfortunate that the bottom half of the inscription is so lacunose, for the collection seems to have

²²¹ One possible exception is a verbatim copy of a *decretum ordinis* authorising an honorific statue in Sicca Veneria (*CIL* VIII 15880=*ILTun.* 1593). Its detailed and ornate nature, however, does not allow for worthwhile comparison, because it is not following the same epigraphic conventions as succinct inscriptions. The space the drafter had to work with was much greater than any other inscription mentioning *aes conlatum*. Cf. *IL Afr.* 424=*Bardo* 442 for another (lacunose) exception.

²²² *IL Alg.* 1.1295. Kotula (1980: 145; see also 1968: 95, 137, cf. 53) suggests that the freshness of Thubursicu Numidarum's *municipium* status explains the constitutional language, as if the drafters were just now working out how to refer to the *curiae*. That is possible, but certainty is also impossible. Fishwick, for one, is not convinced that the inscription dates close to when Trajan awarded *municipium* status (2002: 202 #6). Besides, Kotula's suggestion does not rule out the payment method being a contributing factor to the greater precision.

²²³ Mrozek's treats *ordo* and *decuriones* as strict synonyms, with the one difference being that *ordo* is a more dignified term than *decuriones* (1998: 13; cf. 14). Hence, why *ordo* was used as the stated dedicator so much more often than *decuriones* and why *decuriones* was the term used as the stated recipient of distributions, seemingly because receiving gifts of money was less dignified. I argue that the action being commemorated determined in part the nouns used.

been given more attention (*confe[- -/m]*). Contributions then were not just an alternative to public funds nor just a way for the individual to save money while honouring, even though these were important elements. They also provided a way for the contributor to demonstrate that he was a team player and could subordinate his identity and wealth to a broader identity. Politically, thus, they could be interpreted as an act of consensus. To have friends vigorously canvassing to raise the necessary funds and to have a large crowd of fellow citizens publicly and seemingly voluntarily contributing money to the statue were likely ready fodder for claims of communal consensus, despite potential pressures behind the scene.

D) *SUA PECUNIA*

The trickiest method of payment to pin down is private funds. Partly, this is due to the fact that the usage of private funds is not stated on many inscriptions. Sometimes their usage can be assumed from the context of the dedications. For example, the source of funds for statues erected *ex testamento* was normally the deceased's estate.²²⁴ Moreover, when an individual is the dedicator, like a father honouring a daughter, the drafter must have felt that an explicit declaration of the use of private funds was either unnecessary or unworthy of the expense, perhaps because it was less prestigious than honours paid by with public money.²²⁵

The following discussion, however, will only deal with the 95 explicit uses of the phrases *[de] s(ua) p(ecunia)*, *de suo*, *pecunia propria*, and *sumptu suo*. These refer to the use of private

²²⁴ For example: *L. Caesennio P(ubli) fil(io) Secundioni Furiano praef(ecto) i(ure) d(icundo) q(uaestori) Ilviro fl(amini) p(erpetuo) ex testam(ento) eius d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*, *AE* 1951, 53. Public money, however, was necessary to erect *ILTun.* 779 (cf. *ILTun.* 778), but likely it was supplementing the money left in the will, for only one of the two statues records its use.

²²⁵ Note, for example, how Apuleius continues to negotiate for public funding of his statue even after a consular offered to pay for it (*Flor.* 16.46). He even mentions receiving honorific statues at public expense from other cities in an attempt to increase the pressure (*Flor.* 16.37, 46; *ILAlg.* 1.2115). Dio Chrysostom, furthermore, notes that the Rhodians would consider it dishonourable to ask their honorees to pay for the statue (*Or.* 31.114).

money, as explicitly stated on one inscription: “set up with his/her own private money because of his/her merits” ([- -] *sua priva[ta pro]pria pecun[ia] ob merita pos[uit]*, *ILAlg.* 1.2168).²²⁶ As expected from terms indicating private funds, 45 of the 95 inscriptions (47%) record individuals as the dedicators. The majority were individuals honouring relatives.²²⁷ 2 more claimed to be *amici* of the honoree, while another was honouring his patron. Individuals identified through their offices used private funds too, such as 2 *flamines perpetui*, 2 *duumviri quinquennales*, a *duumvir*, a *sufet*, a *magister*, and another unknown civic magistrate or priest. Some of the relatives dedicating were prominent civic notables, such as an equestrian *flamen perpetuus* of the divine Severus at Simitthus honouring his daughter (*AE* 1955, 125) or the *flamen perpetuus* honouring his father at Uchi Maius (*CIL* VIII 26275=*ILS* 9405). The social status of the honorees, meanwhile, was fairly diverse. 23 of the 95 honours were to emperors and their relatives (24%); 10 were to members of the imperial elite (11%); and 50 were to civic notables (53%). Thus, it is not necessarily the case that a lack of merit or a lack of influence with the decurions is the reason public funds were not authorised. Self-display must have motivated the dedicators, at least in part.²²⁸ For, once public money was authorised, the decurions, *populus*, or community as a whole would have taken centre place on the inscription. *Sua pecunia* ensured that the dedicator's name featured prominently in the dedication ceremony and inscription. That prominence was a concern is evident with statues to emperors and members of the imperial family. Because they often stood at the most prestigious locations in *fora*, basilicas, and the meeting halls of local senates, statues to emperors and their relatives helped to guarantee that the

²²⁶ The 95 instances only count the initial offer of money. It does not include the fifty-six instances of individuals remitting money for the honour in order to use their own, unless *sua pecunia* was the original source of funds.

²²⁷ 9 sons, 1 child, 7 fathers, 1 parents, 1 wife, 1 brother, 1 nephew, 1 heir, and twice the honoree himself *ex testamento*.

²²⁸ Eck 1994: 652; cf. 662 where Eck stresses that the self-display of dedicators was often restrained epigraphically.

dedicators' names were displayed in a prominent location.²²⁹ 11 of these statues to emperors resulted from campaign promises, were in thanks for a civic office (*ob honorem*), or were connected to some other vow made before an audience.²³⁰

Almost as many times (43/95=45%), a civic group is recorded to have honoured someone *sua pecunia*. This is understandable in the 14 known instances where a *curia* or all of the *curiae* set up a statue, for they are known to have had their own financial resources (see Chapter 2.2).²³¹ This understanding could extend to the 3 times the *populus* is cited as a dedicator, if one accepts that sometimes the *curiae* were the organisational force behind the *populus*. But such an understanding is complicated all 3 times, for the *ordo* is cited as the senior institution before the *populus*. This leads to the fundamental question: what is meant by *sua pecunia* when said of the *cives* (4 times), the *ordo et populus* (3 times), the *res publica* (twice), the *civitas* (twice), the *pagus* (once), and the *ordo* alone (14 times, including 5 times as *decuriones*)?

Sua pecunia in these instances probably was not an alternate way of saying *pecunia publica* in the manner of 'the community uses its own money to set up this statue.' Two inscriptions at Uchi Maius list the *res publica* as the dedicator of statues to an emperor *sua pecunia* (CIL VIII 26254; AE 2000, 1732). But much more frequently, the *res publica* (6 times), *pagus* (twice), and *cives* (twice) of Uchi Maius are said to have erected statues with *pecunia publica*.²³² Four more statue bases there were erected to emperors with nothing but the simple

²²⁹ Zimmer 1989: 20, 32-37, 42, 53-54.

²³⁰ *pollicitatio*: AE 2004, 1876 (Bulla Regia); AE 2004, 1874 (Bulla Regia); AE 1992, 1818 (Thignica); CIL VIII 23599 (Ksar Bou Fatha); ILTun. 148 (Masakin); AE 1995, 1657 (Pagus Mercurialis); CIL VIII 10833=17257=ILAlg. 1.950 (Zattara); *ob honorem*: AE 1946, 234 (Themetra); CIL VIII 885=12387=ILS 6803 (Pagus Mercurialis); ILAfr. 300=Bardo 160 (Sutunurca); vow: ILAfr. 218 (Thabora).

²³¹ One *curia*: CIL VIII 22900; ILAfr. 320=ILTun. 839; multiple *curiae* together: CIL VIII 11813, 11814, 1888, 24017; ILAfr. 134; AE 1964, 178; AE 1999, 1792.

²³² *Cives*: CIL VIII 26273; AE 1903, 108. *Pagus*: CIL VIII 26252; AE 1997, 1666. *Res Publica*: CIL VIII 15450, 15454, 15455, 26255, 26272; AE 2000, 1733.

abbreviations *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)* to indicate the dedicators.²³³ So the city would seem to have understood a distinction between *sua pecunia* and *pecunia p(ublica)*. The inscriptions which state that the honorees had remitted the public money authorised for their statue in order to use their own also draw a firm distinction between the two forms of payment. This is especially apparent in four known cases discussed further in Chapter 3.4, where the *ordo* or *ordo* and *populus* set up the statue themselves, but now with private funds (e.g. *cum is [the honoree] honore contentus pecuniam rei p(ublicae) remisisset populus de suo posuit*, *IL Afr.* 21).²³⁴ Consequently, such declarations of *de suo* or *sua pecunia* by civic groups must mean private funds.

The question is what was the source of the private funds? One possibility is *sportulae*, a word more normally used to denote distributions of money by a benefactor. 7 times an *ordo* (once with the *populus*) is said to have paid for a statue with *sportulae*.²³⁵ The standard interpretation is that the decurions paid with money left to them in a will, either for the very purpose of erecting a statue or by diverting money given to them for an unrelated reason.²³⁶ The practice of leaving money to the decurions for annual distributions of *sportulae* (e.g. *CIL VIII* 18227, 26275) or with the understanding that a portion be used for a statue is attested in Proconsularis (*CIL VIII*

²³³ *CIL VIII* 26256, 26257, 26260; *AE* 2000, 1687.

²³⁴ Gigthis: *[is]que honore conf[entus] [pec]uniam rei p(ublicae) re[misisset] [popu]lus de suo [posuit] d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*, *CIL VIII* 22737; *cum remisisset honore contentus ordo populusq(ue) cum incolis sua p(ecunia) p(onendam) curaverunt*, *CIL VIII* 11039; *cum remisisset honore contentus ordo populusque cum incolis s(ua) p(ecunia) p(osuit)*, *CIL VIII* 11040. cf. Capsa: *AE* 1996, 1700 with *aes conlatum*.

²³⁵ 7 statues are said to have been paid *e* or *de sportulis*. Thimida Regia: *CIL VIII* 883=12386; Hippo Regius: *AE* 1958, 137; *AE* 1958, 138; *AE* 1958, 144=Libyca 4, 314-5; Abbir: *AE* 1992, 1800; Limisa: *ILLimisa* 7=AE 2004, 1679; Madauros: *ILAlg.* 1.2158; cf. Carthage: *IL Afr.* 363; Henchir el Haouaria: *AE* 1997, 1642.

²³⁶ Duncan-Jones 1982: 140; Mrozek 1987: 33-34, cf. 840. Ben Abdallah (*ad ILLimisa* 7) accordingly translates *de sportulis* as: “avec le montant des sportules.” Beschtaouch's description (1999) of *sportulae* used in this fashion is confused, partly because the context of his discussion is based upon a misreading of *CIL VIII* 44=11058 (Stylow and Pascual 2001: 106-109). The inscription commemorates an honorific statue. Beschtaouch reads *impens. remis. et [s]portulis* as separative ablatives, meaning that they indicate the pools of money from which the *ordo* (the dedicator) drew the funds for the statue. But Stylow and Pascual are surely right to return to Schmidt's reading in the *CIL*: *impens(am) remis(it) et [s]portulis dedicavit*. They explain that it should be assumed that the remitter was the honoree, which would mean that *sportulis* is an instrumental ablative: “[he] dedicated with *sportulae*.”

11201=*ILS* 5494). The two clearest examples come from Hippo Regius, where the *ordo* is said to have erected statues to the young sons of L. Baburus Iuvenis, *de sportulis fidei commissorum suorum* (*AE* 1958, 137, 138). Presumably, the father had left money to the *ordo* with the understanding that the decurions would use a portion to erect the statues.²³⁷

But this might not have been the only meaning when *sportulae* is the stated payment method. The word was closely associated with the *ordo*.²³⁸ As noted in Chapter 3.3, it was generally the decurions alone who received *sportulae* during distributions, while the *curiae*, *Augustales*, and the rest of the *populus* received the less prestigious gifts of *epula*, *gymnasia*, games, etc. This distinction carried over into the instances the decurions are said to have paid with *sportulae*. The market at Auzia in Mauretania Caesariensis, completed in 230, is said to have been mostly paid “with the *sportulae* of the decurions and the labour of the people.”²³⁹ Furthermore, the decurions of Cuicul in Numidia specified that their collection to honour a praetorian prefect was a collection of *sportulae* (*splendidissimus [ordo] col(oniae) Cuiculitanorum conlatione spo[r]tularum facta posuit*, *CIL* VIII 8328+p.968, 1897). It is possible then that, when *sportulae* is the stated method of payment, monetary contributions from the decurions are meant. In this case, *sportulae* would be an elitist term to distinguish donations by the decurions from donations by the people.

Both the *sportulae* of the decurions and the labour of the people at Auzia are prefaced as the *sumptus sui* of the *res publica* (*res p(ublica) col(oniae) Septimiae Aur(eliae) Auz[ie]nsium sum<p>tibus tam suis quam ex sportulis decurionum operisque popularium*, *CIL* VIII 9062-

²³⁷ Marec 1954: 296.

²³⁸ Mrozek 1987: 37, 83-86.

²³⁹ *ex sportulis decurionum operisque popularium a fundamentis coeptum perfecit dedicavitque*, *CIL* VIII 9062-9063=*ILS* 5590. The *aediles*, who were acting as curators of the project, are also said to have contributed their *summae honorariae* to the market. Saastamoinen 2010: 357-358. On *popularis*, *-is* (noun) meaning “citizen,” “inhabitant” of a town, see *OLD* s.v. *popularis* 2.2.

9063=*ILS* 5590).²⁴⁰ *Sumptus suus* and *sua pecunia* are synonyms. Accordingly, collections of money could be meant not only when *sportulae* is the stated payment method, but *sua pecunia*. The difference between these two terms and *aes conlatum* might have been that the former were less orchestrated and less open to public view. It seems unlikely that a private benefactor or a group of the honoree's *amici* would have donated the money and not have been recognised. That raises the question of why phrases more specific than *sua pecunia* were not more frequently used, but perhaps the chief concern of the drafters of the inscriptions was nothing more than to ensure that no one think that public money had been used to honour the individual.

CONCLUSION

Politics in the cities of Africa Proconsularis were dominated by the decurions. It was they as the *ordo* who controlled the resources of their city. This dominance was secured by the civic statutes received from Rome and later supported by the imperial government, primarily through the governor and the *curator rei publicae*. The sole formal role the *curiae* played in civic politics was voting for the new magistrates each year. Yet despite the apparent rigidity of the *leges*, in practice there was flexibility. Although the *duumviri* monopolised the agenda of the *ordo*, they did not jealously guard it. The evidence shows them responding favourably not only to the petitions for statues from individual notables, but also from the *populus* and the political

²⁴⁰ The correlative conjunction *tam . . . quam* is troublesome, for in strict grammar it would appear to be balancing the *sumptus sui* with the *sportulae* and *operae popularium* (something like: “as much at its own expense as from the *sportulae* of the decuriones and labour of the people”). That would suggest that the *sumptus sui* are separate payments. Saastamoinen (2010: 357-358) provides some help here, saying that just three payments were made: the *sportulae*, the *opera*, and the *summae honorariae* of the two *aediles* mentioned in a grammatically unrelated clause. That is the logical reading, for, if payments had been made in the name of the *res publica* in addition to the private contributions of the decurions and people, those payments would have likely been *pecunia publica* and mentioned. It follows then that the *tam . . . quam* is in effect introducing the make up of the *sumptus sui* (something like: “the *res publica* . . . by its own expenses, as much from the *sportulae* of the decurions [as] from the labour of the people”).

institution representing the *populus*: the *curiae*. Inscriptions recording that the *ordo* had decreed a statue in response to a *postulatio populi* are the most dramatic example, but all statues set up in public by the *populus* or the *curiae* had to have received the approval of at least one *duumvir* and, through him, the decurions.

Furthermore, when public funds were not a viable option, individuals and political institutions alike could use alternate means to finance an honorific statue. For private petitioners, this meant using their own money. For public groups, there was an additional option: collection. Members of the whole community or just one segment of it, like the decurions, could collectively finance the statue. The ultimate cause of collections might have been strict control of public funds or civic poverty, but this did not prevent the collection from turning into an act of consensus. In a way, the required effort to canvas for the funds was a preliminary honour to the statue itself. In sum, despite the dominance of the *ordo* and the rigidity of the *leges* formalising its control of public life, there was room for the individual and the general *populus* to initiate public actions.

II

The Social and the Political

The North African *Curiae* Revisited

Chapter One focused on the senior political institution of cities with a Roman statute: the *ordo decurionum*. It is now necessary to study the other, junior, political institution: the *curiae*. As will be argued in the current and following chapters, this popular institution is critical to understanding the political culture of the cities of Africa Proconsularis.

2.1 DEFINING THE NORTH AFRICAN *CURIAE*

First, the uncontroversial part: the cities of Roman North Africa had *curiae*, the supposed voting groups into which the adult male citizens were distributed. Now the controversy starts. For, ever since scholarly discussion of the civic *curiae* began in earnest in the 19th century, their origin, number, composition, juridical status, and purpose have been debated with only moderate consensus resulting.

The problem starts with identifying civic *curiae* in both epigraphic and literary sources.¹ Confusion can exist over whether the word *curia* refers to the voting group or the meeting house of the decurions. For instance, Antonio Caballos Rufino lists Sala in Mauretania Tingitana as

¹ Tertullian uses *curia* in the sense of *senatus/ordo* (*Apol.* 6.8, 38.2, 39.15), as most clearly seen in the distinction he makes between it and *tribūs*, a word which more consistently refers to divisions of the *populus* (*tot tribubus et curiis . . .*, *Apol.* 39.15, cf. 37.4). He may, though, employ it at one point to denote the civic *curiae*, for he compares a gathering of Christians to a *curia* (*cum probi, cum boni coeunt, cum pii, cum casti congregantur; non est factio dicenda, sed curia*, *Apol.* 39.21). The reading of *ordo* is still preferable, however, because the positive adjectives were typically attributed to members of the governing classes (contra Briand-Ponsart (2013: 260) who does not discuss *Apol.* 39.15).

known to have had *curiae*.² But the inscription he cites (*IAM* 2.307) is a verbatim copy of a *decretum* recording that the decurions' decision was reached *in curia Ulpia*. This clearly refers to the meeting house of the decurions.³ From the end of the third century on, inscriptions also increasingly employed the term *curiales* to denote the decurions rather than the members of the *curiae*,⁴ which again has caused difficulty in interpreting inscriptions.⁵

Outside of North Africa, *curia* was sometimes used for public cults⁶ and was even applied to non-civic institutions. There has been a temptation to identify some of these too as the public voting groups.⁷ López Barja de Quiroga and Caballos Rufino identify the five *curiae* mentioned

² Caballos Rufino 2006: 230 n.199.

³ Cf. Balty 1991: 225. Caballos Rufino's errors are not limited to the African *curiae*, as Dupuis observes (2011: 450 n.5). He also says that graffiti from inside a large building at Herculaneum twice mentioning a *Curia August(i)ana* refer "concretamente" to the civic *curiae* (2006: 230, n.193). He seems (without citation) to base this statement on López Barja de Quiroga's (1994: 544-545) identification of it as a *curia* of *tenuiores*, supposedly like the *curiae* of North Africa. But before López Barja de Quiroga's hypothesis, Giuseppe Guadagno (1988) had identified it as referring to the building: the *curia* of the *Augustales*. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, however, has argued (still tentatively, but most persuasively out of the three) that it was the name of the decurions' meeting house (2011: 138-139, 156-157).

⁴ *ad ILAlg.* 1.2135; cf. Isid. *Etym.* 9.4.23. Veyne (1958: 112, 116-117) and Garnsey (1978: 235, 244), thus, misuse the term in applying it to the North African decurions of the first to third centuries.

⁵ Kotula (1968: 35 #39, 128-129), Claude Lepelley (1979: 141), and Saastamoinen (2010: 150 n.786) interpret the *praestantes universi curiales* of an inscription at Mididi dated between 290 and 293 to be those of the *curiae* (*CIL* VIII 11774). Amodio, however, was on the right track when she argued for the "possibility" that the late sense of *curiales* was meant: decurions (1998: 246). These *curiales* are recorded receiving a benefaction from the *ordo* at the dedication of the city's (municipal status unknown) new *curia* by the proconsul M. Aurelius Aristobulus (Balty 1991: 216 n.127). The stone is lacunose, but it seems that another group also received the benefaction. The *CIL* (followed by Kotula) suggests the *plebs* as that group and Saastamoinen proposes the *populus* (2010: 536 #618). It would be odd that the decurions did not receive a benefaction at the dedication of their own building. Kotula side-steps this problem by arguing that the *praestantes curiales* were mostly comprised of decurions, but, if that were the case, why did the decurions not just call themselves *decuriones*? Moreover, the *curia* was built with collected money. The names of the contributors are lost, but the inscription characterises them as *universi*. Both editors suggest *curiales* in keeping with the *universi curiales* at the end of the inscription said to be receiving the benefaction. This makes sense and, given that the building is a *curia*, *curiales* must be understood as decurions, unless we are to adopt the unlikely view that this *curia* was a meeting house shared by all *curiae*. Kotula (1968: 35 #31) also lists *AE* 1960, 115 as a reference to the civic *curiae*, but *curiae* follows *pronaum* (= "anteroom"). So "*curiae*" here must be a genitive and mean the building.

⁶ At Lanuvium, Italy, a *curia mulierum* received an *epulum* next to the civic *curiae* (*CIL* XIV 2120). Anna Pasqualini argues that this was a public group of women engaged in the cult of Juno Sospita and rituals connected to girls (2005: 273).

⁷ Caballos Rufino cites *CIL* II 1346 from Arundo as "concretamente" referring to the civic *curiae* (2006: 230 n.195), but *sacra curiarum* is too vague a phrase for this identification. Some *curiae* in the Roman Empire were devoted to cultic activity and did not have a formal political role in their community. See the quotations from Varro and Paul the Deacon below; cf. regarding north-western Europe: Dondin-Payre 2012: 96-97, 99.

in a long inscription from the Colonia Claudia Savaria in Dacia as civic *curiae*.⁸ But Gascou is surely right to reject it, because the lists of members are too short (12 to 26) and because their names are those of freedmen and slaves.⁹ Gascou suggests that it was a religious association, while Petolescu identifies it as “probably an *album collegii*.”¹⁰

These identification challenges stem from the generality of the word *curia*. It is not a technical word specific to any one institution. It literally means a “fellowship of men” (*co-viria*).¹¹ The Romans seem to have understood the word in two main ways. First, there was the antiquarian perspective. Varro explains *curia* as follows:

Curiae duorum generum: nam et ubi curarent sacerdotes res divinas, ut curiae veteres, et ubi senatus humanas, ut Curia Hostilia, quod primus aedificavit Hostilius rex (Ling. 5.155).

Curare a cura dictum. Cura, quod cor urat; curiosus, quod hac praeter modum utitur. recordare, rursus in cor revocare. Curiae, ubi senatus rempublicam curat, et illa ubi cura sacrorum publica; ab his curiones (Ling. 6.46).

Curiae are of two types: where priests take care of divine matters, like the *curiae* of old, and where a senate takes care of human matters, like the Curia Hostilia, [so called] because King Hostilius first built it.

Curare is derived from *cura* [=care]. *Cura*, because the heart burns; *curiosus*, because one makes use of care beyond due measure. *Recordare*, to recall again to the heart. *Curiae*, where a senate takes care of the *res publica* and that where public care of the sacred rites [takes place]; whence *curiones* [the priests presiding over *curiae*].

Paul the Deacon, whose eighth century epitome of the late second century work of Sex. Pompeius Festus, which was itself an epitome of the *de significatione verborum* by the Augustan-era grammarian, Verrius Flaccus, defines *curia* similarly (P.34Th=P.49M):

Curia locus est, ubi publicas curas gerebant. calabra curia dicebatur, ubi tantum

⁸ López Barja de Quiroga 1994: 545; Caballos Rufino 2006: 235-236.

⁹ Gascou 1976: 44.

¹⁰ Gascou 1976: 44 n.10; Petolescu 2000: 282.

¹¹ *OLD* s.v. *curia*; Palmer 1970: 67, 156, 175.

ratio sacrorum gerebatur. curiae etiam nominantur; in quibus uniuscuiusque partis populi Romani quid geritur. quales sunt hae, in quas Romulus populum distribuit, numero triginta, quibus postea additae sunt quinque, ita ut in sua quisque curia sacra publica faceret feriasque observaret, hisque curiis singulis nomina curiarum virginum imposita esse dicuntur; quae virgines quondam Romani de Sabinis rapuerunt.

Curia – a place where people conducted public responsibilities. A 'proclamation' *curia* was said to be where only a sacred proceeding was conducted.¹² *Curiae* are also [so] named, in which something of every single aspect of the Roman people is conducted. Such [institutions] are those, into which Romulus distributed the people to the number of thirty, to which five were later added. Accordingly, each *curia* in of itself conducts public rites and observes holidays, and to each one of these *curiae* curial names of virgins are said to be imposed, those virgins the Romans seized from the Sabines.

There are major problems with the recherché antiquarian definitions: names of the archaic *curiae* were not named after kidnapped Sabine women,¹³ *curia* is not derived from *cura*, nor must it be a “place” “where” things happen.

The second understanding was seemingly more common. Both Paul the Deacon and Isidore of Seville report that the words *curia/curiales* are used like *tribus/tribules* and *municipes*, that is to mark the divisions of the *populus*.¹⁴ This is the same understanding found in the civic *leges* and North African inscriptions. It recalls the *co-viria* derivation and the archaic curial assembly of the *populus Romanus*, which the jurist Laelius Felix described circa 100 CE as *ex generibus hominum*, meaning the various neighbouring communities and ethnic groups that made up early Rome (Aul. Gel. 15.27).¹⁵ Where the two understandings meet (the antiquarian and the

¹² *Calabra* connected to *calare*: “to call (together),” “to announce,” “to summon” (*OLD* s.v. *calo*¹). This institution is linked to the pontiffs' announcement on the Capitoline hill of the calendar dates (Varro *Ling.* 5.13, 6.27; Serv. *ad Virg. Aen.* 8.654).

¹³ Palmer 1970: 30, 75-76.

¹⁴ *Curiales* - *eiusdem curiae, ut tribules et municipes* (P.34Th=P.49M); *essent Romae triginta et quinque tribus, quae et curiae sunt dictae* (Paul. Fest. P.38TH=P.54M, s.v. *Centumvitalia iudicia*); *tribus dicuntur tamquam curiae et congregationes distinctae populorum* (Isid. *Etym.* 9.4.7). The *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* too conflates the *curiae* with the tribes, seemingly using both to refer to the voting divisions of the *coloni* (LCGI 15-16, 101; Crawford 1996: 444-445 *ad Ch. CI* line 18; Caballos Rufino 2006: 227-228; Dupuis 2011: 453).

¹⁵ Palmer 1970: 70-75, 132-140.

common) is in their insistence on the connection of *curiae* with the transaction of public business. The word had a narrow meaning, but a wide application.

Thus, caution must be taken in identifying civic *curiae*. As seen in Appendix E, Africa Proconsularis contains the majority of such references with forty cities securely referring to them, compared to eight for Numidia, one for Mauretania Caesariensis, and to just six outside of North Africa.¹⁶ The Flavian *Lex Irnitana* sets eleven as the maximum number of *curiae* for the small Baetican *municipium* of Irni (actual number unknown). This low number is matched or almost matched by several communities in Proconsularis.¹⁷ Inscriptions explicitly state that the *municipium* of Althiburos had ten and that Thuburbo Maius had eleven (status at time of inscription unknown). The Flavian colony of Ammaedara and the *municipia* of Capsa and Diana Veteranorum might also have had ten *curiae*, but the evidence is reconstructed.¹⁸

On the other hand, the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* (LCGI 15), drafted in the aftermath of Caesar's assassination, bestowed exactly twenty-four *curiae* (along with their names) on the Baetican colony.¹⁹ The Colonia Iulia Turris Libisonis in Sardinia, whose foundation dates to the same general period as the Colonia Genetiva, had twenty-three. The change from the Caesarian to Flavian statutes may reflect the smaller populations of many provincial cities.²⁰ There is no indication of the number of *curiae* at the Julian colony of Carthage, but its age and large

¹⁶ Cf. Kotula 1968: 34-41; Gasco 1976: 44. Dupuis (2009: 105) counts "five or six" cities in Numidia.

¹⁷ Jacques 1990: 391; Dupuis 2011: 459, 2012: 169. Two inscriptions from Lilybaeum on the western tip of Sicily show the twelve *tribūs* of the city honouring a city patron (*CIL* X 7233=*ILS* 6770a-b; *AE* 1964, 183). Another records the *tribules trib(ūs) Iovis Aug(usti)* honouring an equestrian patron of the city with their own money, much like *curiae* of North Africa (*CIL* X 7237=*ILS* 6770). Jacques treats the tribes as *curiae*, wondering whether twelve was their initial number or if one above eleven had been added (1990: 391 n.37). But Franco Sartori is more likely right to treat the tribes as part of Lilybaeum's Greek legacy (1957: 60; followed by N.F. Jones 1987: 171; Amodio 1998: 239 n.55).

¹⁸ Ammaedara: Baratte et al 1999: 25 regarding *AE* 1999, 1792a; Capsa: Khanoussi 1996: 1342-46 regarding *AE* 1996, 1700; Diana Veteranorum: Dupuis 2009: 108 regarding *AE* 2009, 1789.

¹⁹ On the date of the colony and *lex*: Caballos Rufino 2006: 337-338; cf. Crawford 1996: 395-396, 453 *ad CXXX* line 50. The later additions to the *lex* do not affect LCGI 15 (cf. Caballos Rufino 2006: 402-411).

²⁰ Dupuis 2011: 461.

population make it likely that its number of *curiae* also exceeded eleven. A series of inscriptions found in the theatre at Lepcis Magna, which date to the Principate of Septimius Severus – nearly a hundred years after the city became a colony –, record eleven names of *curiae*. But this does not preclude there having been more *curiae* at that large city too.²¹

The concentration of evidence in North Africa has led scholars to argue that the *curiae* were really indigenous organisations with a Latin name. The last proponent of this theory was Tadeusz Kotula in his 1968 book and subsequent articles. He argued that they had been a popular Punic institution and later developed into the Roman one.²² But successive articles culminating in Jacques Gascou's 1976 study have firmly established that North Africa's *curiae* were indeed the Roman political institution.²³ Where known, the number of *curiae* per town is consistent with the upper limit of eleven given in the *Lex Irnitana* from Baetica.²⁴ Moreover, all datable inscriptions

²¹ Dupuis 2011: 460.

²² Picard 1959: 28-29; Seston 1967; Kotula 1968: ch. 1; Duncan-Jones 1982: 282 n.6. For a review of the scholarship, see Gascou 1976: 34-37; Kotula 1980: 133-138. The argument in support of the pre-Roman theory is based on the concentration of evidence in North Africa, evidence from the Bible, other near-eastern texts, and from Aristotle's brief discussion of the Carthaginian constitution (*Pol.* 2.8), all of which reveal a tradition of political involvement in public affairs by the Phoenician people (Picard 1959: 28-29; Seston 1967; Ilevbare 1972; Kotula 1980: 138-39). One piece of evidence shows this Punic tradition continuing into the imperial period, but it is early (see the note 26 below). Picard based his assertion that the *curiae* were a Punic survival on Gsell's study of Punic Carthage. Gsell, however, only uses the Roman *curiae* to help place the Punic evidence into a Mediterranean context. Gsell notes the Punic origin theory, but explicitly states that “these are here hypotheses very little certain” (1928: 233). The second edition of Picard's book, which appeared a decade after the debate largely ended, tones down his support for a Punic origin, but it is still evident (1990: 33). Cf. Dondin-Payre's argument for the indigenous origins of the north-western European *curiae* (2012: 96-99).

²³ Gascou 1976: 45-46, 48, supported by Jacques 1984: 398 n.61; Dupuis 2011: 455. Kotula later softens his argument in favour of the Punic origin of the *curiae* (1980: 139). Briand-Ponsart has recently argued that “inherited” Punic tradition explains the apparently unique vitality of popular participation in North African civic politics (2013: 243-246). She agrees with Gascou that the *curiae* are of Roman origin, but suggests that they converged with Punic political culture (2013: 252-253, 265). Briand-Ponsart cites literary evidence not mentioned by Kotula and others, but it is still circumstantial. Moreover, she acknowledges that the actions, in which inscriptions record North African *populi* engaging, are known elsewhere in the Roman West (2013: 247). Yet she does not pursue this connection to Roman popular political traditions as a possible source of the observed activities. Such an explanation would be plausible, since half of the references to the *curiae* come from cities of Roman origin – colonies. Moreover, although Briand-Ponsart does not mention him, her argument amounts to an alteration of J. Roman's approach to the debate. Roman also acknowledges that the North African *curiae* were Roman in structure and purpose, but argues that their vibrancy was due to pre-existing social structures in the Libyan and Berber populations (1910: 119-123).

²⁴ Jacques 1990: 391; Dupuis 2011: 459; 2012: 169.

mentioning the *curiae* in North Africa date to the second and third centuries and come from Roman deductions or, at least, indigenous cities that had been granted a Roman statute.²⁵ The direct evidence just does not exist to support the theory that the *curiae* of North Africa originated in pre-Roman socio-political institutions.²⁶

Where controversy still exists is over the composition of their membership. The older scholarly opinion maintains that the recruitment of *curiales* was selective and possibly based on wealth. The essential argument is that the *curiales* were adult male citizens domiciled in the community, who possessed wealth but not enough to become a decurion.²⁷ Adherents to this theory variously estimate an average of fifty to one-hundred-fifty members per *curia*. This would have added up to 500 to 1650 *curiales* per city, which for Thamugadi was estimated to be just 1/4 of the adult male population.²⁸ One unspoken implication is that decurions were not members of the *curiae*.

Three main pieces of evidence are employed in support of this theory. First, donors of *sportulae*, banquets (*epula*), and other gifts given at the dedication of a building or statue sometimes distinguished between the *curiae* and the *populus*, *cives*, or the *plebs*.²⁹ The best example is an inscription from the *municipium* Ureu in the North East of Proconsularis dated to

²⁵ Gascou 1976: 37, 41-2; Kotula 1968: 33-48; cf. Dupuis 2009: 109. Gascou (1972: 59 n.2) questions Roman's assertion (1910: 119) that a few peregrine *civitates* had *curiae*. For the debate over curial banquets, see below.

²⁶ Only one piece of evidence from 48/49 CE names a Punic institution which could have been a direct successor to the Roman *curiae*: the *portae* (CIL VIII 26517; Kotula 1968: 26-27; 1972; 1980: 138-39; cf. Ilevbare 1972: 48-50). Seston demonstrates that there was a tradition in Semitic cultures of the general citizenry expressing their opinion on local issues, most notably through public gatherings at a gate of the city. But it is not certain whether these assemblies were organised for individual voting or only for *en masse* expressions of will (for the former: Kotula 1980: 138-39; cf. Ilevbare 1972: 48-50; for the latter: Seston 1967: 294; followed by Gascou 1976: 37).

²⁷ Kotula (1980: 143), for example, asserts that the *curiae* were actually made up of "un 'centre' politico-social dans l'organisme municipal." Duncan-Jones similarly argues that "As a somewhat privileged group, who were accorded a favourable place in civic distribution, the *curiae* were probably an attractive goal for the social ambitions of the small man who had little prospect of gaining membership of the town-council" (1982: 282).

²⁸ Duncan-Jones 1962: 73-74, 115; 1982: 281-283; Le Glay 1980: 116; Kotula 1980: 140; Jacques 1990: 396. For the influence of their theory, see Beschtauch 1968: 153-154; Oliver 1980: 50-51; Picard 1990: 33; Rives 1995: 207-208.

²⁹ For a table of these inscriptions, see Kotula 1980: 141-143. Examples: *curiis quoque et Augustalibus aureos binos et populo vinum dedit* (CIL VIII 16556) and *epulum curiis et universo populo dedit* (CIL VIII 25371).

the Severan era. It records: “to mark its dedication, he gave *sportulae* to the decurions, a banquet to the *curiales* and all citizens” (*ob cuius dedicationem decurionib(us) sportulas et epulum curialib(us) et universis civibus dedit*, *AE* 1975, 877). For Jacques Gascou, this “absolutely” suggests that *curiae* were not always open to all citizens of a city and that selective recruitment was practised.³⁰ As he notes, it does not just distinguish between the *curiales* and the *populus* – a broader term –, but the *curiales* and the rest of the *cives* from whom they were selected.

The second piece of evidence is a long inscription from the veteran colony of Thamugadi in Numidia, dated between 211 and 212 (*AE* 1982, 958).³¹ On three *tabulae*, it memorialises a dedication to Diana Augusta, made to ensure the well-being (*pro salute*) of Caracalla, Geta, and their mother, Julia Domna. The first two *tabulae* seem to list every member of Thamugadi's Curia Commodiana, for a total of fifty-two. If this number is taken as the norm for all of Thamugadi's *curiae*, as Marcel Le Glay does in his detailed study of the inscription, then there were only 520 *curiales* for the city's 1700 to 2500 adult free male citizens.³² An onomastic study further finds that twenty of the fifty-two men listed belonged to known “high-bourgeoisie” families of the city, meaning families who had provided *duumviri*, *flamines perpetui*, *curatores rei publicae*, *patroni*, equestrians, or senators.³³ The other thirty-two members were divided almost evenly between those who belonged to families whose members are known to have held the lower civic offices or priesthoods and those who belonged to families not previously known.³⁴ But even these, Le Glay says, belonged to a sort of “middle class.” According to him, the other three-quarters of the adult male citizens, the presumed poor, were reduced to an unexplained form of mass demonstration.³⁵

³⁰ Gascou 1976: 47; less definitively Peyras and Maurin 1974: 31; cf. Kotula 1980: 143.

³¹ Le Glay 1980: 94, 113; Gascou 1976: 46.

³² Le Glay 1980: 116; supported by Duncan-Jones: 1982: 281-282. Le Glay assumes only ten *curiae*, not the maximum number of eleven given in *LI* L.

³³ Le Glay 1980: 104-113.

³⁴ Le Glay 1980: 96-103.

³⁵ Le Glay 1980: 115.

The conclusions in the second edition of Richard Duncan-Jones' *The Economy of the Roman Empire* (published 1982) are a particularly important representation of the 'selective recruitment' side of the debate, for he uses the two above pieces of evidence to guide one more attempt to calculate the number of *curiales* per city.³⁶ The basis of his calculations are the observation that the attested costs of gifts to *curiae* fall within a narrow range of 200 to 250HS per *curia*. By dividing these numbers by the estimated "normal" range of fifty to sixty members, he arrives at an average cost per *curialis* of 4-6HS, which he observes corresponds with the evidence of *epula* given to the *plebs* and members of *collegia* in Italian cities and at Rome.³⁷ He further seeks to strengthen his estimations by noting that the range of fifty to sixty members corresponds with the known membership numbers of select *collegia* at Rome, Alburnum (Dacia), Philippi, and Bovillae.³⁸ He, thus, concludes that the standard number of *curiales* per city was between 500 and 660, which he notes would have been a large proportion of the free-male population of small cities and a small proportion of large cities.³⁹

The main problem with the thesis of selective recruitment is that it conflicts with the evidence from the civic statutes. The two surviving chapters dealing with the establishment of the *curiae* raise the likelihood that they were modelled on the thirty-five tribes of Rome.⁴⁰ As noted above, *curiae* was commonly used as an alternate term for the tribes. Every male Roman citizen was assigned to a tribe and enjoyed the right to vote without the formal divisions by wealth and

³⁶ Duncan-Jones 1982: 277-282. Using the same figures for benefactions to North Africa's *curiae*, he had calculated in 1962 an average of 100 *curiales* per *curia*, for a total of 1000 or 1100 *curiales* per city (Duncan-Jones 1962: 73-74). These estimates, however, were based partly on an assumed Roman preference for round numbers. Duncan-Jones reduced his estimation in an *addendum* to the same article, when he realised that he had overlooked the evidence of the fifty-two listed members of the Curia Commodia at Thamugadi (1962: 115).

³⁷ Duncan-Jones 1982: 281.

³⁸ Duncan-Jones 1982: 281.

³⁹ Duncan-Jones 1982: 282.

⁴⁰ Staveley 1972: 170, 224.

age found in the *comitia centuriata*.⁴¹ One would expect a reference to selective recruitment in these statutes if the practice was enshrined in law, but the relevant (though fragmentary) chapters do not give any indication (*LCGI* 15; *LI* L). The *Lex Malacitana* simply states that the *municipes* were to elect magistrates “by *curia*,” without setting standards of wealth or prestige (*municipes curiatim ad suffragium ferendum vocato*, *LM* 55 lines 4-6).⁴² The *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* is more lacunose, but it too simply associates the *curiae* with the colony's *coloni* (*LCGI* 16 lines 1-2). Without evidence to the contrary, it is safer to assume that all adult male citizens formally belonged to a *curia* of their city, including the poor and the decurions. For the latter, there is definite proof of their participation.⁴³ Even the *incolae* were to be allowed to vote by being randomly assigned to one *curia* on the day of election (*LM* 53).

Several inscriptions from North Africa support this reading of the Baetican evidence. An inscription from Ammaedara, loosely dated to the third century, notes that the *populus* had honoured a magistrate “by *curiae*” (*populus curiatim*, *AE* 1999, 1796).⁴⁴ Similarly, in Thubursicu Numidarum an inscription dated roughly to the mid-second century seems to state that an honour had been decreed by the *ordo* and by the *populus* “distributed into *curiae*” (*[popul]us in cu[r]ias cont[ri]butus*, *ILAlg.* 1.1295).⁴⁵ The formula (*universus*) *populus curiarum* found in several

⁴¹ Staveley 1972: 129-132.

⁴² Cf. *curiales eiusdem curiae, ut tribules et municipes*, Paul. Fest. P.34Th=P.49M, s.v. *curiales*.

⁴³ *CIL* VIII 974, 1888; *ILTun.* 1282. In Lambaesis, Numidia, several *flamines perpetui* are said to be members of the *curia Hadriana Felix veteranorum legionis III Augustae* (*CIL* VIII 18214, 18234; *AE* 1916, 22; *AE* 1968, 646) and four are said to be members of the Curia Sabina (*CIL* VIII 2714=18118).

⁴⁴ Zeïneb Benzina Ben Abdallah *ad NDEAmm.* 19 p.29.

⁴⁵ Kotula 1968: 53; Lepelley 1979: 141; Briand-Ponsart 2013: 253. Duncan-Jones tries to undermine the value of this inscription by claiming that *populus* here means the members of the *curiae*, just like how some *collegia* call their members the *populus* (1982: 280). So the *[popul]us in cu[r]ias cont[ri]butus* would not be representing the whole *populus* of Thubursicu Numidarum, but a minority of privileged men able to afford curial membership. Duncan-Jones's stance stems from his belief that the terms *curiae* and *populus* normally refer to two different segments of a city's population (1982: 279). He does not explain what is meant when an inscription more simply says *ordo et populus*, however. Moreover, *collegia* used the word *populus* consistently to denote their entire membership (including former officers, the *honorati*). So the parallel he draws between the two usages is inexact. In sum, Duncan-Jones' thinking here seems circular and forced.

inscriptions of Sufetula (*CIL* VIII 11349, 11340; *IL Afr.* 138; cf. *AE* 1949, 61) and of Althiburos (*CIL* VIII 1828) also equate the *populus* of the city with its *curiae*.⁴⁶ The formula could almost be read as short-hand for the above-cited one from Thubursicu Numidarum. Around 400, moreover, Augustine could still explain the twelve tribes of Israel to his North African audience by comparison to the division of the *populi* of cities into *curiae*, although he admits that this is no longer the case in every city (*Enar.* 122.7).⁴⁷

The selective recruitment theory has other problems as well. Xavier Dupuis makes the point that the three *tabulae* of Thamugadi are not a true album as Le Glay treats them. There should be listed on it more curial officers and priests than the one recorded.⁴⁸ And that officer, the *magister* (see below; *AE* 1982, 958 line A24), is but the twelfth name on the list.⁴⁹ Hence, it is not organised hierarchically as if it were trying to give a snapshot of the entire membership of the *curia*.⁵⁰ Besides, while Le Glay does find that twenty of the fifty-two listed names belonged to the top echelon of local society, the other thirty-two did not. It seems arbitrary to say that they were of the middle class, while at the same time calculating that the combination of that middle class and the upper class made up just one-quarter of the available male citizens. There are other possible explanations for the list of names, such as that they were the fifty-two *curiales* from that *curia* to put forward their own money for the statue to Diana Augusta.⁵¹ Or, less likely, given that the *curia* is called the Commodiana and the statue's dedication took place in 211-212, it is

⁴⁶ One of the inscriptions is dated to the second half of the second century (*IL Afr.* 138) and another to the Principate of Severus Alexander (*CIL* VIII 11340). Duncan-Jones cites this formula to support his argument regarding *[popul]us in cu[r]ias cont[ri]butus* (1982: 280). See the note above.

⁴⁷ Roman 1910: 96-97, 118. Kotula (1968 135-136) and Lepelley (1979: 142 n.103) try to limit the significance of these passages by arguing that Augustine is referring to the past of the cities and not their present, even though Augustine uses the present tense. Kotula's reading of the passages in a later article is more moderate (1980: 138-139).

⁴⁸ Dupuis 2009: 114.

⁴⁹ Kotula 1968: 65.

⁵⁰ For discussion of the *alba* of local senates, see Chapter 1.2.

⁵¹ Dupuis 2009: 115.

possible that the *curia* was relatively new for a veteran colony founded in 100 CE⁵² and that it had a lower than normal number of members.⁵³

The inscriptions distinguishing between the *curiae* and the *populus* or *cives* are trickier to deal with. It has been pointed out that the word *populus* could refer to all inhabitants of the city, including women, children, slaves, and *incolae*.⁵⁴ The *universi cives* too in the above-cited Ureu inscription could have meant all of the rest of the citizens' family members.⁵⁵ Thus, the distinctions may just mean that male citizens enjoyed an *epulum* in addition to the *gymnasium* which their wives, children, slaves, and non-citizen neighbours enjoyed. These explanations alone do not fully resolve the issue, however.

A more telling point is that it was private benefactors who were making these distinctions in order to single out specific groups and honour them according to their status. The decision on whom to invite and how to organise the occasion belonged to the host (see Chapter 3.3). The context of these distinctions is still political, but it is also personal. Take for example an inscription found at Thisica. If the reconstruction of its right side is correct, then a benefactor placed statues and paintings in the *forum novum* “for the *populus* and *curiales*” (*in populum [et curia]les*, *AE* 1952, 41). Statues and paintings are not things one can divide, distribute, or easily restrict access to when they are out in the open on public property. Thus, the apparent distinction between the *populus* and *curiales* does not seem to reflect a strict political division in the community. It might just have been a customary turn of phrase, politely acknowledging the

⁵² Gascou 1972: 97-98.

⁵³ Jacques (1990: 397) speculates that its creation was connected to the imperial cult, rather than in reaction to population pressure. If so, it would be less surprising that its members were more prestigious and fewer than the typical *curia* at Thamugadi. This hypothesis goes against *LCGI* 16, however, which requires the *duumviri* to distribute the *populus* among the *curiae* evenly.

⁵⁴ Kotula 1968: 58-59; cf. Gascou 1976: 47. Mrozek argues a similar semantic range for *populus*, independently of this debate (1993: 116-117).

⁵⁵ Jacques 1990: 399-400.

greater status of the male heads of citizen families.

When named as the dedicator of the honour, the *curiae* are never paired with the *populus* or *cives*. They are frequently cited alone and, when paired, it is only with the decurions or groups like the *Augustales*. “*Populus*” and “*cives*” are vague terms without an institutional reality. Sometimes they might include the decurions; sometimes they clearly do not, for the *ordo* is listed first as the chief beneficiary or lead dedicator.⁵⁶ Other times, the *curiae* seem to have been meant. For instance, when the *ordo* and *populus* of the colony of Madauros decreed a *biga* and statue to a deceased Roman equestrian (*o[rd]o et populus . . . decrev[e]runt*, *ILAlg.* 1.2145), his daughters (and heirs) did not make a distribution to the *populus*, but to the decurions and the *curiales*.⁵⁷ They were thanking the actual bodies that had passed the decree. This is not to say that the *curiae* should be read behind every mention of the *populus*. Sometimes the *populus* acted without the organisation of the *curiae*; other times, the *ordo* might have acted in the name of the *populus*. Still, the evidence suggests that the *populus* and the *curiae* were closely associated with one another in the minds of the inhabitants of the cities of Roman North Africa.

Thus, Duncan-Jones would seem to have been misled when he relied on the supposed division between *curiae* and *populus* and on Le Glay's interpretation of named *curiales* of the Curia Commodiana. As a result, his calculations of 500 to 660 *curiales* per city likely under-represent the situation. Moreover, Duncan-Jones skews his calculations by using the known costs per *collega* for banquets of Italian *collegia*, as Jacques and Amodio note.⁵⁸ According to them, the cost of living in North Africa was too low for Italy to be a suitable comparison. 4HS is the

⁵⁶ See Chapter 4.2.B-E.

⁵⁷ *Corneliae Romani[ll]a Postumiana e[t Vi]ctorina Claudiana et Eulogia Romanilla ff[iliae] et heredes eius sua pecun[i]a posuerunt s[po]rtulis decurionibus et curialibus dat[is]*, *ILAlg.* 1.2145. For the reverse, see *AE* 1958, 144. Here a husband gives money so that the decurions, *curiales*, and *Augustales* can feast on his wife's birthday, but it is the *ordo* and *populus* that decree statues to them.

⁵⁸ Jacques 1990: 395; Amodio 1998: 241-242.

highest recorded monetary distribution to citizens in Africa Proconsularis⁵⁹ and conservative estimates put the average cost of distributions to citizens at 2-4HS.⁶⁰ We can, thus, already envision something like 125 *curiales* per *curia* at a distribution costing 250HS per *curia*. But any attempt to calculate the actual enrolment numbers of the *curiae* in such a manner is misleading, for we do not know what was provided for 250HS nor do we know how many *curiales* were present. We cannot assume full attendance every time. For one, some *curiales* would have lived far away in the territory of the city.

Jacques and Amodio point to known assigned seats in the amphitheatre at Lambaesis as an alternative way to estimate the membership numbers of the *curiae*.⁶¹ Several inscriptions (which no longer survive) engraved on the steps inside the bowl of the amphitheatre appear to have divided a large section of the seating between the Curiae Antoniniana, Papiria, Saturnia, Augusta, and Traiana (*CIL* VIII 3293). An insufficient number of the inscriptions survive to ascertain definitively if the divisions were done according to row (*gradus*), section (*cuneus*), or a combination of both, but even the low end of the estimated range of *curiales* able to fit in the assigned spaces far exceeds the numbers given by Duncan-Jones: 200-400 *curiales* per *curia*.⁶² This suggests a minimum number of 2200 *curiales* at Lambaesis (assuming eleven *curiae*), a low estimate which assumes that the assigned spaces sufficed to seat every *curialis*.

This range of numbers is more in line with the evidence from the civic *leges* from Baetica. It does not mean that every adult male citizen who technically belonged to a *curia* was

⁵⁹ Duncan-Jones 1982: 82.

⁶⁰ Jacques (1990: 395), working with Duncan-Jones' figures, loosely estimates 2HS as the average. Pudliszewski's calculations for Spain suggest one *denarius* (4HS) per person as the average (1992: 75-76). Kotula less conservatively estimates a range of one to two *denarii* (4-8HS; 1968: 118).

⁶¹ Jacques 1990: 396; Amodio 1998: 242.

⁶² Golvin and Janon (1980: 186) argue that the inscriptions marked "tranches" from the back wall down to the wall above the arena floor, allowing for 200-400 *curiales* per *curia*. Kolendo (1981: 308-309) proposes seating per row, a scheme which would seat up to 250 *curiales* (at least for the Curia Antoniniana).

an active member. As Jacques argues, there might have been a certain level of poverty at which a citizen could no longer afford to participate in curial life.⁶³ As will be seen in the next section, there were financial costs to being a *curialis*. Others who could afford the financial costs might have stopped participating because of distance, negligence, or inability to prove their citizenship.⁶⁴ There is the chance too that the local governing class strictly controlled local citizenship, which would have limited enrolment in the *curiae*.⁶⁵ These proposals remain hypothetical, however.

2.2 THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE *CURIAE*

As explained in Chapter 1.2, the authority of the decurions in their city was paramount. They controlled nearly every aspect of civic life, either directly or through the magistrates. The *ordo* also had authority over the city's *curiae*. When a peregrine city received a Roman statute, transforming it into a *municipium*, it was the responsibility of the *duumviri* to determine the number of *curiae* needed for the city's size, which the decurions then approved (*uti arbitratus mai[or]is part[is] dec[ur]ionum*, *LIL* lines 49-50).

Given that the *Lex Irnitana* expected the decurions to authorise a suitable number of *curiae* for the size of the *populus*, it is reasonable to assume that they retained the authority to add more (up to eleven) as the city grew.⁶⁶ The *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* may suggest that the *duumviri* also retained general oversight of the *curiae*. *LCGI* 16 requires the *duumviri* to

⁶³ Jacques 1990: 395; Dupuis 2011: 456.

⁶⁴ Jacques 1990: 400-401.

⁶⁵ Jacques 1990: 400. Developing Jacques' suggestion, Dupuis (2011: 457-458) argues that the provision in the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* that a *colonus*' house must have at least 300 roof tiles within two years of the colony's deduction (*LCGI* 14) might have meant that there was a minimal level of wealth and industry that one had to demonstrate in order to remain a *colonus*. The implication is that the *duumviri* could de-enroll him from the list of local citizens if he failed to attain and, later, retain that number (cf. *LCGI* 91).

⁶⁶ Dupuis (2012: 179) proposes that the permission of the emperor needed to be obtained, but this seems unlikely if he delegated the original establishment of the *curiae* to the decurions.

enrol *coloni* into the *curiae* as evenly as possible (*quam aequissimo curiato colon(i) adscrib[e]ntur Ilvir(is)*). Due to the highly fragmentary nature of the text, it is unknown whether this requirement referred only to the initial enrolment of the *coloni* upon establishment of the *curiae* or also to the enrolment of new *coloni* subsequently. The preceding chapter, *LCGI* 15, details not only the establishment of the *curiae* but also the fine for *curiales* who voted in a *curia* other than their own, so the context of the text seems to have expanded beyond the creation of the *curiae* by the start of *LCGI* 16. It is hard to imagine the need for the *duumviri*'s direct involvement in the enrolment of sons of *coloni*, who presumably entered the *curia* of their father. Still, *LCGI* 16 establishes the precedent of roughly even numbers of *curiales* per *curia*, which would have required the continual oversight of a central authority like the *duumviri* to ensure that the numbers remained even.

What ever the exact level of control the *duumviri* had over them, the *curiae* of (at least) North Africa were not lifeless electoral groups. Inscriptions of the second and third centuries reveal that they were highly organised and met for a variety of reasons. As will be seen, this organisation and these activities have informed the *consensus* among scholars that the *curiae* of the second and third centuries were, if not in fact then in practice, private associations.

The main source for the internal organisation of the *curiae* is the regulations adopted on November 27, 185, by the Curia Iovis of the Augustan colony of Simitthus (*CIL* VIII 14683=Appendix F). They are partially preserved on three faces (A, B, C) of a fragmented rectangular *cippus* discovered by René Cagnat during a mission to Tunisia in 1882 on behalf of the French Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts. The mostly large fragments had been reused in garden walls near an olive orchard 11.5km outside of Simitthus in the Bagradas

valley.⁶⁷ From the inscription, we learn that an individual *curia* could hold a meeting of its members called a *concilium* (line B5). At the meeting commemorated on the inscription at least the *curiales* voted (*placuit inter e'o's et convenit*, line A6) and kept an official record of the proceedings (*acta*, line A1).⁶⁸ The inscription further relates that the *curia* had three offices that were likely annual: *flamen*, *magister*, and *quaestor*. These roles were evidently considered *honores*, for their tenure required paying a *summa honoraria* (lines A9-14).⁶⁹ To be a *flamen*, one had to provide three *amphorae* of wine, bread, salt, and food stuffs; to be a *magister* two *amphorae* of wine; and to be a *quaestor* two *denarii*.

The title of the office dedicated to the *sacra* of the *curia* seems to have fluctuated the most between *curiae*. This does not surprise, since Fishwick observes that the titles of civic priests fluctuated from city to city between *sacerdos*, *flamen*, and *pontifex*, even though the functions they performed remained largely the same.⁷⁰ For the Curia Iovis, the position was termed a *flaminate* and it clearly was the most prestigious of the three offices.⁷¹ The regulations set a penalty for any *curialis* who insulted or struck the *flamen*, but not the *magister* or *quaestor* (*si quis flamini maledixerit aut manus iniecerit d(are) d(ebebit) (denarios) I[II]*, lines B1-2). Yet at Lepti Minus two *curiae* honoured their respective *antistes sacrorum*, a title which appears to have been used as an alternative for *sacerdos*.⁷² The *antistes* of the Curia Augusta was specified as *antistes sacrorum Libri Patris* (CIL VIII 22900=ILS 3371) and the one from the Curia Ulpia was *antistes sacrorum Iuventus* – “*iuventus*” probably being a misspelled genitive (see below;

⁶⁷ Cagnat 1883: 175; 1885: 125-127.

⁶⁸ Toutain 1896: 281.

⁶⁹ Roman 1910: 103; Kotula 1968: 69.

⁷⁰ Fishwick 1987: 166 n.109.

⁷¹ Toutain 1896: 283; Kotula 1968: 68-69.

⁷² Aounallah *et al* 2006: 1879; Seston 1968: 74-75. Paul the Deacon's epitome of Sex. Pompeius Festus' work defines *curiales flamines* as *curiarum sacerdotes* (Paul. Fest. P.44Th=P.64M), but he might have been thinking of the *curiae* of archaic Rome.

CIL VIII 22901).

The least amount of information exists for the *magister*, but the fine for the quaestor who does not follow a command of the *magister* makes clear the authority of the position (*si magister qu(a)estori imp[e]raverit et non fecerit d(are) d(ebebit) vini amp(horum)*, lines B3-5). From its title, the office must have overseen the administration of the *curia*, and summoned and presided over the meetings of the *curiales*.⁷³ The regulation that a person must pay a fine of (probably) a *congium* of wine (1/8 of an *amphora*) if he does not attend a *concilium* of the *curia* most likely refers to the *magister*, for he is the last stated subject.⁷⁴ This reading would fall in line with the position's probable responsibility of chairing *concilia*.

One and perhaps two independent references to the position of *magister* exist. The certain reference, found in the membership list of the Curia Commodiana of Thamugadi, does not provide any further details about the position (*AE* 1982, 958 line A24). The unlikely second reference comes from an inscription recording the dedication of a statue, which the Curia Faustina of Zita set up to Q. Plautius Titianus. The *curia* lists his offices as *mag. e[t] ceteris [hon]oribus [int]egre [ff]u[n]cto*. The *ceteri honores* suggest that the abbreviation should be completed as *mag(istratu)*: the chief magistracy of the community, which some scholars identify

⁷³ Schmidt 1890: 601; Toutain 1896: 283-284; Kotula 1968: 68-69 esp. n.65. Paulus in his *Edicta* describes *magistri* as “[those] with whom especial care of matters lies and those who must be more diligent and anxious than others about the matters in their charge” (*cui praecipua cura rerum incumbit et qui magis quam ceteri diligentiam et sollicitudinem rebus quibus praesunt debent, hi 'magistri' appellantur*, *Dig.* 50.16.57pr.). Paul next points out that *magistratus* derives from *magister*. Festus (P.91Th=P.126M) defines the position similarly, but with greater focus on their formal powers: *Magister - moderari. unde magistri non solum doctores artium, sed etiam pagorum, societatum, vicorum, collegiorum, equitum dicuntur, quia omnes hi magis ceteris possunt; unde et magistratus, qui per imperia potentiores sunt quam privati; quae vox duabus significationibus notatur; nam aut ipsam personam demonstrat, ut cum dicimus: Magistratus iussit, aut honorem ut cum dicitur: Tito magistratus datus est*. Cf. Mommsen 1952: 8-9.

⁷⁴ *si in concilium pr(a)esens non venerit d(are) d(ebebit) c(ongium)*, B5-6. Cagnat (1883a: 131) argues that this face of the inscription (as we have it) is arranged into three sections, each headed by the three offices: first the flamen, then the *magister* and quaestor. The quaestor is the subject of the line following the one in question (B7). Waltzing (1895-1900: 1.369 with n.7) also interprets the sentence in this way.

as the sufeture.⁷⁵ That Zita was a *municipium* is likely, given the dedication by a *curia* and references to the *populus* and *ordo* in other inscriptions.⁷⁶ Lepcis Magna too was a sufetal *municipium*, before receiving colonial status from Trajan (see Chapter 1.1). Thus, *mag.* most likely refers to a civic magistracy (whether the sufeture or not).⁷⁷ Yet given the fact that the dedicator is a single *curia*, it cannot be ruled out entirely that the curial *magisterium* is meant.

The quaestor, meanwhile, seems to have had a portfolio somewhat analogous to a secretary-treasurer.⁷⁸ Its title suggests that the office administered the *curia*'s funds and property.⁷⁹ This is supported by the fine for any *curialis* who tries to bribe the quaestor for his silence and later denies it (lines C3-5). It further indicates that the quaestor collected the hypothetical monthly fees and fines, and also that this position oversaw the stores and administrative files of the *curia*. Furthermore, another fine of the Curia Iovis suggests that the quaestor was responsible for making announcements to every member (perhaps just of upcoming meetings), like a *viator* of voluntary associations (*si qu(a)estor alicui non n[u]ntiaverit d(are) d(ebebit) X I*, lines B7-8).⁸⁰

Information about the organisation of the general membership of the *curiae* is even less detailed. A plaque from Lambaesis records a dedication of an unknown item to Severus Alexander by the *seniores* of the Curia Sabina (*CIL* VIII 2714=18118). The immediate impression is that the *curia* was subdivided between *seniores* and *iuniores*, like the centuries of the *comitia centuriata* of Republican Rome (*seniores* from 46 to 60 years, *iuniores* from 17 to

⁷⁵ Belkahia and Di Vita-Évrard 1995: 265-269; Aounallah argues that identification of the exact office to which *magistratus* refers must be taken on a case by case basis, but believes it to be Punic in nature (2001: 187-190).

⁷⁶ *CIL* VIII 11008 likely dates to the second century (Belkahia and Di Vita-Évrard 1995: 267 n.12). Gascou is unsure when Zita became a *municipium* (1982: 308). Lassère dates the status to soon after 197, but on shaky evidence (1990: 523).

⁷⁷ The abbreviation *mag.* could also refer to the duumvirate: *Ilvir(o) quod in mag{g}(istratu) suo*, *ILAfr.* 58=AE 1915, 78.

⁷⁸ Toutain 1896: 283-284; Kotula 1968: 69.

⁷⁹ Kotula 1968: 69, 74.

⁸⁰ Waltzing 1895-1900: 1.369 (which cites *CIL* VIII 14683), 416. The direct object is unstated, but it may be the *concilium* mentioned in the preceding sentence.

45).⁸¹ Direct evidence for the latter group, however, does not exist. Kotula and others assume that the word *iuventus* mentioned in a dedication of a statue to an *antistes sacrorum* by the Curia Ulpia at Lepcis Minor refers to this hypothetical junior subdivision of the *curia*,⁸² but this cannot be definitively determined. Both the word order and the abbreviations of the text make any reading uncertain. The text reads: [- - -] / *Quir(ina) Catu[l(lo)] / aedil(i) q(uaestori) aer(arii) / pontifici praef(ecto) / i(ure) d(icundo) antistiti sa/crorum Iuven/tus cur(iae) Ulp(iae) / patrono* (CIL VIII 22901). The CIL completes the *cur. Ulp.* as genitives, thus assuming that *iuventus* is in the nominative. But the Curia Augusta of Lepcis Minor also dedicated a statue to an *antistes sacrorum*. The word order of its inscription is clearer: *L(ucio) Aemilio Ad/iutori antisti/ti sacrorum Li/beri Patris curi/ae Aug(ustae) anni / curia Aug(usta) pa/trono ob meri/ta sua pecunia / posuit* (CIL VIII 22901). Here *Liberi Patris* clearly names a god in the genitive case and the second mention of the Curia Augusta is clearly in the nominative. If we use this inscription as a model, the *cur. Ulp.* should be restored in the nominative and we should understand the *iuventus* to be the misspelled genitive of the god's name (as if the fourth declension), rather than the name of the youth wing of the *curia*. The validity of the traditional reading of Kotula and of others cannot be denied altogether, but reasonable doubt makes it inadmissible as evidence in favour of the theory that some *curiae* were divided between *seniores* and *iuniores*.

Indeed, an alternate theory attempts to explain the presence of *seniores* in the Curia Sabina. J. Roman cites the *seniores* in support of the theory that each *curia* had an internal council that acted much like the civic *ordo*.⁸³ There is, however, little merit to this theory either.

⁸¹ Taylor 1966: 86.

⁸² Kotula 1968: 121; Aounallah et al 2006: 1879. Seston speculates (1968: 76) that the *iuventes* were that year's new entrants into the Curia Ulpia, but it is unlikely that they would have been sufficiently organised to erect a statue.

⁸³ Roman 1910: 105. Roman must be the source for Gascou's claim that each *curia* had an *ordo* (1972: 59 with n.1).

Voluntary associations provide a possible model, but only some had *ordines*.⁸⁴ Moreover, where they did exist, the decurionate was a junior office. The officers of the association formed a more prestigious group, as signaled by the title of *honoratus* they gained upon leaving office.⁸⁵ Roman finds direct support for the theory in the fine the Curia Iovis set for members who do not attend the funeral of a member of the *ordo*.⁸⁶ This interpretation of *ordo*, however, conflicts with the scholarly consensus that it refers to the whole *curia*, just as it does when used to refer to the whole body of the decurions or of the *Augustales*.⁸⁷ An additional point is that this is the one clause of the regulations (surviving at least) concerning the death of fellow *curiales*. The other surviving clauses involving death concern family members of *curiales* (*[s]i de propinquis decesserit; si quis pro patre et matre pro socrum [pr]o sacr[am]*, Appendix F lines C5-11). If the Curia Iovis involved itself in the deaths of family members of its *curiales*, it would make sense that it involved itself in their deaths too rather than just supposed decurions.

Furthermore, one would expect the inscription of the Curia Iovis to make reference to a council in the lines recording the adoption of the regulations. They, however, just say that “it was determined among them [i.e. the members in attendance] and agreed” (*placuit inter e'o's et convenit*, Appendix F lines A6-7). It is possible that a reference had existed at the bottom of Face A. The missing fragment probably contained three additional lines, which would have been enough room to address another matter. But Cagnat and Toutain are likely right that the missing

⁸⁴ Waltzing 1895-1900: 1.379-383; Royden 1988: 12, 14. The approximately 353 members of the *collegium fabrum tignuariorum Ostiensium*, for example, is comparable to the estimated number of *curiales* per *curia* and it did have a body of decurions (*CIL* XIV 128, 4569; Royden 1988: 27).

⁸⁵ This statement contradicts Waltzing (1895-1900: 1.379), but he is being loose with his language. Inscriptions do tend to name the decurions separately from the *plebs* of a *collegium* and sometimes show them working in concert with the *honorati*, but they are not actually merged under the heading *honorati*.

⁸⁶ *si a[liquis] de ordine decress[erit] - -*, Appendix F lines B8-9, cf. C6-13. Roman 1910: 105-106.

⁸⁷ Cagnat 1885: 131; Schiess 1888: 66; Waltzing 1895-1900: 3.365, who leans on Schiess (1888: 66-67) and Mommsen's (1887: 459 n.1) broader discussions of the word; Schmidt *ad CIL* VIII 14683, p.1427; Kotula 1968: 72-73. For the *ordo Augustalium*, see *CIL* XIV 2410; at Thamugadi: *AE* 1902, 145=*ILS* 9397.

lines of Face A addressed the fees or composition of the general membership, for that is the only available space. The content of the other two Faces have transitioned to listing fines.⁸⁸

Without direct evidence, it seems best to drop the idea of a formal executive body (especially one called an *ordo decurionum*) and to withhold judgment on the idea of a formal division between *seniores* and *iuniores*. It is also possible that the *seniores* of the Curia Sabina at Lambaesis were the equivalent of the *honorati* of voluntary associations and the *honorati* of the tribes of Rome in the imperial period, who were former officers and probably other members who had benefited the organisation.⁸⁹ The inscription of the Curia Sabina concludes with a sort of *album* of the *seniores*, organised into two columns of seven names each. The first four individuals are *flamines perpetui* and the next three, at least, are *immunes perpetui* (see below). The second column is broken on the right side, so any titles are now lost. Still, it seems likely that they too were experienced and distinguished members of the *curia*. It appears that more than just age was required to be considered a “senior” of the *curia*, particularly given the low number of fourteen.

This interpretation approaches that of Stéphane Gsell and especially Kotula, but with an important difference.⁹⁰ The latter asserts that “it is comprehensible” that the *seniores* alone filled the offices and received the honours within the *curia*, and that the *iuniores* were only making their start in their careers.⁹¹ But this would split the membership into two small minorities:

⁸⁸ Cagnat 1885: 130; Toutain 1896: 282.

⁸⁹ Waltzing 1895-1900: 1.366-367. For discussion on the less well understood term of *honoratus* in the tribes of Rome, see Caldelli and Gregori 2011: 135, 139-140. The usage seemingly closest in meaning to *immunes perpetui* of the Curia Sabina is by a *curator* of the sixteenth *corpus* of the Tribus Pollia, who called himself *immunis honoratus* (CIL VI 34010=ILS 6056). See also: CIL IX 5823=ILS 6048.

⁹⁰ Gsell (1909: 185 with n.7) argues that these were informal divisions of curial dignitaries and the youth of the *curia*.

⁹¹ Kotula (1968: 120-121) tries to distinguish himself from Gsell by asserting that hypothetical divisions based on age and social status were “natural” for Roman organisations, which suggests that he believes in formal divisions within the *curia*. But he also insists that such divisions had “nothing in common with the official organisation of municipal *curiae*.”

former officers/other honoured members and new members. It denies that many *curiales* would have been neither young nor holding offices or privileges. Despite the comparative form, *seniores* do not require the counterbalance of a formally organised groups of *iuniores* to exist. *Senior* is the comparative of *senex* not *iuvenis*. Given the limited evidence, it is best to avoid assuming that the *curia* was split between *seniores* and *iuvenes*. The most that can be said with certainty is that prestige was a greater factor than age in the organisation of the fourteen names on the plaque of the Curia Sabina. Therefore, it currently seems more likely that the *seniores* were a small group of *honorati* and that all members of the Curia Sabina did not automatically gain recognition as a *senior* of the *curia* upon reaching the age of 46. The Curia Sabina is unlikely to have been the only *curia* with privileged members. We should expect such influential groups within the *curiae*. Former curial officers, retired soldiers, and successful businessmen would have been natural people to turn to for advice.

Furthermore, the role of civic decurions within their *curia* is an unresolved issue. Since the decurions likely had oversight over the membership of the *curiae* through the *duumviri*, it is plausible that they ensured a roughly equal distribution of themselves to each *curia*, in order to ensure that decisions were made in accordance with the interests of the city.⁹² If true, every *curia* likely already had a natural but informal group of prestigious members who could advise and exert influence when needed, in addition to former curial officers. A permanent executive body within these public institutions (especially if also styled *ordines decurionum*) might have created an alternative source of authority and influence within the *curiae* and city, with which the decurions of the whole city might have been uncomfortable.

This does not mean that every *curia* was divided between a group of influential people

⁹² Cf. the possibility that the *ordo* referred to by the regulations of the Curia Iovis (line B9) was that of the city.

and the rest of the *curiales*. At least one *curia* organised its membership according to a different system. Two inscriptions from Mustis dated to the principate of Severus Alexander reveal that a *classis prima* (AE 1968, 588) and a *classis tertia* (AE 1968, 593) formed part of the city's Curia Augusta. This *curia* then was organised into at least three “classes.” Beschtaouch proposes that the *classis* of a *curialis* was determined by wealth, with the *classis prima* containing the wealthiest members of the *curia*.⁹³ This is a logical inference given the five *classes* of Republican Rome, into which the censors distributed the *populus* of Rome according to their census. There is even a hint of an exclusive attitude in the reference to the *classis prima*, for it alone is said to have received a large sum of money from a *flaminica* named Iulia, in order for them to feast every year ([- - curi]ae honestiss(imae) Aug(ustae) classi prim(a)e summam p[ecu]niae dignam ex cuius usuris annuis redac[tis] omnib(us) annis in perpetuum epularetur t[ri]buit donoq(ue) dedit). The other classes had to be satisfied with the one time *epulum* that she ordered in her will to be given to all *curiae* of Mustis at the dedication of her statue to Ceres Augusta for the well-being of Severus Alexander and Julia Mamaea.

The census basis of the classes is unverifiable, however, and there are several reasons to be doubtful. First, we do not know the motivation of Julia's gift to the *classis prima*. Because she wanted the foundation to never run out of money (*omnib(us) annis in perpetuum*), it is possible that she was unable to provide a large enough legacy for the entire *curia* and so was forced to select one of its classes. Evidently, she had some sort of personal tie with the *classis prima*, perhaps the membership of her husband or father. Second, the *classis tertia* was hardly poor and lacking in influence. Its members were able to obtain a decree of the decurions to restore and beautify at their own expense a temple of Pantheus Augustus (*classis tertia ex curia Aug(usta)*

⁹³ Beschtaouch 1968: 154; Gascou 1976: 47-8; Kotula 1980: 146.

templum vetustate corruptum sum[ptu suo re]stit[uit et e]x[or]n[avit] ex decreto decurio[n]um, *AE* 1968, 593). Moreover, the two inscriptions were put up under different circumstances: private individuals, Iulia's heirs, put up the one mentioning the first class; the other was put up by the third class itself. So any comparison of them will be skewed.

Without further evidence, the question of the exact nature of curial divisions cannot be answered and the chance for error grows greatly if the model of the *comitia centuriata* is pressed. Shared terminology does not necessarily mean shared procedures and results. It is enough to keep in mind that *curiae* could have been organised into subdivisions of influential/non-influential members, *classes*, or according to some other system. This would have brought order to the membership list and facilitated administrative aspects of curial life. *Curiales* might have sat at banquets and spectacles in their subdivisions; they might have discussed upcoming votes – whether curial or civic – in their subdivisions; and they just might have casted their ballots at elections according to subdivision.

2.3 THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE *CURIAE*

Each *curia* could meet on its own. The frequency of such internal meetings is unknown, but there must have been a *concilium* to choose the *curia*'s new officers and to authorise major expenditures like the two temples known to have been built or restored by individual *curiae*.⁹⁴ The inscription of the Curia Iovis at Simitthus attests that by-laws needed to be discussed and voted on from time to time. Leaving aside for the moment honours passed by all *curiae* together,

⁹⁴ *AE* 1968, 593; *AE* 1901, 115=1909, 126.

individual *curiae* also honoured gods,⁹⁵ emperors,⁹⁶ and benefactors.⁹⁷ The most conspicuous example is the series of statues erected to the Severi at Lepcis Magna: single *curiae*, or two or three together, erected statues around the theatre to Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, their sons, and other relatives of Severus, including his grandfather and first wife. That these statues were an orchestrated effort to honour their home-grown emperor is shown by their careful placement around the theatre of Lepcis Magna and the uniformity of their dedicatory formulae.⁹⁸ Five of the twelve inscriptions note that their statue stems from a vow of the *curiales* (*ex voto*), which suggests some type of prior meeting and ceremony for the making of the vow.⁹⁹ And as argued in Chapter 3.2, it is possible that the *curiales* met once again for the dedication ceremony of each statue.

All of these matters presumably required the *magister* to call and chair a *concilium*, so that the *curiales* could debate and vote to authorise actions and expenditures. For the *curiae* to cooperate with each other, presumably their officials met, negotiated (such as expense, wording, and style), and planned a course of action prior to their respective *concilia*. It is within the realm of possibility too that meetings were called to discuss upcoming civic elections and other votes. Prior organisation would have been particularly necessary for honours claiming unanimity. If a *curia* had subdivisions, these would have provided convenient venues for holding such informal discussions and would have provided a mechanism for reminding the *curiales* what had been concluded when it came time to vote.

⁹⁵ To Jupiter Optimus Maximus from the *cultores Curiae Caelestinae* in Numidia: *AE* 1942/43, 58; see also *CIL* VIII 8655.

⁹⁶ The Curia Papiria in honour of Caracalla and Julia Domna: *CIL* VIII 2712; the *seniores* of the Curia Sabina to Severus Alexander (*CIL* VIII 2714=18118). See also *AE* 1901, 2 from Tubunae, Numidia. To the Severi at Lepcis Magna: *IRT* 391, 405, 406, 411, 413, 414, 416, 417, 420, 421, 436, 541.

⁹⁷ *CIL* VIII 22900, 22901, 72=23021, 974+p.1282, 5276a=17454a, 11008, 1888; *ILTun.* 251; *AE* 1996, 1707; *IRT* 118-125 (Sabratha). See also, possibly, *AE* 1996, 1700.

⁹⁸ Torelli 1971: 108; Dupuis 2012: 174.

⁹⁹ *IRT* 413, 414, 416, 436, 541.

The life of the *curiae*, however, was not limited to meetings and votes. Each *curia* had financial accounts (*CIL* VIII 1845=16501),¹⁰⁰ regularly funded by fines and by the *summae honorariae* of the officers. There is the possibility too of a monthly or annual fee. Such fees are unverifiable, but it is the natural conclusion of the privilege of perpetual immunity enjoyed by some of the members of the Curia Sabina at Lambaesis. On analogy of voluntary associations and the tribes of Rome, immunity was the freedom from paying membership fees.¹⁰¹ The finances of *curiae* could also be very healthy, to judge from their building projects.¹⁰² The *curiae* may have even had their own offices or meeting halls.¹⁰³ Moreover, some *curiae* were also the beneficiaries of foundations bequeathed by individuals, so that the members could feast on the birthday of the donor or a loved one.¹⁰⁴ Given these points, mechanisms must have been in place to prevent and detect mishandling of curial funds.¹⁰⁵

Moreover, the regulations of the Curia Iovis of Simitthus show that it was involved in the funerals of its members and their families.¹⁰⁶ It sets a fine of two *denarii* for a *curialis* who did not go to where a family member (*propinquus*) had died within six miles from the city and a fine of five *denarii* if that relative was a mother, father, father-in-law, or mother-in-law.¹⁰⁷ Moreover,

¹⁰⁰ Toutain 1896: 284; Liebenam 1900: 215; Roman 1910: 110-114. *CIL* VIII 924+p. 2338=11201, 4202=18494, 14613, 16556, 16560, 23056; *AE* 1916, 94. I am taking the inscriptions at their word that *sportulae* were given to the *curiae*, not to the *curiales*.

¹⁰¹ Kotula 1968: 70; Nicolet 1985: 814 n.39 (regarding *immunes* in the thirty-five tribes of Rome); Royden 1988: 33 (regarding the *corpus fabrum navalium Portensium*).

¹⁰² The restoration and beautification of temples: *AE* 1968, 593; *AE* 1901, 115=1909, 126; the erection of a building by a *curia*: *CIL* VIII 17906.

¹⁰³ Schmidt assumes a “Versammlungshaus” (1890: 608, cf. 603, 607). The editor of *CIL* VIII 17906 proposes that the inscription of the Curia Marcia, found near Thamugadi's forum, was attached to their meeting hall: *Curia Marcia curiales eius a solo sua pecunia fecerunt id(emque) d(edicaverunt)*, *CIL* VIII 17906=ILS 6844). Moreover, each *curia* presumably had some place to store the in-kind *summae honorariae* they received. It may also be worth exploring whether or not the few temples individual *curiae* are known to have restored were used as their meeting halls and offices (*AE* 1968, 593; *AE* 1901, 115=1909, 126).

¹⁰⁴ *CIL* VIII 1845=16501; *AE* 1968, 588. See also *CIL* VIII 1887=16510 and *CIL* VIII 11813, which record such foundations for all *curiae* rather than one.

¹⁰⁵ The presence of foundations suggests that donors trusted the officers to properly invest and manage large sums of money (which is not a given: Plin. *Ep.* 7.18; cf. *Dig.* 31.49.4, Paulus; *Dig.* 33.1.23, Marcianus).

¹⁰⁶ Schmidt 1890: 600; Roman 1910: 94-95, 114; Kotula 1968: 122-123 n.52.

¹⁰⁷ Appendix F lines C6-11. The inscription contained at least one more line regarding deaths: *item qu[i]*

as discussed above, the fine regarding the death of someone from an *ordo* likely refers either to the *ordo decurionum* of the colony or to entire membership of the *curia* as with voluntary associations (*si a[liquis] de ordine decess[erit] - -*], Appendix F lines B8-9). There is no way of knowing for sure. It is additionally possible that the eight lost lines of Face B had contained fines of decreasing value for *curiales* who did not participate in the mourning of a curial officer or ex-officer, and then for *curiales* who did not participate in the mourning of a regular *curialis*. A limit of six miles from the colony in which such a fine was valid might also have existed for these clauses too.

Other inscriptions from Simitthus expand on the activity of *curiae* concerning deceased members and their relatives. Volcius Messor left in his will 250 *denarii* to the Curia Germanica and another 250 *denarii* to the Curia Martia specifically for them to perform seemingly simple ceremonies of remembrance five times a year at his grave site.¹⁰⁸ Another person left 10,000HS to the Curia Caelestia, and in return (*pro pietate*) the *curiales* built a mausoleum, performed obsequies, and committed to feast on his birthday.¹⁰⁹ References to the funerary duties of the *curiae* outside of Simitthus are comparable. Five inscriptions from Numidia show *curiae* involved in the interment and memorial of a deceased member. Three of the five times, the *curia* is sharing responsibility with the deceased member's family,¹¹⁰ but in two the *curia* is solely

propin`q`u<u>s deces[s]erit d(are) d(ebebit) X IIII qu<a>estor [- - -] maioribus at fe[- - -], Appendix F lines C13-14. Its sense is now lost.

¹⁰⁸ *AE* 1955, 126. The noun used to describe the rites is *parentetis*, which seems to be a misspelling of *parentatio*. *Parentatio* is part of the *parentalia*, the week-long celebration of the deceased in February. Magioncalda (1994: 1159-1162), however, shows that the two words had a broad usage on inscriptions in the empire and could apply to a variety of rites at the grave site of the deceased throughout the year. He further proposes that the clause *quodann`i`s in annos si<n>gulos non minus quinqu<i>es parentetis*, traditionally interpreted to mean that the ceremonies must take place for not less than five years, meant not less than five times each year.

¹⁰⁹ *[- - - / et quod - - - / . . test]amen[to suo] curiae [Caeles]tiae HS X [m(ilia) n(unum) le]`g`avit b(ene) merito p(ro) p(ietate) curia Caelest(ia) mesuleum p(ecunia) sua et exuvias fec(it) et natali eius XI K(alendas) April(es) {a}epulantur*, *CIL* VIII 14613; cf. *CIL* VIII 1845=16501. The *TLL* states that *exuvias* here must mean *exequias* (s.v. *exuviae* V.2, p. 2128).

¹¹⁰ *CIL* VIII 3298, 3302, 3516+p.955.

responsible.¹¹¹ These types were not limited to Numidia. In Proconsularis, the *curiales* of an unnamed *curia* of Ammaedara put Iulius Datus' remains in a *columbarium* niche.¹¹²

Given that the most prestigious curial office was the flamine, it is not surprising to find that the *curiae* were involved in religious and cultic practices too. The fifty-two members of the Curia Commodiana in Timgad erected a statue to Diana Augusta for the well-being of Caracalla, Geta, and Julia Domna (*AE* 1982, 958).¹¹³ Two temples, one to Pantheus Augustus in Mustis and another to Pluto Augustus in Lamsorti (*AE* 1968, 593; *AE* 1901, 115), were restored and expanded by a *curia*, while L. Aemilius Felix gave the ornaments of an unknown goddess to his *curia* (*CIL* VIII 1845=*ILAlg.* 1.3017). *Curiales* of the Curia Caelestina at Mopti in Mauretania Caesariensis, moreover, set up an altar to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and called themselves *cultores* (*AE* 1942/43, 58; similarly *CIL* VIII 8655=*AE* 1968, 648). Emperors were honoured and worshipped alone too, the most conspicuous example being those twelve statues to the Severi in Lepcis Magna. The *Augustales*, where they existed in North Africa, also tended to cooperate and feast with the *curiae*.¹¹⁴

The *curiae*, thus, were involved in imperial cult activities. Many were named after emperors or their family members, usually to mark under whom the city received its promotions to greater civic status. The curial names Ulpia, Traiana, Dacica, and Nervia in Lepcis Magna

¹¹¹ *CIL* VIII 17705, 23261/2. For *CIL* VIII 17705, Dupuis (2009: 113) suggests restoring *cur. Neptunalis* not as Cur(ia) Neptunalis, but as curā Neptunalis. This is grammatically more awkward and forces the deceased to be the subject of the verb *fecit*, even though he already has a verb (*vixit*) and there is no conjunction. Back in Proconsularis, a mutilated inscription on a *basis* in Pheradi Maius presumably shows the heirs of the deceased giving an *exsequiarium* to the citizens arranged in their *curiae* at the funeral, but the word *funus* has been inserted by the modern editor (*[he]redes datis [i]n [funere eius] curiis [in] sing[ulos cives]*, *CIL* VIII 23056).

¹¹² The *CIL* entry notes that the inscription was by a *columbarium* niche (*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) Iulius Datus vix(it) annis L curiales pro pietate posuerunt h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*, *CIL* VIII 23261/2).

¹¹³ *CIL* VIII 8655=*AE* 1968, 648.

¹¹⁴ Out of the 2,500 inscriptions published mentioning the *Augustales* in the western provinces, twenty-seven came from just eight cities in North Africa (Kotula 1981: 346; Le Glay 1990: 636). Five of those inscriptions (mostly from Theveste) show that they honoured benefactors together with the *curiae*: *CIL* VIII 1882+p.1576, 1888, 16555, 16560 (probably); 16559; *AE* 1999, 1796. Two show that they feasted with the *curiae*: *AE* 1958, 144; *CIL* VIII 16530+p.2731.

doubtlessly mark Trajan's grant of *colonia* status.¹¹⁵ The curial names Sabina, Traiana, and Hadriana Felix veteranorum doubtlessly reflect Lambaesis' creation as a *vicus* under Hadrian, while Aurelia, Papiria, and Antoniniana probably allude to M. Aurelius' promotion of it to the status of *municipium*.¹¹⁶

Unique names which cannot be tied to civic promotions, like the Curia Commodiana at Tingad or the Curia Victoriae Antonini in the Numidian city of Tubunae (*AE* 1901, 2), probably reflect an exceptional event, like a major victory or legal intervention by the emperor.¹¹⁷ While it is to be wondered how much a name reflects the cultic worship of a *curia*,¹¹⁸ that the Curiae Ulpia, Augusta, and Pia at Lepcis Magna styled themselves *severae* in one inscription (*IRT* 416, cf. 420) but did not officially adopt it as their name, may reflect a desire to announce their loyalty to the new emperor but also to retain their connection to their original namesake.¹¹⁹

Furthermore, citizens sometimes banqueted within their *curiae*. At Vallis, a decurion gave

¹¹⁵ Kotula seems to expect that every name reflects an emperor or a family member of the Antonines or Severi, but the recent discovery that the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* set the names of the colony's twenty-four *curiae* (*LCGI* 14) suggests caution in identifying the origin of curial names, as Dupuis argues (2011: 451-452; 2012: 170). A name like Curia Iulia found at Lepcis Magna (*IRT* 406) is also the first name in the list of curial names in *LCGI* 15, and so may not refer to Iulia Domna, but Iulius Caesar.

¹¹⁶ Jacques 1990: 393; with some differences: Dupuis 2012: 177. Segermes also had a Curia Aurelia Antoniniana (*AE* 1992, 1794=1996, 1707=1999, 1773), due probably to its promotion to *municipium* status by M. Aurelius (Gascou 1972, 146).

¹¹⁷ Jacques 1990: 392; Dupuis 2012: 179.

¹¹⁸ Dupuis argues that curial names were controlled and set by the emperor himself, and that any change would have had to go through him (2012: 178-179). The implication is that curial names do not reflect any particular desire on the part of the *curiales* to pay homage to past or current emperors. But the *populi* of North African cities are known to have concerned themselves with the proper performance of the imperial cult, so it is not too much of a stretch to believe that they continued to do so while distributed into their *curiae* (*CIL* VIII 1261=10594=14612, 1486=15525=26550, 12285, 25966; cf. *IRT* 415). Moreover, it should be remembered that the *Lex Irnitana* specifically puts the *duumviri* in charge of establishing the *curiae*, with final approval coming from the decurions (*LIL*). It is the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* which imposes the number and names of *curiae* on its receivers, but its late Republican date puts it in a different context. Most attested curial names allude to the emperors, their relatives, or at least gods, not the Republican names of *LCGI* 15. Thus, the organisation laid out in the *LI* probably comes closest to describing the situation in the cities of Proconsularis: that the *ordo* remained in charge of the number and names of *curiae* after their initial establishment.

¹¹⁹ The stylisation comes in the line: *Curiae tres Severae Pia et Ulpia et Augusta* (*IRT* 416). The Curia Pia is presumably the Curia Pia Severiana, which independently set up a second statue to the Severan family (*IRT* 420). This leads Dupuis to argue that the *severae* in *IRT* 416 must be a misreading for *severa* and applies only to the Curia Pia, but it is unclear whether he has personally verified this reading or is just using logic (2012: 170-171).

sportulae to his fellow decuriones and an *epulum* to “his *curia*” (*curiam suam epulavit*, *ILTun.* 1282) on the dedication of a statue to an unknown god for the well-being of an emperor. Other inscriptions record a *curialis* or relative bequeathing money to a *curia*, so that the *curiales* could feast on his or her birthday (*CIL* VIII 14613; *AE* 1968, 588; *CIL* VIII 1845=*ILAlg.* 1.3017). Furthermore, that *summae honorariae* and some curial fines were in the form of wine, salt, bread, and other food stuff indicates that each *curia* organised their own banquets and that social eating was an aspect of curial life. The *summae honorariae* of the Curia Iovis alone seem insufficient for satisfying the appetites of the whole *curia*. Thus, there is the chance that they could have been intended just to see the *curiales* through meetings. But it is possible that the proceeds from fines and other sources of income supplemented the *summae honorariae* of the officers, as suggested by the regulation concerning when a *curialis* is sent to bring back wine (Appendix F lines C1-2).

In addition, the citizens were sometimes invited to public banquets (*epula*) as *curiales* along with other stakeholders in the community, most commonly the decurions.¹²⁰ These were banquets funded by individuals in celebration of the *ludi scaenici* they put on,¹²¹ the dedication of a statue or building they erected,¹²² in gratitude for an office they won, or to remember a deceased person (often the benefactor himself *ex testamento*).¹²³ As discussed further in Chapter 3.3, the donors controlled the details of the banquets. The decision of whom to invite, how to organise the event, and what to distribute or serve was in their hands. So the *curiae* were not automatically apart of public *epula*, but, when they were invited, the hosts were celebrating them for specific reasons.

Finally, citizens sometimes watched entertainments as *curiales*. A notable could

¹²⁰ Kotula 1968: 115.

¹²¹ *AE* 1961, 53; *CIL* VIII 12278; cf. *CIL* VIII 23964, 25808b.

¹²² *ILAlg.* 1.1301; *CIL* VIII 23964, 25808b; *ILTun.* 1282=*AE* 1931, 32.

¹²³ *CIL* VIII 11813; *CIL* VIII 24017. Magioncalda 1992: 271-287.

personally decide to provide an entertainment to one or more *curiae*, such as when a man at Theveste (name now lost) put on an elaborate gladiatorial show for his own *curia* to mark the honour of receiving the annual flamine.¹²⁴ In some cities, the *curiae* seem to have also watched public entertainments together. Part of the job of the *duumviri* and *aediles* was to organise religious festivals, games, and banquets for the community with public funds as well as their own (*LCGI* 70-71, 127; *LI* 77). While it does not seem to have been standard in Roman cities (cf. *LCGI* 126; *LI* 81),¹²⁵ several cities of North Africa divided the seating of their amphitheatres according to *curia*. The inscriptions marking the divisions for five *curiae* at the Lambaesis amphitheatre have already been discussed in section 2.1 (*CIL* VIII 3293). Another inscription at Uthina reserves a row of seating for one *curia*. It reads [- -] *cur(ia) VIII Valer(ia)* (*AE* 2004, 1833). Valeria is evidently the *curia*'s name, since Uthina was a colony founded by Octavian¹²⁶ not too long after the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* laid down Valeria as one of the twenty-four names of Urso's *curiae* (*LCGI* 15).¹²⁷ The number nine could refer to the number of the Curia Valeria in the city's list of *curiae*, the section of seating assigned to it in the amphitheatre, or it could refer to the number of seats the *curia* controlled at that location in the amphitheatre (which is the favoured interpretation of the editors).¹²⁸

In sum, given that the *curiales* of each *curia* held meetings, banqueted and worshipped together, attended spectacles together, and even participated in each other's funerals, Kotula is surely right that the *curiae* were more than just voting groups, but also the venue for lively and

¹²⁴ *ob honorem flamonis annui munus [Idi]bus(?) [o]mnibus senis [par(ibus)] curiae suae [dedit]*, *CIL* VIII 1888=ILAlg. 1.3068=ILS 6838. For further discussion, see below in section 2.6.

¹²⁵ Torelli (1971: 108; backed by Kolendo 1981: 309) suggests that the above-mentioned statues to the Severan family at Lepcis Magna designated each *cuneus* for the dedicating *curia(e)*, because they ring the theatre. This is doubtful, however, since some statues were dedicated by two to three *curiae* and some *curiae* dedicated more than one.

¹²⁶ Plin. *HN* 5.29; Gascou 1972: 130.

¹²⁷ Dupuis 2011: 454.

¹²⁸ Ben Hassen and Maurin (2004: 147-148) insert “*loca*” after VIII. The editor of *L'Année Épigraphique* (2004: 1833), however, suggests that it could mean “the ninth” *curia*.

intimate socialising. This observation is more pertinent than ever before, because of the continued lack of evidence for voluntary associations in North Africa. Kotula and others have perhaps rightly explained the vivacity of the North African *curiae* partly by pointing out the paucity of evidence for “colleges and corporations” in Proconsularis.¹²⁹ They are known to have existed here and there, but no where near to the same extent as in Italy.¹³⁰

Kotula, however, only develops his point on the social life of the *curiae* to support the argument that the *curiae* withdrew from public life and transformed into private associations over the second century. This idea of withdrawal will be rejected, but it does not invalidate Kotula's observations on curial life. Thus, it will be worthwhile to return eventually to what turns out to be Kotula's lasting contribution to understanding the *curiae*: that curial life fostered an “extrêmement vive” atmosphere, which “satisfaisai[t] à l'esprit d'association.”¹³¹

2.4 THE *CURIAE* AS CIVIC INSTITUTIONS

It is evident why many scholars equate the *curiae* of North Africa with voluntary associations. The *curiae* share with them a hierarchy of officers (some of the same title), who administer the affairs of the *curia* for the general membership, the *curiales*. Moreover, epigraphic evidence from elsewhere in the empire show voluntary associations engaging in the same non-electoral activities of the North African *curiae*. The fines set by the Curia Iovis also recall those

¹²⁹ Toutain 1896: 278; Roman 1910: 94; Picard 1959: 35; Kotula 1968: 126; Gascou 1972: 60; Oliveira 2012: 126. This debate does not include the abundant evidence for religious associations in North Africa.

¹³⁰ Several professional associations are known. The *corpus fullonum* constructed a building at Mactaris (*CIL* VIII 23399), and the *centonarii* and the *subaediani* worked with the *curiae* to honour a *flaminica perpetua* at Uthina (*CIL* VIII 10523=12424). The apparent *lex* of an unknown association from Carthage is also known (*CIL* VIII 12574; Waltzing 1895-1900: 4.317-318.). See also several *collegia* of imperial slaves and freedmen: *CIL* VIII 1878, 12905. The *dendrofori* were active in multiple cities too (e.g. *CIL* VIII 7956, 12570, 15527). The most numerous references to voluntary associations are to for-profit *sodalitates* (Beschaouch 1977; 1985; 2006a; 2006b; Thébert 1991).

¹³¹ Kotula 1968: 88, 103, 112, 138; Toutain (1896: 286, followed by Gascou 1972: 60) more mildly finds the same “will to associate” in Africa as elsewhere in the empire, just uniquely manifested in “the African *curiae*” rather than in *collegia*.

of voluntary associations. Traditionally, the regulations adopted by the *curia* have been compared to those of the Collegium of Diana and Antinous at Lanuvium. Encouraging this equation is the minimal evidence for voluntary associations in North Africa, even in highly urbanised Proconsularis.¹³²

To account for these observations, Kotula did two things. He developed the quickly rejected thesis about the Punic origin of the North African *curiae* (see above in section 2.1) and he separated the political functions from the social, claiming that the political belonged to an earlier era when the democratic elements of Roman life under the Principate still had some life to them, namely the first century and early to middle second century.¹³³ From then on, “the political role of the *populus in curias contributus* ended in effect by reduction to zero in the majority of cases.”¹³⁴ Acclamation of the decurions' decisions and other “decorative” acts were all that were left.¹³⁵ According to Kotula, the social functions resembling those of Italian voluntary associations developed in earnest in the last quarter of the second century.¹³⁶ It is at this point that the *curiae* began to dissociate themselves from public life and from each other.¹³⁷ The overall impression he gives is that these internal social developments were a response to the loss of political influence to the decurions.

This thesis of Kotula has proven to be influential. For example, despite his attention to the nuances of civic politics in his 1995 study of religious authority at Carthage, James Rives follows

¹³² Toutain 1896: 278; Roman 1910: 94; Picard 1959: 35; Kotula 1968: 126; Gasco 1972: 60.

¹³³ Kotula 1968: 127-8; 98, 101, 118, 131. Jacques questions Kotula's thesis of the loss of voting rights by the *curiae*, but without detailed discussion (1984: 382-3). Briand-Ponsart (2013: 252) overlooks the chronological element of Kotula's argument when accepting his attribution of an electoral role to the *curiae*.

¹³⁴ “[L]e rôle politique du *populus in curias contributus* finit en effet par se réduire à zéro dans la majorité de cas,” Kotula 1968: 95.

¹³⁵ Kotula 1968: 97-98.

¹³⁶ Kotula 1968: 101-102, 127-128, 137.

¹³⁷ Kotula 1968: 127-128. Kotula further characterises the citizens of North African cities as “forcés à se retirer peu à peu dans la réclusion d'une vie quotidienne dépourvue d'élan” (1968: 128).

Kotula in stating that the *curiae* “were no longer comprehensive subdivisions of the citizen body,” but “selective organisations that were in many respects similar to *collegia*.”¹³⁸ Richard Duncan-Jones does not incorporate a chronological element into his narrative, but his view of the *curiae* is starker, asserting that the evidence “implies that the African '*curiae*' were a series of clubs of limited size.”¹³⁹ To ensure that readers do not confuse the *curiae* with the decurions, he specifies that it was a “plebeian association,” meaning “a club with a plebeian membership.”¹⁴⁰

The central piece of evidence for Kotula's narrative of curial retreat from public life is the regulations adopted by the Curia Iovis of Simitthus. As mentioned multiple times already, these regulations reveal an active and intimate internal life. They confirm that this *curia* at least held formal meetings, of which minutes were kept. They set the values of the *summae honorariae* of its officers and thereby reveal an internal hierarchy of officers. Moreover, they set fines for the improper conduct of officers and regular *curiales* alike. Kotula's analysis of the document is not systematic, but rather piecemeal. For instance, in the conclusion to his discussion of the political role of the *curiae* in Chapter Two, he writes:

Il est frappant que le règlement de la *curia Iovis* de Simitthus, considéré d'abord, répétons-le, comme statuts d'un collège funéraire africain, fut promulgué en 185, c'est à dire au déclin du II^e siècle, date à laquelle les curies se virent déjà contraintes de déployer ailleurs leur activité, tout en la modifiant en activité collégiale. Si même une certaine fonction politique leur fut réservée, notamment le culte impérial, elles adoraient les souverains de la même façon que le faisaient les collèges, donc comme associations de *cultores*, chacune en son propre nom, chacune pour son propre compte.

It is striking that the regulation of the Curia Iovis of Simitthus, considered from the start – let us repeat – as a statute of an African funerary college, was promulgated in 185, that is to say during the decline of the 2nd century, the date at which the *curiae* elsewhere already saw themselves compelled to expand their

¹³⁸ Rives 1995: 207; similarly Benzina Ben Abdallah *ad NDEAmm*. 16 p.25. See also: Bassignano 1974: 373; Lepelley 1979: 141; López Barja de Quiroga 1994: 544-545; Oliveira 2012: 126. Amodio is critical of Kotula, but still dependent on his collation of evidence (1998: 236).

¹³⁹ Duncan-Jones 1982: 280.

¹⁴⁰ Duncan-Jones 1982: 277 with n.5.

activity, while right at the same time modifying it into a collegial activity. If a certain political function was reserved for them, notably the imperial cult, it was worshipping the emperors in the same fashion as the *collegia*, thus as associations of *cultores*: each under its own name, each for its own benefit.¹⁴¹

Similar comments are found in Chapter Three of his book, after discussing “the social life” of the North African *curiae*.¹⁴² Essentially, that the *curiales* waited until late in the second century to adopt such regulations Kotula takes as a sign of a recent loss of voting rights and a turn to private social functions. He recognises that the *curiae* were not technically *collegia*, but argues that they acted just like *collegia*.¹⁴³

Kotula's reference to earlier interpretations of the regulations as those of a funerary college is important, for it shows that he is following a scholarly tradition. The first time Cagnat published the inscription in 1883, he merely connected the regulations to those of voluntary associations.¹⁴⁴ The second time in 1885, he was unequivocal, interpreting the first line of the inscription, *curia Iovis acta*, as “without doubt” referring to a “funerary college.” He explained the presence of *curia* in line A1 as a customary note on the meeting place of the now renamed “Collegium Jovis.”¹⁴⁵ Cagnat, in fact, judged ‘civic electoral group’ to be the third and least likely meaning of this usage of *curia*, after the meeting house of Simitthus’ decurions.¹⁴⁶ Subsequently, the inscription (as well as other *curiae* from North Africa) appeared in studies of *collegia*.¹⁴⁷ Several scholars followed Cagnat's renaming of the *curia* as the “coll(egium) Jovis.”¹⁴⁸ Jules Toutain, meanwhile, preferred to compare the *curia* to *collegia tenuiorum*, which he interpreted

¹⁴¹ Kotula 1968: 101-102.

¹⁴² Kotula 1968: 127-128.

¹⁴³ Kotula 1968: 100-101.

¹⁴⁴ Cagnat 1883: 177.

¹⁴⁵ Cagnat 1883: 128.

¹⁴⁶ Cagnat 1883: 128.

¹⁴⁷ Waltzing 1895-1900: *raro*, esp. 1.278, 371 n.6, 3.364-366 #1414; Schiess 1888: 12 #73, 139 #362.

¹⁴⁸ Schiess 1888: 12 #73 (with question mark). The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* cites the inscription as “DECRET. colleg. fam. Simitth” (vol. 5 [1910], s.v. *decerno* (*decretum*), p.155).

to mean private associations of poor people.¹⁴⁹

This identification of the Curia Iovis was rooted in the 19th century concern with isolating the exact juridical status of *collegia* and betrays the influence of Theodor Mommsen, which Cagnat explicitly acknowledges.¹⁵⁰ Jonathan Perry and Andreas Bendlin have demonstrated that Mommsen's identification of the Collegium of Diana and Antinous at Lanuvium as a *collegium funeraticium* of poor people (*tenuiores*) sparked the still prevalent conceptualisation of *collegia* as surrogate families or mutual-aid societies for those who did not have the familial or personal resources to take care of themselves and receive a marked burial.¹⁵¹ It is now acknowledged that the term *collegium funeraticum* is not found in the ancient evidence, but was coined by Mommsen.¹⁵² Likewise, the word *tenuiores* does not mean “poor,” but was a catch-all term for the vast bulk of the population not in the governing classes; *tenuiores* could still be financially secure.¹⁵³ The various fees and fines common in collegial life required disposable income.¹⁵⁴ The view currently gaining consensus is that the social and funerary activities of *collegia* were an augmentation of one's personal and familial resources, rather than a replacement of them.¹⁵⁵

Just five years after Cagnat's full publication, Johannes Schmidt raised doubts over the identification of the Curia Iovis (and *curiae* in general) as a *collegium* (whether in fact or in practice). In a short article, Schmidt made three basic observations: (1) that it was evidently

¹⁴⁹ Toutain 1896: 280-281, 285 with n.2. On the private character of the *curiae*: Toutain 1896: 279-280, 285.

¹⁵⁰ “Nous sommes ici (c'est l'avis de M. Mommsen, qui a bien voulu m'éclairer sur ce point) en présence d'un collège funéraire, sans doute un collegium Iovis,” Cagnat 1885: 128. Cagnat had presumably consulted with Mommsen prior to publication of the inscription, for Cagnat also attributes restorations to Mommsen (1885: 129 n.3, 132). He also once compares a regulation directly with one of the *collegium* of Diana and Antinous (1885: 133). More simply, Toutain establishes that the *curiae* had a “civil personality” – meaning that they were legally constituted and could receive legacies – (1896: 279-280), he admits failure in isolating their exact juridical status and purpose (1896: 283-286).

¹⁵¹ Perry 2006: 31-32, 64-65; Bendlin 2011: 223-237.

¹⁵² Perry 2006: 35; Bendlin 2011: 228.

¹⁵³ Bendlin 2011: 232-233.

¹⁵⁴ Bendlin 2011: 235, 265-267; see also the discussion and bibliography cited by Ventinque 2010: 274-285.

¹⁵⁵ Bendlin 2002: 33-34; 2011: 252, cf. 256; Ventinque 2010; cf. Sigismund Nielsen 2006: 206.

important to the *curiales* that their meeting had taken place on the birthday of the colony, as seen on line A4: *natale civitatis*; (2) that flamen (lines A9, B1) is the title of a public religious functionary not found in *collegia* where it is *sacerdos* and that, as in cities, the flamine is the most prestigious curial office;¹⁵⁶ (3) that the word the *curia* used to describes its meetings – *concilium* (line B5) – is usually used to described meetings of a public nature, particularly ones made up of a fraction of the *populus*, like a *curia*.¹⁵⁷ The word used for meetings of voluntary associations is *conventus*.¹⁵⁸ Schmidt argued that the Curia Iovis continued to be a civic voting group.

Of Schmidt's three points, the third requires clarification. It rests on Aulus Gellius' report of an opinion by an obscure jurist, Laelius Felix.¹⁵⁹ In the early second-century CE, Felix supposedly wrote that “one who orders a part of the people to assemble, but not all the people, ought to call it a *concilium* rather than a *comitia*” (*is qui non universum populum, sed partem aliquam adesse iubet, non comitia, sed concilium edicere debet*, Aul. Gel. 15.27.4). In broad strokes, this is true. Cicero and Livy's usage of *concilium* focuses on composition and tends to describe assemblies that excluded a part of the population, while their usage of *comitia* focuses on the purpose of voting: *concilium plebis* (i.e. not *romanum*) versus *comitia consularia*.¹⁶⁰ With

¹⁵⁶ Schmidt 1890: 606-607; Roman 1910: 104. Waltzing cites almost exclusively the Curia Iovis as an example of the title *flamen* within voluntary associations (1895-1900: 1.390 n.5; 4.434-437). On the public nature of flamines, see: Fishwick 1978a: 1207-1208, cf. 1214-1215; 1981: 338. Bassignano similarly presents the flamine in purely public terms, but unfortunately adopts Kotula's Punic origin thesis in her discussion of the curial flamine (1974: 373-374). Schmidt (1890: 606-607) also points to the *magisterium* as evidence of the public nature of the Curia Iovis, but this title was not strictly applied to public offices.

¹⁵⁷ Schmidt 1890: 605-606; Waltzing 1895-1900: 3.366; Roman 1910: 102.

¹⁵⁸ The *Tabula Heracleensis* uses *concilium* as the alternate form of public gathering to *comitia* (*TH* lines 132-133). The *Lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonensis* too uses *concilium* to denote the provincial council (*CIL* XII 6038 lines 14, 23). The *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae*, meanwhile, uses *conventus* to describe an illegal private gathering (*LCGI* 106 line 32). For a comparison of *concilium* to other Latin terms for large meetings of people, see Schmidt 1890: 605-606; Roman 1910: 102. For further references to *conventus*, see Waltzing 1895-1900: 1.368-369 with n.1.

¹⁵⁹ On Laelius Felix: Palmer 1970: 69. Schulz admits uncertainty regarding the genre of Laelius' work (1946: 204).

¹⁶⁰ Farrell 1986: 430-432.

this in mind, the mention of *concilium* in *CIL* VIII 14683 implicitly distinguishes the *curiales* of the Curia Iovis from the *curiales* of the other *curiae* of Simitthus. Schmidt's observation, thus, points to the separate group identity of each *curia*. By itself, however, the appearance of *concilium* in the inscription does not shed light onto the nature of the *curia*, because the word could apply to any meeting with even a tenuous public nature.¹⁶¹

Schmidt's views did gain some traction. In volume one of his study of “professional corporations,” Waltzing seems to have anticipated Kotula by stating that the *curia* was an electoral *curia* “organised into a funerary college,” which would seem to suggest that it ceased being a electoral *curia* to become a funerary college.¹⁶² But in volume three, published four years later, he states that Schmidt “has well shown” that the *curia* was the electoral division of the *populus* and confirms that “*concilium*” is never applied to meetings of *collegia*.¹⁶³ One year later, Wilhelm Liebenam admitted that he “and others” had first understood the Curia Iovis to be a *collegium funeraticium*, until Schmidt's article showed it to be a civic *curia*.¹⁶⁴ In 1910, moreover, J. Roman developed Schmidt's points¹⁶⁵ in a long article dedicated to the North African *curiae*, arguing that they had a role in civic life far longer than elsewhere in the empire.¹⁶⁶

But while subsequent studies continued to acknowledge the articles of Schmidt and

¹⁶¹ Farrell observes that Livy and, especially, Cicero use *comitia* to refer to electoral, judicial, and legislative votes; *concilium*, in contrast, was used even for meetings of the gods (1986: 432-436). Contra Botsford, who argues that *concilium* was the standard word applied to public assemblies with a deliberative aspect, particularly legislative and judicial assemblies (where voting could still took place). For him, *comitia* more narrowly denoted electoral assemblies where debate did not normally occur (Botsford 1909: 135-137). Farrell (1986: 407) points out that Botsford was working with a selection of references from his Republican sources, rather than all references.

¹⁶² Waltzing 1895-1900: 1.278, 371 n.6. Christian Hülsen dated the fading of the constitutional position of the *curiae* into “empty shadows” to the second and third centuries, particularly starting with the Principate of M. Aurelius (*RE* 4: p. 1820).

¹⁶³ Waltzing 1895-1900: 3.365-366.

¹⁶⁴ Liebenam 1900: 215.

¹⁶⁵ Roman 1910: 101-102.

¹⁶⁶ Roman 1910: 116-119.

Roman and the public nature of the *curia*, they were overshadowed by the earlier equation with *collegia*. The problem was that, although Schmidt and Roman objected to the direct equation of the *curiae* with *collegia*, their approach to the topic was still rooted in the *collegium/curia* comparison. Schmidt focussed on establishing their juridical personality and activities, partly through reference to imperial edicts on voluntary associations.¹⁶⁷ Roman, meanwhile, asserted that the *curiae* took the place of private associations in North Africa, by, for example, taking care of the obsequies of indigent members.¹⁶⁸ The quick reminder that they were “more than simple colleges” but “the units among which the people of the city were distributed” nonetheless still implies a collegial nature.¹⁶⁹ His subsequent argument that the apparent uniqueness of North Africa's *curiae* was rooted in indigenous tribal culture only served to distance them further from the Roman electoral divisions. In short, the implications of the *curiae* being a public institution were drowned out by the organisation and activities they obviously shared with voluntary associations.

As result, *collegia* were left as the only serious model upon which the *curiae* could have been based. In the fourth volume of his work on professional corporations, Waltzing returned to describing the Curia Iovis as “a municipal *curia* organised like funerary colleges with a view to burying its members,” all the while acknowledging Schmidt.¹⁷⁰ Picard and Gascou are examples of this thinking several generations later.¹⁷¹ Despite the fact that they both explicitly reject Toutain's equation of the *curiae* with colleges,¹⁷² both cite the Curia Iovis to characterize the

¹⁶⁷ Schmidt 1890: 608-609. Schmidt, for instance, opined that the prohibition against an individual belonging to more than one *collegium* found at *Dig.* 47.22.1.2 (Marcianus) also pertained to the *curiales* of North Africa.

¹⁶⁸ Roman 1910: 114-116.

¹⁶⁹ Roman 1910: 116-117.

¹⁷⁰ Waltzing 1895-1900: 4.317; cf. 214.

¹⁷¹ Writing about juridical romanisation after the publication of Kotula's book, Gascou notes that he had yet to read it (1972: 59 n.1). He instead relies on Roman's study.

¹⁷² Picard 1959: 28, 367 n.44, 45; Gascou 1972: 59 with n.1.

curiae in terms similar to those of Toutain.¹⁷³ Gascou, in particular, writes: “At the same time voting sections . . . and colleges recognised by the law, the African *curiae* contributed to assuring the coherence of the city and seem to have satisfied almost entirely the spirit of association of the Roman-Africans, if one judges by the rarity of the other kinds of colleges and corporations.”¹⁷⁴

As will be discussed, in 1990 Jacques briefly suggested the Roman tribes as an alternate model for curial life, but the suggestion has remained just that. No one has actually compared the two institutions. Rather, scholars of the past few decades have focused on the question of curial membership. Kotula is still the fundamental study for understanding the internal workings of the *curiae* and their role in the cities of Proconsularis.¹⁷⁵

It is, therefore, worthwhile to buttress the argument that the North African *curiae* were public institutions. A note in the inscription erected by the Curia Iovis that has not received much attention is that the *curiales* agreed to observe the regulations *secundum [d]ecretum publicum*, that is “in accordance with a public decree.”¹⁷⁶ The adjective *publicum* shares the same root as the noun *populus* and marks something pertaining to the people. The chance is small that the word merely refers to a decree of the decurions affecting the entire *populus*, despite the fact that the decurions had the right to speak on behalf of the entire community. If that were the case, the formula is much more likely to have been *secundum decretum decurionum/ordinis*.

¹⁷³ Picard in 1959 characterised the *curiae* as “not only voting sections, but veritable clubs which provided as much to the pleasures of the living by banquets as to the supreme needs of the dead, whose funerals they celebrated.” “Les curies, on l’a vu déjà [1959: 28], n’étaient pas seulement des sections de votes, mais de véritables clubs qui pourvoaient aussi bien aux plaisirs des vivants par leur banquets, qu’aux suprêmes besoins des morts dont elles célébraient les funérailles,” Picard 1959: 35-36; repeated in the second edition: Picard 1990: 33, 38.

¹⁷⁴ “A la fois sections de vote (équivalentes aux tribus à Rome) et collèges reconnus par la loi, les curies africaines contribuent à assurer la cohérence de la cité et semblent avoir satisfait presque entièrement à l’esprit d’association des Romano-africains, si l’on en juge par la rareté des autres sortes de collèges ou de corporations,” Gascou 1972: 60.

¹⁷⁵ Oliveira (2012: 126), for example, cites Jacque’s suggestion (Jacques 1990: 391 n.35) of the thirty-five tribes of Rome as a more accurate parallel for the *curiae*, but cites Kotula alone to show that the *curiae* had “a social life comparable to that of colleges.”

¹⁷⁶ *placuit inter eis et convenit secundum [d]ecretum publicum [o]b[s]ervare*, Appendix F lines 6-8.

Decreta publica are rare in the literary and epigraphic records, but enough evidence survives for a fair amount of certainty that they refer to decrees officially passed by the people. For instance, writing around the same time as the decree at Simitthus, Aulus Gellius termed a potential decree of the Rhodian assembly to side with Perseus in the Third Macedonian War a *publicum decretum* (NA 6.3.4). Closer to the Simitthus example, four other inscriptions from North Africa also mention public decrees. Two bases found beside each other at Vallis record that the *ordo* “made” statues to local benefactors on decree of the people (*ordo dec(urionum) decreto publico [f]ecit*, CIL VIII 1282=14785, 14786). If the *ordo* of Vallis alone was involved in these honours, most likely the stone would have just read *decrevit*. The bare *fecit*, rather, signals that the decurions were responding to a decree of the *populus* of Vallis.

An inscription from Thaenae contemporary to that of the Curia Iovis is clearer. It records that the *ordo* of the Thaenensians passed a decree authorising public money to set up an equestrian statue to a former *duumvir* (*quinquennalis?*), who was also the brother of Q. Aemilius Laetus, Commodus' praetorian prefect. It relates that the honoree had won over each and every citizen on account of his singular innocence and outstanding affection (*ob singularem innocentiam et in promerendis singulis universisq(ue) civib(us) examina tam adfectionem*, AE 1949, 38). With such universal praise and fraternal prestige, it is unsurprising to learn that the decurions' decree was passed “following a public decree” (*ordo Thaen(ensium) statuam equest(rem) ponendam de pub(lico) dec(reto) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*).

Meanwhile, at Caesarea in Mauretania Caesariensis sometime during the Principate of Hadrian or perhaps later, it is directly stated that the citizens “decorated” a fellow citizen and *praefectus fabrum* at Rome with “all of the honours of the magistracies by public decree” (*cives sui omnibus magistrat[u]um honoribus publico decreto exornaverunt*, AE 1925, 44). Given that

the main function of the *curiae* was electoral, this honour – as well as the others mentioned above – was most likely passed by the *cives* distributed into their *curiae*. There just was not a mechanism other than the *curiae* summoned to *comitia* by which the people could have formally passed a decree.

Decreta publica must also have been the result of the action recorded on several inscriptions scattered around the empire of the *plebs*, *populus*, *cives*, or *coloni* of a city passing a decree. The *plebs* of the *municipium* Histonium in Italy, for instance, “decreed” a statue to a poet to be paid with collected money sometime during the Principate of Antoninus Pius (*plebs universa municipum Histonie<n>sium statuam aere collato decrevit*, CIL IX 2860). The “universal *populus*” of the colony of Luceria also passed a decree to honour, this time to a civic patron.¹⁷⁷ For Africa Proconsularis, the *ordo* and *populus* of Madauros together decreed a *biga* to a deceased Roman equestrian (*o[rd]o et populus . . . decrev[e]runt*, ILAG. 1.2145). That it is not just the *ordo* speaking in the name of the people is indicated by the non-abbreviated form of “*populus*,” the plural form of the verb, and the note at the end of the inscription that the heirs gave *sportulae* to the *curiae* – the mechanism by which the *populus* would have passed the decree.¹⁷⁸

What does this mean for the *decretum publicum* followed by the Curia Iovis of Simitthus? It suggests that the regulations the Curia Iovis adopted had been approved by the community as a whole, rather than by the decurions alone. A further implication is that the Curia Iovis adopted a friendly decree rather than had one imposed upon it by the decurions. This interpretation is

¹⁷⁷ *[uni]versus p[opulus] Luce[rinus] ponendam decr[evit]*, CIL IX 804=EAOR 3.18. See also: *ex decr(e)to ordinis et colonor[um]*, CIL VIII 4440=18587. The *pagani* of the Pagus Mercurialis also passed a decree authorizing a statue to the divine Pertinax (*d(ecreto) p[aganorum]*, AE 1995, 1657), but this is not a parallel to *decreta publica* passed by the citizens of cities with the political institutions of cities.

¹⁷⁸ *[Vi]ctorina Claudiana et Eulogia Romanilla ffiliae] et heredes eius sua pecun[i]a posuerunt s[po]rtulis decurionibus et curialibus dat[is]*, ILAG. 1.2145.

supported by the positive tone of the lines preceding the mention of the *decretum publicum*, which proclaim that the *curia* adopted the regulations on Simitthus' birthday (*natale civi[t]atis*, A4), contain a standard invocation for a propitious outcome to the undertaking (*quot bonum faustum felicem*, A4-5),¹⁷⁹ and declare the successful vote of the *curiales* to adopt the regulations (*placuit inter e'os et convenit*, A6-7).

If this reading is accurate, then the *curia* voted twice in favour of the regulations: the first time being the *comitia* of the whole *populus* at which the public decree was passed, the second being the *concilium* of the *curiales* recorded in the inscription. It is probable too that all of the *curiae* of Simitthus adopted similar regulations, for it seems unlikely that the chief magistrates and citizenry would have bothered with a *comitia* just to pass a *decretum publicum* affecting one *curia*. One possible scenario is that the *decretum publicum* identified the subjects of the regulations and included a formal request that the *curiae* adopt them. In addition to ratification, the second vote of the *curiales* might also have set the values of the *summae honorariae* and fines for their *curia*, for their advertisement is the main purpose of the inscription.

This is not to say that the organisation and activities of the *curiae* were unrelated to voluntary associations. They obviously were. But even if the *curiae* filled a role that voluntary associations often filled in other parts of the empire, this does not make them equivalent to *collegia* and certainly not *collegia* by a different name. The fact alone that they remained public institutions that still had a role in elections and other aspects of civic life makes them a fundamentally different organisation. Besides, the “*collegia funeraticia*” or “dining clubs” to which the *curiae* were supposedly similar did not even exist, being an 19th century invention

¹⁷⁹ Hickson 1993: 63; cf. Talbert (1984: 236) regarding *relationes* in the Roman Senate and Bendlin (2011: 221) regarding the phrase in the regulations of the *collegium* of Diana and Antinous at Lanuvium (*CIL* XIV 2112 line 1.14).

perpetuated in the 20th century.

The problem is not the comparison, which is valid, but that it has been applied too narrowly and pushed too far. Perhaps out of habit, scholars often seem content with the bare comparison. The implication is that all one needs to know is that the *curiae* were like voluntary associations. Outside of Kotula's increasingly doubtful thesis of withdrawal from public life, no one has explored what it meant to the *populus* and the city as a whole for the electoral divisions to have also been social hubs. New approaches to the subject are needed.

As Jacques briefly suggested, the thirty-five tribes of Rome are another parallel for the North African *curiae*.¹⁸⁰ This suggestion is supported by several correspondences. First, as noted above in section 2.1, the lexicon of Isidore of Seville and the lexicon of Paul the Deacon, which originated with the Augustan scholar Verrius Flaccus, both equate the tribes with the *curiae* several times. The *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* in Baetica also uses both *curia* and *tribus* in different parts of the text to refer to electoral divisions of the *coloni*.¹⁸¹ Finally, there are correspondences in organisation and diversity of activities.

The evidence is limited, but the tribes too were highly organised. The *tribules* were sub-divided into *corpora*, which in-turn were sub-divided into centuries.¹⁸² Moreover, they elected

¹⁸⁰ Jacques 1990: 391 n.35; followed by Oliveira 2012: 126.

¹⁸¹ *quicumque comitia magistrat<ib>us creandis subrogandis habebit, is nī qu eis comitis pro tribu accipito neve renuntiato neve renuntiari iubeto . . .*, *LCGI* 101 lines 17-19. The one still viable explanation for this use of *tribus* is that it is a survival from an earlier *lex*, when *curia* was not yet the standard term for an electoral division of a Roman city (Crawford 1996: 444-445 *ad Ch. CI* line 18; Caballos Rufino 2006: 227-228; Dupuis 2011: 453).

¹⁸² Many of the *corpora* consisted of either *seniores* or *iuniores*. The evidence is confusing, however, in three ways: (1) it is unclear if the *corpora* were subdivided into centuries of *iuniores* and *seniores* or whether there were different *corpora* for each (Caldelli and Gregori 2011: 133). The evidence leans towards the latter scenario. Inscriptions sometimes say *corpus seniorum* or *corpus iuniorum*. Another *corpus* was called *corp(us) iuniorum Iuvenalis* (*AE* 1948, 97; *CIL* VI 31240=*ILS* 525). (2) Some inscriptions distinguish between *clientes* and *honorati* within a *corpus* (e.g. *tribus Palatinae corporis seniorum clientium*, *CIL* VI 10215+p.3907=*ILS* 6057). Mommsen argued that the *clientes* were those who received grain distributions at Rome, but, as Caldelli and Gregori point out (2011: 140), there is no proof that the two were related. It is possible that *clientes* are the regular *tribules* and that the *honorati* are the former officers of the tribe/*corpus*, *honestiores*, and/or members who have been voted immunities and other honours by their fellow *tribules*. The regular *tribules* might have been called *clientes*, because all were clients of the emperor. (3) A few *corpora* had proper names (Corpus August(ianum), *CIL* VI 10216+pp. 3500,3907=*ILS* 6058, 10217+pp.3500,3907=*ILS* 6060; *CIL* VI 40683; cf. *CIL* 10097=33960 (?);

officers.¹⁸³ Each *corpus* had at least one scribe and one *viator* (*CIL* VI 10215+p.3907=*ILS* 6057). The latter position was probably a sort of messenger, who announced the meetings, banquets, and other news to his fellow *tribules*.¹⁸⁴ More prestigious were the centurions who led the centuries and the *curatores* who headed the *corpus*.¹⁸⁵ This last position was considered an *honor*, as two inscriptions attest (*bis hon(ore) in curat(ione) functus*, *ILS* 6052; *honore curationis suae funct[us]*, *ILS* 5167). The *corpora* in particular and, sometimes, the century seem to have been the *loci* of activity and to have been semi-independent within the tribe. Individuals listed their *corpus* as well as their tribe on monuments and epitaphs, and sometimes their century. One inscription even records the *populus* of a *corpus* passing a decree (*cui populus eius corporis immunitatem sex centuriarum decrevit*, *ILS* 6052).

Like *curiales*, *tribules* also set up honorific statues.¹⁸⁶ Cicero gravely notes the start of the practice with the tribes' statue to their "patron," L. Antonius (*Phil.* 6.12-15). Unprecedented in the late Republic, such cooperation to honour benefactors would become standard among the *curiae* of North Africa.¹⁸⁷ Finally, the tribes at Rome were similarly involved in the funerals of

Corpus Iulianum, *ILS* 5167; Juvenalis *AE* 1948, 97; *CIL* VI 31240=*ILS* 525.). Most, however, had just adjectival designations, like "the junior/senior *corpus*" (*tr[i]b(us) S[uc]cusana) corp(or)um senio[ri]s [et iunioris] f(o)ed[erato]rum*], *CIL* VI 37846; *tribus Palatin(a)e corp(or)is iunioris*, *CIL* VI 33990a=*ILS* 6061). Why were a few properly named and most not?

¹⁸³ *electo . . . a tribulibus*, *CIL* VI 10215+p.3907=*ILS* 6057 (this individual seems to have been made a scribe and *viator* in perpetuity: *perp(etuo?) scribae et viatori*); *factus suffra[giis]*, *CIL* VI 33993+p.3907=*ILS* 6055; *cur(ator) . . . [per] consensum tribulium continuis annis duobus*, *CIL* VI 33994+p.3907=*ILS* 6054.

¹⁸⁴ Waltzing 1895-1900: 1.416.

¹⁸⁵ The curator's role as leader of the *corpus* is nowhere explicitly stated, but it is the logical conclusion from studying the evidence. One *tribulis* is called "curator of the 16th," which Dessau interprets to mean the sixteenth *corpus* (*curatori XVI [corporis]*, *CIL* VI 34010=*ILS* 6056). Moreover, there appears to have been a sort of *cursus honorum*, for two individuals were first centurion of their century, before coming *curator* (*CIL* VI 36747c=*ILS* 6052; 33994+p.3907=*ILS* 6054).

¹⁸⁶ *Tribules* of the *Succusana* set up a series of statues in celebration of Vespasian's Principate dedicated to Pax Augusta (*CIL* VI 36747d=*ILS* 6050), to Fortuna Redux domus Augustae (*CIL* VI 36747a-b), Pax Aeterna (*CIL* VI 36747e=*ILS* 6049), Victoria Augusta (*CIL* VI 36747c=*ILS* 6052): three by the tribe's *curatores*, one by all *tribules* of the [*corpus?*] *iuniorum*. In 253, the Corpus Iuvenalis of the *tribus Palatina* set up a statue (?) to Trebonius Gallus and his son Volusianus (*CIL* VI 31240=*ILS* 525).

¹⁸⁷ Claude Nicolet notes that L. Antonius is the first known recipient of a collective action of the tribes (1985: 839). He theorises that the tribes were beginning to represent just the *populus* of Rome, like the *curiae* of other cities.

*tribules*¹⁸⁸ and could receive testamentary distributions from members (*universi tribules . . . testamento divisione exequiarum eius honorati sunt*, *CIL* VI 10215+p.3907=*ILS* 6057). In short, the social life of at least one tribe was vibrant and intimate enough that a son and wife could claim on the epitaph of a deceased scribe and *viator* that he had been elected by his *corpus* “on account of his loyalty and industry” and that “he had engaged in this administration in such way that all *tribules* . . . grieved the loss of an irreproachable and industrious man.”¹⁸⁹

There are clear differences between the organisation of the *curiae* and the tribes. The much higher number of members of the tribes in comparison to the *curiae* partly explains them. Just one *corpus* of the Tribus Palatina had 968 *tribules* in 253 CE (*CIL* VI 31240).¹⁹⁰ But this does not negate that at the very heart of the empire there was a public institution performing similar activities as the North African *curiae*. And at Rome many voluntary associations are known to have existed. At the other end, many of the North African cities known to have had *curiae* were Roman foundations.¹⁹¹ It seems logical that colonies, meant to be miniature replicas of Rome (Aul. Gel. 16.13.8-9), duplicated the tribes as well as the magistracies and senate. Again, this is not to say that any comparison to voluntary associations would be misleading and fruitless. Quite the opposite. It is just that the public nature of the *curiae* needs to be front and centre in our thinking, if understanding of their civic role is to advance.

Kotula, of course, is arguing that the *curiae* only became private institutions over the course of the second-century, but here too he is mistaken. His assertions, published in 1968, do

¹⁸⁸ The Tribus Pallia is known to have owned a *columbarium* (*CIL* VI 33992-33996) and the Tribus Clamillia owned a tomb headed by the inscription: *iter privatum tribus Camilliae* (*AE* 1948, 66).

¹⁸⁹ *electo ob fidem et industriam suam a tribulibus tribus Palatinae corporis seniorum clientium perp(etuo) scribae et viatori et in ea administratione ita versato, ut universi tribules qui advivente eo dono Delphicae aereae cum omni cultu exornatae, sed et testamento divisione exequiarum eius honorati sunt, tam integrum et industrium virum amissum dolerent*, *CIL* VI 10215+p.3907=*ILS* 6057.

¹⁹⁰ The names of 727 *tribules* of the Tribus Sucusana divided into eight centuries also survive (*CIL* VI 36747e).

¹⁹¹ Gascou 1976: 37, 41-2; see Appendix D.

not have the benefit of studies on the so-called “epigraphic habit.” The inscriptions which Kotula uses to demonstrate this inward turn by the *curiae* – namely those showing the *curiae* to be the recipients of benefactions – follow the same general trend of inscriptions in the Roman West: they start to appear in large numbers in the last decades of the 2nd century and reach their zenith under the Severi (see Chapter 1.1). If we understand the epigraphic habit to have been a selective cultural phenomenon, rather than a universal documentary one,¹⁹² then it is not surprising that some aspects of curial life were seldom recorded on stone before the late Antonine period. Just because a person or group did not believe an event merited commemoration on stone, does not mean that it did not happen. Besides, the two earliest inscriptions attesting to *curiae* receiving legacies in order to feast on the birthday of the donor date to during or around the Principate of Hadrian, that is soon after the presumed earliest dated inscription attesting to *curiae* in Roman North Africa: the one from Thubursicu Numidarum recording the *populus* dedicating an honour while “distributed” into their *curiae*.¹⁹³ It seems unlikely that the former two would be recording the first iterations of these “social” practices, while the latter one would be recording the final iteration of the *populus* formally summoned *curiatim* – to decree an honorific statue no less.

Furthermore, as Jacques, Dupuis, and Briand-Ponsart argue, the evidence supports the continuation of voting rights by *populi* throughout the third century, including third-century

¹⁹² Woolf 1996: 27-33, 39. Building on Ramsay MacMullen's exploratory study (1988: 346), Greg Woolf argues that monuments, of which inscriptions were an essential part, responded to individual and collective anxieties about the future by memorialising and, hence, trying to preserve mutable statuses or events of lasting importance. Elizabeth Meyer, who focuses on funerary inscriptions, similarly takes a cultural approach to the “epigraphic habit” (1990: 81-91), but Woolf (1996: 23) is surely right that it is more of a result of people trying to publicise (and hence preserve) social status (*honestior* versus *humilior*) than the acquisition of Roman citizenship (Meyer 1990: 81).

¹⁹³ Uthina, dated to the Principate of Hadrian: *CIL* VIII 24017=*Uthina* 1.27; from Theveste, dated to the first half of the second century: *CIL* VIII 1887=16510=*ILAlg.* 1.3066=*AE* 1977, 859; Thubursicu Numidarum: *o[rdo et popul]us in cu[r]ias cont[ri]butus a[ere con]la[to] ob merita [statuam(?)] dedic(averunt)*, *ILAlg.* 1.1295=*AE* 1998, 1580. As noted in section 2.1, Kotula maintains that this latter inscription dates to the Principate of Trajan, but it can only be dated generally from the Trajanic to Antonine periods.

inscriptions boasting that flamens, aediles, and a *duumvir* received their offices from the people.¹⁹⁴ Additional (albeit vague) evidence is provided by two inscriptions from the mid-to-late third century citing the *suffragia* of the *populus* as an authority for public honours.¹⁹⁵ The dedicatory formula (*universus*) *populus curiarum* also dates to the late 2nd century at the earliest. Kotula rests much of his thesis on the inscription from Thubursicu Numidarum, noting that the *populus* had honoured someone *in cu[ri]as cont[ributus]* in the time of Trajan or Hadrian. For him, it exemplifies the earlier electoral role of the *curiae* soon to be lost.¹⁹⁶ He did not have the benefit of the inscription noting that the *populus* of Ammaedara had similarly honoured a civic notable *curiatim* sometime in the third century (*AE* 1999, 1796).¹⁹⁷ As late as 286 to 305, the *universae curiae* of Thysdrus agreed to set up a statue to a benefactor for a spectacle connected to Diocletian's co-Augustus Maximian (*CIL* VIII 22852), which again implies that the *curiae* continued to be publicly engaged.

So the vivacity and intimacy of curial life was not a development of the late second century. The inverse too is likely; the political aspect of *curiae* remained strong into the third and maybe even into the fourth centuries. Here too the evidence Kotula points to in support of his thesis of the loss of the *curiae*'s political powers and even interest in politics is suspect. For example, he points to the frequent use of the phrase *singulae curiae* as proof that the *curiae* were “acting as independent organisms” in this later period.¹⁹⁸ In other words, they were now

¹⁹⁴ *CIL* VIII 769=12224, 885=12387, 2450=17950, 9024+p.1960, 18241=4418; *ILAlg.* 1.2182. Jacques 1984: 381-388, 393-398, cf. 423; Dupuis 1992: 259-261; Briand-Ponsart 2013: 258-262. Toutain (1896: 354) argues that the public life of cities in Proconsularis was not uniform, even into the fourth century. In some cities, the *populus* retained all of their powers, in others only the ability to vote on honorific decrees, and in still others they retained nothing at all.

¹⁹⁵ *universus populus sinceris suffragiis suis et ordo splendidissimus gravissimo iudicio*, *AE* 1960, +167=*AE* 1962, 184b=*AE* 1972, +687 (dated to mid-third century); [*ex s[uffragiis] populi [et d]ecreto decurio[nu]m*], *CIL* VIII 26618=26626=*IL Afr.* 539=*Dougga* 88 (dated 264-284).

¹⁹⁶ Kotula 1968: 95, 137, cf. 53.

¹⁹⁷ The supposed loss of voting rights also did not prevent the *coloni* of Lamasba from voting on a regulation for the distribution of water in their town (*CIL* VIII 4440=18587).

¹⁹⁸ “agissant comme organismes indépendants,” Kotula 1968: 128.

internally orientated associations, each acting with thoughts only for their own *curiales*, rather than collectively representing the entire *populus*. But this is an extreme interpretation of the phrase. A more natural reading of it is as a near-synonym for *universae curiae*, basically that “every single *curia*” voted on the same measure in the same way or received the same benefaction at the same time.¹⁹⁹ The municipal *curiae* were always distinct groups, yet together represented the entire *populus*. When discussing the voting process in elections, the Flavian-era *Lex Malacitana* uses *omnes curiae* and *singulae curiae* in the same sentence (*LM* 55 lines 6-8; cf. *ad singulos universosque cives*, *Dig.* 50.16.239.3, Pomponius). The difference was situational. The *duumvir* summons all *curiae uno vocatu*, but puts each one in its own *saepta*. The fact that C. Egnatius Cosminus Vinicianus left behind 75 *denarii* to the *curiae singulae* during the Principate of Hadrian did not stop the *universae curiae* from honouring him (*CIL* VIII 24017). What is so reclusive about that?

This is not to suggest that the *curiae* did not undergo any changes over the second and third centuries. Augustine did write around 400 that the *curiae* no longer existed in every city (*Enar.* 122.7). Indeed, towards the end of the 3rd century, the word *curiales* on inscriptions begins to denote the decurions.²⁰⁰ Moreover, it cannot be denied that the Roman world was becoming increasingly differentiated on grounds of wealth and personal legal status.²⁰¹ But the elective and social functions of the *curiae* seem not to have been distinct from one another. The former continued longer and the latter went back further than Kotula argues. The evidence does not

¹⁹⁹ For example, sometime in the third century “each and every” *curia* erected a statue to the same benefactor paid by their own funds (*singulae curiae singulas statuas de suo posuerunt*, *CIL* VIII 5276a=17454a). There had to have been a fair amount of communication and organisation between all of the *curiae* for this to have happened. Moreover, *universus* and *singuli* were hardly exclusive of one another. Sometimes they are found modifying the same noun. From the Principate of Commodus: *singulis universisq(ue) civib(us)* (*AE* 1949, 38); from 222-250: *singulos universosq(ue) cives* (*CIL* VIII 11332); again from the Principate of Severus Alexander: *singulos universosq(ue) cives* (*CIL* VIII 11340); cf. *ILAlg.* 134, 139; *AE* 1949, 107; *AE* 1949, 108=1950, 185.

²⁰⁰ *ad ILAlg.* 1.2135. For further discussion, see n.4 above.

²⁰¹ For the distinction between *humiliores* and *honestiores*, see Chapter 1.2.

allow detection of when the *curiae* lost their voting rights.

2.5 PUBLIC VOTES

As discussed in Chapter 1.2, any action the *curiae* undertook affecting public space had to be approved by the decurions. There are no regulations regarding non-electoral public votes in the surviving civic statutes, but one in the *Lex Irnitana* does suggest how difficult organising such a vote would be. It requires a quorum of three-quarters, secret ballots, and the swearing of an oath for a decree of the decurions to be valid just authorising a *duumvir* to propose to the *municipes* an extraordinary expenditure or distribution of public funds.²⁰² Even if *pecunia publica* was not the intended payment method for a proposed honorific statue from the people, the above strictness would have been relaxed only so far. It is, thus, necessary to explore how the *curiae* and decurions interacted. As noted below, the *Augustales* and other groups tended not to approach the decurions directly to honour someone, but to go through the *curiae*. There must have been a regular process.

The procedure for individual *curiae* was likely similar to the petition of individuals seeking permission from the *ordo*. Once the *curiales* of a *curia* had agreed to honour an individual, someone must have been chosen to approach one of the *duumviri* and petition that he obtain permission from the decurions on their behalf. The flamen and *magister* of the *curia* are likely candidates as the representative of the *curia*, but so is its patron (if there was one) or any member who was also a decurion. Any one of them would have been suitable to approach a

²⁰² *neve ad municipes eius municipi ferto*, *LI* 79 lines 42-43 with González 1986: 225. The brevity of the statement and the vagueness of the verb *fero* create uncertainty whether the drafters had in mind a vote of the *municipes* in their *curiae* or an informal suggestion made by a *duumvir* before the *municipes*. The latter is more likely, given that such a vote would have been symbolic, because the decurions alone could authorise the use of public funds. The chapter might have been guarding against the possibility of a *duumvir* exciting the *municipes* with promises he could not keep. Cf. the oath magistrates had to swear not to act or speak contrary to the statute (*LI* 26, *LM* and *LI* 59).

duumvir. The success of the petition was probably more certain if the curial representative was of high social status. Presumably, *curiae* also benefited from having current magistrates, especially the *duumviri*, as members.

Less predictable is how the *ordo* approved a public honour said to have been set up by all of the *curiae*. Given that the *curiae* represented the *populus* of the city and, thereby, could affect the reputation of the city, it is likely that the *duumviri* and decurions needed to be convinced that the proposed person was worthy of a public honour and that there was strong support for it among *curiales*. Two hypothetical implications of this process is that the *duumviri* and decurions vetted the proposed honorees of the *curiae* and that, in turn, the *curiae* only proposed honorees of whom they were confident the decurions would approve. For individuals who would not meet the aristocratic standards of the decurions, *curiales* probably had to find less public honours.

For statues that were to be set up in public, presumably much of the groundwork for building consensus took place prior to approaching the *duumviri*. A key individual or group probably had already promoted the idea among the *curiae*, met with the officials of each *curia*, and tested the mood of their members. Such an individual or group would have been the natural person/people to present the results to the *duumviri*, perhaps with a delegation of representatives from each *curia*. If convinced, the *duumviri* probably put the proposal on the agenda of the decurions for consideration.

At this point, there were potentially two stages to the decision making process of the decurions: to authorise summoning the *curiae* for a vote and, following the success of the vote, to authorise the location of the statue. The first stage might have been avoidable. Given that the decurions sometimes decreed a public honour because of a *postulatio populi*, it might also have been uncontroversial for the *duumviri* to avoid the work of organising a vote of all *curiae*, when

their will was already clear. Theoretically, the promoter(s) of the honour could have secured votes in favour of the public honour from each individual *curia* before approaching a *duumvir*. If the decurions then approved, a public decree of the *curiae* together might have been unnecessary for the resulting inscription to read that the *universae curiae* dedicate this statue to the honoree.

Even if a public decree was unnecessary (and that is a big 'if'), it might have still been desirable to hold a public vote for the purpose of burnishing the prestige of the honour. The procedure for non-electoral votes probably differed from electoral ones in several ways. For one, a vote on a resolution to honour someone publicly was much simpler, a 'yes' or 'no' question, rather than a complicated list of offices and candidates.²⁰³ Even if a simplified ballot brought no structural change itself to the process, it at least shortened it. Moreover, it is possible that, if a *curia* had subdivisions, *curiales* voted in those subdivisions. This would have streamlined confirmation of identities and, as suggested earlier, provided a convenient mechanism for leaders to remind *curiales* how they should vote.

Moreover, because these were symbolic votes, it would be overly rigid thinking to expect them to have strictly followed the procedures for elections found in the civic statutes. Consequently, on the analogy of the *comitia tributa* of Republican Rome, it is possible that the *curiae* voted successively, that is one at a time, rather than simultaneously as required during elections (*LM* 55).²⁰⁴ Certainly, the low number of *curiae* in the cities of Proconsularis would not have unbearably extended the length of such a vote. If the *curiae* did vote successively on public honours, lots would have determined the order of voting and a herald might have announced each *curia*'s vote upon approval of the results by the presiding *duumvir*.²⁰⁵ Once the direction of voting

²⁰³ Staveley 1972: 162.

²⁰⁴ Staveley 1972: 171-172.

²⁰⁵ Staveley 1972: 178-179.

became clear, there might have been pressure on the remaining *curiae* to continue the momentum. Moreover, since it is unlikely (but not impossible) that a *duumviri* would have called a vote for an unpopular or divisive individual, it is reasonable to imagine a festive atmosphere developing as the herald's successive announcements of the positive outcome of each curial vote elicited cheers from the crowd.

This brings us to the infrequent claim found on inscriptions that the vote had been unanimous (*universae/singulae curiae, universi cives, universus populus*). The formula *curiales universi curiarum undecim*, found on the base of an honorific statue, especially seems to suggest that the vote of each *curia* was counted (*ILTun.* 728=*AE* 1941, 40). Unanimity, however, would have been impossible to confirm if the election procedures were followed, for they did not tally and announce the popular vote and for they stopped the reporting of *curiae* once a majority was reached.²⁰⁶ The claims to unanimity, therefore, are one of two things. (1) They are disingenuous, meaning a vague measure of popular will was used, such as acclamation, or, at most, that all of the *curiae* voted in favour up until a majority was reached. If so, the supposed consensus was manufactured. (2) They are accurate, meaning that every *curia* was given a chance to report the results of its internal vote. Both options seem possible. Likely, the method chosen depended on the appeal of the honoree, the plans of the main supporters of the honour, and the timing of their petition. There is no real way of knowing with the current state of the evidence.

2.6 THE *CURIAE* AS INDEPENDENT CIVIC ACTORS

Two further implications of the *decretum publicum* adopted by the Curia Iovis are that the *curiae* of Simitthus enjoyed a certain level of internal independence and that the decurions

²⁰⁶ *LM* 56 lines 27-30; *LM* 57 lines 54-57; *LM* 59. Taylor 1966: 82; Staveland 1972: 135; Spitzl 1984: 54-55.

respected it. The *duumviri* and decurions would have had a role in the decree. The decurions would have needed to authorise the public vote and a *duumvir* would have presented to them the petition for the vote and, once permission was given, have presided over the vote. There is no way to know where the initiative began, whether with the decurions or the *curiales*. Yet it is significant that the decurions did not just assert their authority and impose the regulations on the *curia*.²⁰⁷ It must have been better politics to allow the *curiae* a say in developing decrees that affected them.

This curial independence and even assertions of it can be detected in other ways. For instance, motivations of self-display might have been behind building projects individual *curiae* are known to have undertaken. A *curia* (probably the Curia Plutonis)²⁰⁸ at Lamsorti, Numidia, restored a temple to Pluto “from the enlarged ground up” (*a solo ampliato*, *AE* 1901, 115; i.e. more land was being used than before) and near the forum of Thamugadi the Curia Marcia constructed “from the ground up” (*a solo*) a building that might have served as their meeting hall (*CIL* VIII 17906).²⁰⁹ At Mustis, finally, just the *classis tertia* of the Curia Augusta restored and beautified a temple to Pantheus Augustus (*AE* 1968, 593).

Curiae honouring people in addition to the decurions might also be a sign of curial independence. Jacques has made a similar claim for the citizens of Cales in Italy. He points to a decree of the *ordo* of that city, which notes that the *municipes* “decided” (*arbitrati sim[us]*, *CIL*

²⁰⁷ Even *postulationes populi* rely in the end on the decurions to authorise the honour and public money, although the informal initiative comes from the people. *Decreta publica*, thus, indicate agreement that the people should register their official opinion on a particular non-electoral issue. The investment of time and energy it took to organise a public vote and the rarity of references to *decreta publica* in inscriptions further indicate the desire for a clear expression of public will, either to make a change to the local political structure or to underline the sincerity of a public honour (see Chapter 4.3.B).

²⁰⁸ Kotula 1968: 40 #77.

²⁰⁹ Temples: *AE* 1968, 593; *AE* 1901, 115=1909, 126; building (meeting hall?): *CIL* VIII 17906. Statues were also erected by individual *curiae*. By one *curia*: *CIL* VIII 22900; *IL Afr.* 320=*ILTun.* 839; by multiple *curiae* together: *CIL* VIII 11813, 11814, 1888, 24017; *IL Afr.* 134; *AE* 1964, 178; *AE* 1999, 1792.

X 4643) to erect a statue to their honoree, because he had accepted their request to put on a gladiatorial show (*petition[e] m[unici]pum suorum*). Jacques observes that they had not lost their independence to the *ordo*, which was honouring him separately.²¹⁰ In Sabratha, the *ordo* decreed a statue in a four horse chariot to C. Flavius Pudens at public expense, *populo postulante* (IRT 117). This was in thanks for the many benefactions of Pudens' father, which included twelve decorated pools, an aqueduct, and 200,000HS for its upkeep. The *postulatio populi* was doubtlessly sparked by the five-day gladiatorial show Pudens had evidently just put on. But even though the *ordo* dutifully responded to the popular petition, this did not prevent at least eight *curiae* from individually erecting statues to Pudens in the forum area as well (IRT 118-125).²¹¹ Their separate dedications may also be explained by the decurions' acceptance of Pudens' offer to pay for the honour himself (*honore contentus sua pecunia posuit*). As discussed in Chapter 3.4-3.5, honorific statues were more prestigious when someone other than the honoree paid. The *curiae* evidently believed that Pudens (and his father) deserved the expense as well as the honour.

Moreover, seven times a single *curia* is thought to have honoured a “patron.” This is a potentially revealing situation, for it shows individual *curiae* engaging in the same activity as entire cities. The situation poses an interpretive challenge, however. The question is what type of patron were these honorees? Traditionally, they are thought of as patrons of the honouring *curia*. Two, however, an equestrian and senator, were probably civic patrons. The equestrian had enjoyed a full municipal career at Curubis before being appointed a juror on the five *decuriae* by Antoninus Pius. Curial patronage remains a possibility (ILAfr. 320), but the Curia Poblizia was honouring him for having constructed the city's theatre, a benefaction of sufficient magnificence

²¹⁰ Jacques 1984: 404-405.

²¹¹ Similarly, in the Augustan colony of Calama an inscription commemorating a statue to the *flaminica perpetua*, Annia Aelia Restituta, notes that the *ordo* had decreed five statues to her and that the *cives* had set up one to her father (CIL VIII 5365=17495). Cf. CIL VIII 26276.

to suspect that each *curia* had commemorated his gift, as at Sabratha, and that this base from the Curia Poblizia is the one surviving example.²¹² The senator, meanwhile, was a former *legatus Augusti* of Aquitania (*AE* 1992, 1794). His high stature alone is enough to suspect that he was really the *optimus patronus* of the whole *municipium* of Segermes. A second issue is that, while it is likely, it is again uncertain that just one *curia* was honouring him, for the stone is lacunose.

A patron at the Municipium Aurelium C[- - -] was similarly honoured, but with the important exception that his career remained local. While his name is lost, enough of the inscription survives to know that he was a *flamen perpetuus* and a former *quaestor* and *duumvir* (*CIL* VIII 829=12348). The dedicatory formula *cur. Caelestia patrono* poses a slight problem, for “*cur.*” more usually means *curavit* or *curator* rather than *curia*; Caelestia could be a slave or freedwoman who had undertaken the responsibility of honouring her personal patron. The honoree, however, is being honoured for “exceptional love towards his native city and outstanding good faith with which he won over each and every one” (*ob eximium amorem circa patriam et praestantem fidem qua sing(ulos) universosq(ue) promeruit*), unusual sentiments if Caelestia was a woman who could not participate in local politics, but typical of a civic institution. It is likely the Curia Caelestia, thus, that honoured a patron. The honoree's city-based career makes it plausible that he was the patron of this one *curia*,²¹³ but it also does not rule out the possibility that he, like the equestrian and senator above, was patron of the whole *municipium*.

Four possible curial patrons are left. Two again do not contain enough information to make any determination with certainty. L. Antonius Rogatus, whom the *curiales* of the Curia

²¹² Cf. the eight statues individual *curiae* dedicated to C. Flavius Pudens (*IRT* 118-125; cf. *CIL* VIII 5276a=17454a=*ILAlg.* 1.95).

²¹³ Roman 1910: 108 n.5; Kotula 1968: 38 #85.

Antonia in the small city of Gurza (status unknown) honoured as patron, is not said to have held any office or priesthood (*CIL* VIII 72=23021). Iulius Comicianus Martilianus Eucarpus, called patron by the Curia Commoda at Thamugadi, is also not known to have held any offices (*CIL* VIII 2405=17825). The two other possible curial patrons are the previously discussed *antistes sacrorum* of the Curiae Ulpia and Augusta at Lepti Minus.²¹⁴ Both are called “patron” (*curia Aug(usta) patrono*, *CIL* VIII 22900; *cur(ia?) Ulp(ia?) patrono*, *CIL* VIII 22901). The *antistes sacrorum* of the Curia Ulpia, a certain Catullus, enjoyed a full civic career, terminating, it seems, with the prefecture in place of a *duumvir*. No further career information is provided for the *antistes sacrorum* of the Curia Augusta, L. Aemilius Adiutor, beyond the note that he merited the honour (*ob merita*, *CIL* VIII 22900). Given that they are very likely to have been curial priests (e.g. *antistiti sacrorum Liberi Patris curiae Aug(ustae) anni*, *CIL* VIII 22900),²¹⁵ it is likely that these two at least were curial rather than civic patrons.²¹⁶

As independent institutions there is no reason to disbelieve that the *curiae* had the ability to appoint patrons. If they did, the limited familial and career evidence suggests that such patrons came from decurional families, but not the leading families of the city. Their financial responsibilities to the *curia* would have been correspondingly small in comparison to a civic patron. Their main duty might have been representing the *curia* before the decurions.²¹⁷

If true, patrons might have only been appointed when needed, which may explain the minimal evidence. As for the likely patrons of the whole city, that individual *curiae* publicly honoured them further suggests that each *curia* was acknowledged to represent a portion of the

²¹⁴ Aounallah et al 2006: 1876, 1880.

²¹⁵ See above.

²¹⁶ Seston (1968), Kotula (1968: 35 #29), and Aounallah et al (2006: 1876-81) accept them as curial patrons without debate.

²¹⁷ Roman (1910: 108) generalises that a patron was “choisi à cause de son influence auprès de l'administration. . . . [I]ls mettaient leur credit à la disposition de la curie et des *curiales*.” His one source, however, may not be referring to a curial patron (*CIL* VIII 829=12348); see n.230.

populus and, hence, that their public nature was not limited to when all of the *curiae* were summoned to the *comitia*. Moreover, it indicates that a single *curia* could make a play for the patron's ultimately limited attention, influence, and wealth by publicly honouring them.

This potential for public assertiveness by individual *curiae* brings a new perspective to M. Numisius Clodianus' legacy of 10,000HS to the Curia Aelia in Neapolis. The *curiae* erected a statue to his memory “because of his honour” (*ob hon[o]rem eius*, CIL VIII 974+p.1282), which must refer to the legacy. They explain that Numisius left the money “to repay the *curiales* of the *curia*” (*ad remunerandos curiales curiae Aeliae HS X mil(ia) n(ummum) reliquit*).²¹⁸ The service that the *curiales* performed to stimulate the repayment remains obscure, but the most likely possibility is that they had helped him to attain the augurate, for it is the only office beyond the decurionate listed on the stone. Since his civic administrative career was so far limited to sitting as a decurion, the augurate would have brought a substantial boost to his prestige in the community. If the *curia* did promote his candidacy for the position, that would suggest that the *curiae* in North Africa played a role in local politics beyond the election of officials and the honouring of individuals. Given that people could spend much of their social life among their fellow *curiales*, one's own *curia* might have been the natural foundation on which to build a political campaign. The ability to rally one's own *curiales* might have been an early sign that one was ready for a public role.²¹⁹

Similarly, the *universae curiae* and *Augustales* of the veteran colony of Theveste in Numidia erected a statue at an uncertain date to an unknown son of a *flamen perpetuus* and

²¹⁸ The full text is: *Memoriae M(arci) Numisi Clodiani dec(urionis) auguri[s] homini bono qui dec[e]dens testamente su[o] ad remunerandos curiales curiae Aeliae HS X mil(ia) n(ummum) reliquit ob hon[o]rem eius hanc statuam idem cur(iales) sua pecunia posue{u}r(unt)*.

²¹⁹ This may be why an unknown decurion of Vallis gave *sportulae* to his “fellow decurions” and an *epulum* to just “his own *curia*,” when he dedicated a statue for unclear reasons (*ILTun.* 1282).

grandson of a Roman equestrian and pontifex.²²⁰ Its inscription records that he put on an elaborate gladiatorial show for his own *curia* “on account of the office of the annual flamine” (*qui primus a condita civitate sua ob honorem flameni annui munus [Idi]bus(?) [o]mnibus senis [par(ibus)] curiae suae [dedit]*, CIL VIII 1888=ILAlg. 1.3068).²²¹ The note that he was the “first” to put on such a show is a common rhetorical strategy found on inscriptions across the Latin West applied to different situations, such as the first senator from the city, the first holder of a certain magistracy, or the first provincial priest.²²² It demonstrates the honorers' awareness of their shared civic history and the honoree's esteemed place in it. What is odd is that, although only one *curia* benefited from the *munus*, it was the *universae curiae* and *Augustales* who honoured the annual flamen.

The nature of the honoree's year-long flamine is a point of debate. The office is mentioned on seven other inscriptions from North Africa.²²³ Traditionally, commentators have minimised the position by interpreting it either as the curial flamine or as assistants to the *flamen perpetuus* of the city, because of its limited tenure.²²⁴ Direct evidence for these connections, however, does not exist. Rather, they are based on a presumption originating in the late 19th century of a *cursus* of flamines. At the bottom of this supposed *cursus* was the annual

²²⁰ Bassignano (1974: 313), Pflaum (1976: 154 #8), and Cid López (1988: 164 #6) put the date of the inscription near the founding of the colony, even as early as the late first century. This dating seems to be based on the phrase *primus a condita civitate sua*, but that only provides a *terminus post quem*. Besides, in what city then was his grandfather *pontifex* and his father *flamen perpetuus*? Kotula does not hazard any date (1968: 41 #23); Wesch-Klein broadly dates it from the second century to the first third of the third century (1990: 193).

²²¹ Pflaum (1976: 155) and Cid López (1988: 164 #6) interpret this clause to mean that the honoree was the first *flamen annuus* in the city. That is just not what the Latin is saying. [*H*]onorem *flameni annui* is the prepositional object of *ob* and not grammatically tied to *primus*, which is modifying the subject of the relative clause and governs the now lost verb *dedit*. The sole purpose of *ob honorem flameni annui* is to contextualise the *munus*.

²²² See Chapter 4.5. For its application to provincial priests outside of Proconsularis, see Aymard 1948: 414-416; Grenier 1954/55: 96-97; Fishwick 1964: 351-352. On the related usage of *primus omnium* in Italy, see Mrozek 1971: 61-62.

²²³ Cuicul: ILAlg. 2.3.7680=AE 1911, 22; ILAlg. 2.3.7943=AE 1913, 159; Mustis: AE 1968, 591; Lepcis Magna: AE 1904, 16; Thuburbo Maius: ILTun. 728=AE 1941, 40; Thubursicu Numidarum: CIL VIII 17167.

²²⁴ Bassignano 1974: 373.

curial flamine; next was the civic flamine, then the life-long title of *flamen perpetuus*, which decurions offered to distinguished citizens of the community to purchase, such as former *duumviri*, veterans, and equestrians.²²⁵ From among these latter two types of *flamines*, the decurions supposedly chose the *legati* to the provincial council, where one was elected provincial *flamen/sacerdos*.²²⁶

A basic question arises, however. If this *flamen annuus* was a mere assistant to a civic flamen or the flamen of one *curia*, how could he have generated the necessary exposure for the universal consensus of the city? We find the same confusing situation in Thuburbo Maius where all eleven *curiae* are said, without any reason given, to have used their own money to erect a statue to a *flamen annuus*, again assumed to be a curial flamen.²²⁷ It is unlikely that either year-long flamen was a curial flamen. If that were the case, one would expect a clearer term like *flamonium/flamen curiae*, on the model of the *antistes sacrorum Liberi Patris curiae Aug(ustae)* from Lepti Minus (*CIL* VIII 22900). Moreover, it is unlikely that *flamen annuus* and *flamonium annuum* were just alternative ways to refer to the simple civic flamine, as if the title was designed to contrast with the honorific title of *flamen perpetuus*. In that scenario, one would expect more than eight inscriptions from across North Africa using the phrase, since the simple civic flamine is widely attested.

Rosa María Cid López and James Rives have pointed out that the uniformity of priesthoods between cities necessary for the presumed *cursus* of flamines to culminate smoothly in the provincial flamine never existed. No authority regulated the priesthoods of

²²⁵ Bassignano 1974: 372-374.

²²⁶ Hirschfeld 1891: 151-152; Pflaum 1976: 156; cf. Jarrett 1971: 526-527. Kotula (1968: 87) argues that there were “relations plus ou moins étroites entre les curies et les grands prêtres provinciaux” and, in general, that the *curiae* were a fundamental part of the imperial cult. But he does not propose a *cursus* as structured as Hirschfeld and Pflaum. Bassignano herself prefers to talk of a hierarchy of flamines, rather than a *cursus* (1974: 373-374). She tentatively proposes that “a priesthood of all kinds was sufficient condition to secure the perpetual flamine.”

²²⁷ *ILTun.* 728; Kotula 1968: 37 #73.

cities across a province; decurions were free to create and tailor cults to meet local needs and to appoint priests as they saw fit.²²⁸ There were inconsistencies even within cities.²²⁹ Currently, Cid López provides the most plausible explanation for the annual flamine in North Africa. Noting the low number of references to the office, she interprets the *flamonium annuum* as an irregular one-year tenure of the civic flamine, a sort of stop-gap to give time for someone or some family to find the money to pay the *summa honoraria* of the civic flamine, whose duties, according to her, lasted several years.²³⁰

Cid López's theory has the benefit of not confusing the annual flamine with the curial flamine and of explaining why references to the annual flamine are so infrequent. There is a problem with the theory, however. As she herself shows, only one of the eight known *flamines annui* are known to have held a prior position, the *magisterium* of the *dendrophori* in Cuicul, Numidia (*AE* 1911, 22), an association connected to the cult of Magna Mater.²³¹ Of the other seven *flamines annui*, only three of their inscriptions record civic offices after the annual flamine. For instance, L. Nonius Rogatianus Honoratianus of Mustis was *flamen annuus*, then aedile, *duumvir*, and *flamen perpetuus*.²³² These observations suggest two things. First, it suggests that people tended to hold the annual flamine at the start of their civic careers. Second, it suggests that these flamines could be plum positions that boosted a civic career. If a year-long gap in the succession of regular civic flamens was about to occur, why was it not filled by former flamens or from the rank of men who normally held the simple civic flamine: those in

²²⁸ Cid López 1988: 158, 163; Rives 1995: 93-95.

²²⁹ At Cuicul, a *flamen annuus* (*ILAlg.* 2.3.7680) and a *flamen Aug(usti) annuus* (*ILAlg.* 2.3.7943) are known.

²³⁰ Cid López 1988: 160-163. The essence of Cid López's argument is that the *summa honoraria* was too high for the perpetual flamine to be annual, since the position was dominated by a small number of families. Thus, it must have lasted several years to allow for the next family to save enough money (1988: 162).

²³¹ Cid López 1988: 164. On the *dendrophori*, Liu 2009: 52-54.

²³² Mustis: *AE* 1968, 591; Theveste: *CIL* VIII 1888=*ILAlg.* 1.3068=*ILS* 6838; Cuicul: *ILAlg.* 2.3.7943.

the middle of their civic career?²³³

Flamen was a broadly used title of state religious functionaries. In the strict Roman tradition, *flamen* was the title of the personal priest of any official state deity.²³⁴ The *flamen Dialis* at Rome is the most recognisable example; in Proconsularis the *flamen templi domini Aesculapi* at Thisiduo is another example (*CIL* VIII 1267+p.1436=*ILTun.* 1275=*ILS* 5461). That being said, Fishwick observes that this technical distinction was lost at the civic level in both Italy and the provinces, and that local senates selected from among the titles of *flamen*, *sacerdos*, and *pontifex* seemingly according to their “preferences and prejudices.”²³⁵ Consequently, it cannot even be expected that all eight mentions of the *flamonium annuum* in North Africa are referring to a similar portfolio of duties. Cid López's theory that *flamines annui* were substitute civic flamens is possible, but it is also possible that they were the religious functionary of a specific god, like the *flamen templi domini Aesculapi* at Thisiduo. The evidence simply is lacking for a definitive description of the priestly office in one city, let alone in all of the cities in which it is attested. The purpose of this discussion is merely to provide alternatives to the widely accepted identification of *flamines annui* as curial flamens, which cannot stand.

Returning to the inscription from Theveste: because of the emphasis on the *flamen annuus'* lineage and because no other office is stated for the honoree in the surviving part of the inscription, it is likely that its holder too was at the start of a promising career as one would expect from a grandson of an equestrian pontifex and son of a *flamen perpetuus*. Although he probably was not the flamen of a single *curia*, he evidently believed that his fellow *curiales* had

²³³ Bassignano notes that the simple flamine is associated with the quaestorship and the decurionate and that the perpetual flamine is associated with veterans and, especially, equestrians. Any prior priesthood, she suggests was enough to qualify one for the perpetual flamine (1974: 372).

²³⁴ Fishwick 1987: 165.

²³⁵ Fishwick 1987: 166 n.109. The situation in Proconsularis does not appear as chaotic as in other provinces, for *flamen* clearly dominates as the title of choice (cf. Bassignano 1974: 373-375).

been crucial in winning the prestigious post and wished to thank them generously with a multi-day gladiatorial show. Their good will seems to have been worth cultivating. This is one more indication that the *curiae* – either individually or collectively – could act as independent agents in their communities.

This curial agency may also explain why certain groups evidently found the *curiae* a suitable vehicle for publicly honouring a benefactor. In Uthina, the *universae curiae* and two professional associations (the *centonarii* and the *subaediani*) set up a *cippus* of white marble to honour a *flaminica perpetua* (CIL VIII 10523=12424). At Gigthis, a Roman senator from the city was honoured by the *universae curiae* together with his freedmen and their sons (CIL VIII 22721). And eight times the *curiae* and *Augustales* are known to have pooled their resources in order to honour someone publicly.²³⁶ For example, the *universae curiae* and *Augustales* of Theveste teamed up to honour a Roman equestrian, who was a local *pontifex* and who had, probably, put on gladiatorial shows (*[mu]ner(a)rio*), CIL VIII 16558).

In all but one case (AE 1999, 1792), the inscriptions note a special reason for the honour. The *cippus* in Uthina was due to the *flaminica*'s “constant and frequent liberality towards all her own citizens;” the *curiae* and freedmen at Gigthis alike had been “fostered by his annual maintenance;” while the statue in Theveste was because of the “sincere good faith and blamelessness by which he deals with the citizens.”²³⁷ Evident points are that the groups had a reason to work together, that the *curiae* had the independence to do so, and that the groups believed that the *curiae* were an effective way to achieve their aim of honouring someone. This is despite the fact that they still would have needed to approach the decurions for final approval.²³⁸

²³⁶ CIL VIII 1882+p.1576, 1888, 16555, 16558, 16559; 16560 (probably); AE 1999, 1792; AE 1999, 1796.

²³⁷ Uthina: *[ob a]tsiduam et frequen[t(em) in] universos cives suos liberalitatem*, CIL VIII 10523= 12424=ILS 7260=Uthina 1.29; Gigthis: *alimentis annuis foti*, CIL VIII 22721=ILS 8978=ILTun. 33; Theveste: *[si]nceram fidem et inno[centiam] qua cum civibus agit*, CIL VIII 16558=ILAlg. 1.3067.

²³⁸ e.g. *[cur]iae universae et [cent]onari(i) et subaedian(i) . . . l(ocus) d(at)us d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*, CIL VIII

The *curiae*, therefore, seem to have been organised institutions with a largely independent voice in the community. In comparison, the terms *populus* or *cives* were inexact collective nouns, without an institutional reality. They could include wives, children, *incolae*, and sometimes slaves in addition to the voting male citizens. Both the *curiae* and the decurions seem to have been able to speak in the name of the *populus* or *cives*. This is why benefactors sometimes believed it politically expedient to distinguish between the *curiae* and the rest of the populace when making distributions.

This largely independent voice, however, does not mean that the *curiae* formed an opposition checking the decurions. The authority of the decurions over the *curiae* must not be forgotten nor their own enrolment in the *curiae*. Two inscriptions show that the relationship between the *curiae* and *ordo* tended to be symbiotic, with the *ordo* as the senior institution. Both record that a benefactor had entrusted a sum of money to the *res publica* of their city for the benefit of the *curiae* (*CIL* VIII 24017; *CIL* VIII 11813+p.2372=*ILS* 1410). The earlier one, from the principate of Hadrian, is less specific. It reports that C. Egnatius Cosminus of Uthina, a *flamen perpetuus*, left in his will a legacy of an unspecified amount to the *res publica* on the condition that each *curia* receive annually 75 *denarii* in order to feast on his birthday (*CIL* VIII 24017=*Uthina* 1.27). The later one from Mactaris dating to probably the Principate of Septimius Severus²³⁹ records that C. Sextius Martialis, a *procurator Augusti*, entrusted 50,000HS to the *res publica coloniae*, the interest of which was to allow the *curiales* to banquet annually on the birthday of his deceased brother (*CIL* VIII 11813+p.2372=*ILS* 1410).

The term *res publica* – and even more *res publica coloniae* – must mean the civic treasury, which then implies that the magistrates and decurions managed the legacies as they did

10523=12424=*ILS* 7260=*Uthina* 1.29.

²³⁹ Magioncalda 1992: 267-270.

other monies donated to the city.²⁴⁰ This likelihood is strengthened by L. Sisenna Bassus' testamentary legacy of 22,000HS to the *res publica* of Zucchar, so that a statue of him could be erected and so that a monetary distribution could be made on his birthday each year to the decurions and *curiales*.²⁴¹ The decurions would naturally be managing the money of which they are a beneficiary. Egnatius and Martialis' arrangement, then, was probably not based on distrust of the *curiae*. As discussed above in section 2.2, benefactors had no problem leaving legacies to individual *curiae*. Rather, it was probably based on the logistical problem of administering a single pocket of money meant for multiple independent peer groups.²⁴² A single authority was needed and the magistrates and decurions were the logical choice.

This situation provides further evidence that the *curiae* were public institutions, for the senior institution of the city evidently agreed to administer the money on their behalf. One has to wonder if the decurions would have accepted such responsibility for a series of *collegia*. In addition, it shows that people took for granted the authority of the decurions over the *curiae*. Evidently, both benefactors did not think it problematic to ask them to manage the money on behalf of the *curiae*. And there is no sign that the *curiae* begrudged the situation either. In both cases, the *curiae* pooled their resources and organised themselves for an unanimous decision to erect a statue, with one recording the permission obtained from the decurions. At Uthina, the statue was to Egnatius' son, *ob meritum patris*. At Mactaris, it was to Martialis himself, because of his liberality (*ob quam liberalitate(m)*). The *curiae* were still independent organisations with their own civic identity, but they were also a patriotic public institution that accepted a limit to their independence and followed proper procedure and protocol.

²⁴⁰ Magioncalda 1992: 274; cf. Lyasse 2007: 599-600; 2008: 189-191.

²⁴¹ *CIL* VIII 924+p.2338=11201=*ILS* 5494. The inscriptions records 60 *denarii* to the *curiales*, but just 5 to the decurions. Mommsen (*ad CIL* VIII 11201) says that just the fellow *curiales* of Sisenna's *curia* is meant, but the more likely scenario is that 60 *denarii* were to be given to each *curia*.

²⁴² See the questions of Mrozek (2000: 241), who does not try to answer them.

2.7 CURIAL AND CIVIC LIFE

If the *curiae* remained a public political institution in the third century, how did this combine with it also being the venue for an intimate social life? As seen above in section 2.3, Kotula observed that curial life fostered an “extrêmement vive” atmosphere “satisfais[ant] à l'esprit d'association.”²⁴³ This observation can be brought into greater focus by returning to the comparison of the regulations of the Curia Iovis (Appendix F) with those of voluntary associations. It has already been mentioned that the officers and *summae honorariae* of the *curia* resemble those of voluntary associations. Its fines also have parallels in voluntary associations. None of the parallels are exact, however, and it is the differences that further reveal the public nature of the Curia Iovis. For example, lines B7-8 set a fine of one *denarius*, if the quaestor fails to make an announcement to a *curialis*. The direct object is unstated, but it is probably the *concilium* mentioned in the previous clause. The desire behind it might have been to give each *curialis* the chance to attend every meeting. Unlike some voluntary associations,²⁴⁴ there is not a fine for regular *curiales* who do not attend meetings, at least in the surviving portions of the regulations. The subjectless clause of lines B5-6 sets (what appears to be) a *congium* for such an infraction, but it seems to be directed at the *magister*. If it is true that no such fine pertained to the *curiales* at large, that may be due to the *curia*'s public nature. A public institution might have had to be more flexible when it came to internal curial meetings, because some would not have lived near the meeting place and others could not have afforded the fine.

This hypothetical lenient attitude did not extend to deaths. As noted above in section 2.3, the regulations possibly set a fine for members who did not attend the obsequies of a fellow

²⁴³ Kotula 1968: 88, 103, 112.

²⁴⁴ *P.Mich.* V 244 lines 7-9; *P.Mich.* V 245 lines 35-37; *IG II²* 1368 lines 96-102; *P.Lond.* VII 2193 lines 11-12.

curialis.²⁴⁵ Moreover, there were a series of fines for members who failed to act in a socially acceptable manner when a relative died (lines C6-14):

[s]i quis de propinquis decesserit at miliarium VI et cui nuntiatur non ierit d(are) d(ebebit) X II. si quis pro patre et matre pro socrum [pr]o socra[m d(are)] d(ebebit) X V. i[t]em qu[i] propin`q`u<u>s deces[s]erit d(are) d(ebebit) X III. qu(a)estor [- - -] maioribus at fe[- - -]

If any relative dies up to the 6th mile stone and he, to whom it is announced, does not go, he is to give 2 *denarii*. If anyone [does not go] for the sake of a father, mother, father-in-law, [or] mother-in-law, he is to give 5 *denarii*. Likewise, whichever relative dies, one is to give 4 *denarii*. The quaestor . . . ancestors to the . . .

The interpretation of these lines regarding the deaths of family members is in dispute. Schmidt argues that the text distinguishes between three categories of consanguinity and affinity, but oddly out of order.²⁴⁶ The first degree would be the parents and parents-in-law of lines C9-11, the second an unspecified degree of relation found on line C12, and the third would be the general degree found back on lines C6-7. Kotula more simply separates the *propinqui* into just two categories: parents and more distant parents (grandparents, we are left to assume).²⁴⁷ Both agree that they are fining *curiales* for not attending the funerals of family members. Kotula reiterates (without resolution) Toutain's confusion over why the fines were so low, if they were punishing a *curialis* for not attending the funeral of a parent.

Schmidt's evidence for his ranking of relations is the amount of the fines. Accepting this argument, however, requires the assumption that the drafter or engraver was sloppy in how he organised the text. It further forces us to follow Schmidt in assuming that a sizable of portion of the sense of lines C11-13 has been left unengraved, for after *deces[s]erit* on C12 he proposes the

²⁴⁵ Cf. *si q[liquis] de ordine decess[erit] - - -*, Appendix F lines B8-9.

²⁴⁶ Schmidt *ad CIL* VIII 14683; followed by Waltzing 1895-1900: 4.365.

²⁴⁷ Kotula 1968: 124-125.

sense of “(et ad eius exequias non ierit).” He, as well as Kotula and Toutain, assumes that the clause at C11-13 is following in the exact same sense as the two previous clauses, concerning *curiales* who did not attend the funeral of the relative (lines C6-11).

This was not the case, however. The conjunction *item* of line C11 does not signal that the specific topic is being continued (fines for not going), but only that the general subject (deaths) is being continued, as it does in the regulations of the Collegium of Diana and Antinous.²⁴⁸ The indefinite adjective *qu[i]* would seem to allude back to the two earlier familial categories of parent and *propinqua/us*. So the clause of lines C11-13 may actually be saying that, if any family member from either categories dies, then four *denarii* is to be given. This would mean that we should return to the original interpretation of Cagnat that the regulations are distinguishing between two levels of consanguinity: parents and any other relative of a *curialis*, be he/she older or younger than the *curialis*.²⁴⁹ The obvious questions are who is doing the giving and to what purpose. Is this another fine or a mild subsidy of the obsequies? Is the giver the affected *curialis* or the *curia* (via the quaestor of line C13)? Because of the many *lacunae*, the truncated sentences, and the fact that this stone has not been re-examined in over a hundred years, these questions must remain open.

Partly, the arguments of Schmidt, Toutain, and Kotula are built upon the assumption that the inscription is referring to the obsequies, that is that the *curialis* is expected to attend the funerals of all relatives. This is indeed the message of so-far unnoticed parallels in the regulations of five different Attic and Egyptian associations (see Appendix G). For example, an association of privileged tenants of an imperial estate in Egypt fines any member four drachmas who does

²⁴⁸ E.g. *item placuit q[ui]squis ex hoc collegio servus defunctus fuerit et corpus eius a domino dominav[e] iniquitat[is]e sepulturae datum non fuerit neque tabellas fecerit ei funus imag[ina]rium fiet. item placuit quisquis ex quacumque causa mortem sibi adsciveri[t] eius ratio funeris non habebitur. item placuit ut quisquis servus ex hoc collegio liber factus fuerit is dare debebit vini [bo]ni amphoram, CIL XIV 2112 lines 2.3-8.*

²⁴⁹ Cagnat 1885: 133.

not pollute himself (μυαυθῆ) by attending the funeral of the president or one of his parents, children, or siblings (*P.Mich.* V 244 lines 16-17, see Appendix G). Meanwhile, a Bacchic association in Athens contemporary to the Curia Iovis refused a jar of wine to anyone absent from the funeral of a fellow Iobacchus (*IG II²* 1368 lines 159-163, see Appendix G).

That *curiales* were expected to attend the funerals of relatives is evident. This, however, is not what the Latin explicitly states. The situation described on line C8 is that the news of the death of a relative is announced to the *curialis* and he does not go, presumably to the site of the relative's death. The exact behaviour the fine seems to have been encouraging is promptitude. If so, the *curialis* might have been expected at the site of death well before the funeral. Thus, Kotula is correct that these fines were connected to the social ideal of *pietas* between relatives, especially that of children towards their parents. But it might not have been *pietas* alone that informed the fines.²⁵⁰

The problem with leaving the reason for these fines at the general level of encouraging *pietas* is that it gives the impression that people at Simitthus perceived a diminution of familial *pietas* among *curiales*. Such a dramatic impression would fit in well with the common narrative that places the start of the empire's moral and material decline in the second half of the second century, a narrative to which Kotula subscribes. Indeed, Gascoü characterises the fines as patronising, arguing that the *curia* “surrounded the *curiales* with a concern a bit fussy, obligating them under pain of fine to attend the obsequies of their relatives.”²⁵¹ The image created is of the stereotypical overbearing mother correcting her children, reminiscent of conservative criticisms of the 'nanny state.'

²⁵⁰ Kotula 1968: 124-127.

²⁵¹ “Elle entourait les *curiales* d'une sollicitude un peu tâtilonne, les obligeant sous peine d'amende à assister aux obsèques de ses proches” (Gascoü 1972: 60). Then in same paragraph: “Avec leur mélange de sollicitude paternaliste et de démocratie fraternelle, elles ont pu être un facteur important de l'attrait manifesté en Afrique pour la forme municipale.”

Ulpian, however, provides a mundane reason in his commentary *ad edictum praetoris* for why a *curialis* might have hesitated to participate in the funeral of a deceased relative: avoidance of appearing to have accepted an inheritance from the deceased (*Dig.* 11.7.4). This fear the jurist clearly considers ungrounded in law, for he plainly states that “no one should think that with this [burial] he is acting as heir; suppose that he is still deliberating about accepting the inheritance” (*nec quis putet hoc ipso pro herede eum gerere: finge enim adhuc eum deliberare de adeunda hereditate*; cf. *Dig.* 11.7.14.8). Yet it seems to have been prevalent. Ulpian reports in his twentieth book on the *edictum praetoris* that some people delay in organising a funeral “out of fear that he would be seen to act as heir” (*verente ne pro herede gerere videatur*, *Dig.* 11.7.4). Potential heirs, thus, sometimes faced the dilemma that acceptance could end up costing more effort and money than the estate is worth, for they would become liable for maintenance and any outstanding debts owed by it.²⁵²

Another potential explanation for the unwillingness of some to participate in the funeral of a relative was worry that they might be drawn into paying for the funeral when they were not obligated and that recovery of the expense could create conflict and prove impossible.²⁵³ The ideal situation was that the deceased had made reasonable arrangements and provisions for his or her own funeral, often by appointing a specific agent in the will (*Dig.* 11.7.14.1). For cases without a mandated agent, Ulpian cites a praetorian edict that grants action to individuals for recovering funeral expenses (an *actio funeraria*), so that, the jurist explains, corpses are not left unburied and so that nobody is buried at a stranger's expense.²⁵⁴ Burial by someone connected to

²⁵² Gaius, for example, states in his nineteenth book on the *edictum provinciale* that one may recover funeral expenses from debtors to the estate, “if it can be easily achieved” (*si facile exigi possit*, *Dig.* 11.7.13).

²⁵³ For a résumé of this subject, see Buckland 1921: 540.

²⁵⁴ *Praetor ait: “quod funeris causa sumptus factus erit, eius recipiendi nomine in eum, ad quem ea res pertinet, iudicium dabo.” hoc edictum iusta ex causa propositum est, ut qui funeravit persequatur id quod impendit: sic enim fieri, ne insepulta corpora iacerent neve quis de alieno funeretur* (*Dig.* 11.7.12.2-3, cf. 11.7.14.6).

the deceased was far preferable and Ulpian goes on to list in order of precedence those responsible for arranging the funeral of the deceased who has not appointed a specific agent: the heirs named in the will; if no heirs, then those with a statutory claim, such as parents and relatives in the male line of succession, like brothers (*legitimos*),²⁵⁵ followed by the extended family (either by blood or legal tie) in order of succession (*cognatos*; *Dig.* 11.7.12.4).²⁵⁶

These points of Ulpian in his *ad edictum praetoris* reflect the well-documented concern of pontiffs, magistrates, senates (both local and Roman), and the emperor that the deceased be given a proper and timely funeral for the sake of public health and religion.²⁵⁷ Potentially, thus, the regulations of the Curia Iovis, while so far unparalleled for a public institution, were in line with Roman civil law. One purpose might have been to pressure *curiales* under threat of fine to go to where a family member had died to help ensure that the deceased was being given a proper burial, so that the responsibility did not fall to an unexpected person who would then bring an action to recover the expense and cause a magistrate to take time to intervene.²⁵⁸ If every *curia* at Simitthus did indeed adopt similar regulations (*secundum decretum publicum*), then the city might have been trying to address the problems of too many disputes arising from funerary costs and of bodies left unburied for an indecent amount of time. Ulpian does claim in his fourteenth book on the *edictum praetoris* that challenges to wills were common, which caused hesitation over who was responsible for organising the funeral (*Dig.* 5.2.1).

²⁵⁵ Buckland 1921: 367 with 380-381.

²⁵⁶ Buckland 1921: 106, 367.

²⁵⁷ E.g. *LCGI* 73; *Dig.* 11.7.12.3 (Ulpian); *Dig.* 11.7.38 (Ulpian, *libro nono de omnibus tribunalibus*), *Dig.* 11.7.43 (Papinian). For discussion of this general concern, see: Hinard and Dumont 2003: 101-104; Bendlin 2011: 250.

²⁵⁸ In the same section, Ulpian also relates how a civic magistrate is to determine how much to spend on the funeral according to the wealth and rank of the deceased. Moreover, the praetor at Rome or a civic magistrate elsewhere is to order the necessary money to be drawn from the estate and, failing that, to sell the deceased's perishable goods and, if necessary, to sell or pledge the deceased's gold and silver. Ulpian is unclear here, but likely this magisterial intervention was only triggered by disputes causing delay in burial. He soon opines that the praetor can compel the person appointed by the deceased to hold the funeral (*Dig.* 11.7.14.2).

Even the hierarchy of responsibility, however, did not always lead to an orderly funeral. The problem often did not stem from a lack of money, for funeral expenses were a privileged debt of the estate to be paid before other outstanding debts.²⁵⁹ Rather, the problem was human. Ulpian mentions multiple reasons for why the hierarchy might breakdown: the agent appointed by the deceased may fail to organise the funeral; conflict may arise between the appointed agent and the heir; the will may be invalid, successfully challenged, or never made (*Dig.* 5.2.1); the authorised agent or heirs may no longer be living or living nearby (*Dig.* 11.7.4); the deceased may have died abroad, away from his primary heirs and family; the intended place of burial may be blocked by the owner or neighbour (*Dig.* 11.7.8.5-7.12.2); or the person primarily responsible may be hesitant to organise the funeral (properly) for legal, financial, or personal reasons (*Dig.* 11.7.4). Any one of these problems might have forced someone else at the place of death to intervene and organise the funeral himself, especially if there was concern that resolution would not precede putrefaction. As Ulpian says, the body sometimes had to be buried before the heirs were known (*Dig.* 11.7.12.3, 11.7.14.11-12).

An additional problem is that it was not always possible for an unauthorised agent to recover the cost of the funeral. Ulpian observes in his twenty-fifth book on the *edictum praetoris* that sons and other potential heirs commonly declare before witnesses that they are burying the deceased “out of a sense of duty” (*pietatis gratia*), seemingly when they suspect that another person is liable, such as a slave freed in the will (*heres necessarius*).²⁶⁰ Ulpian explains, however,

²⁵⁹ *Dig.* 11.7.45 (Maecianus); cf. *Dig.* 11.7.12.6 (Ulpian), *Dig.* 11.7.14.1 (Ulpian).

²⁶⁰ The logic of the described action is unclear here. Ulpian says that sons and other potential heirs tend to declare that they have provided the funeral out of a sense of duty “lest the [*heredes*] *necessarii* appear to have involved themselves or others appear to have acted as heir” (*tamen ne vel miscuisse se necessarii vel ceteri pro herede gessisse videantur*, *Dig.* 11.7.14.8). Ulpian goes on to say that this declaration protects them from the appearance of having assumed the inheritance, but does not allow them to bring an action to recover their expenses. So it appears that these sons and other people were uncertain whether or not they were *heirs* (e.g. *alii qui heredes fieri possunt*, *Dig.* 11.7.14.8), when they buried the deceased. Basically, it appears that their ability to protect themselves legally and financially was only partial.

that by this declaration they are only thought to be avoiding the appearance of having claimed the inheritance; it does not ensure that they can recover the expense.²⁶¹ For that, he must make a more detailed declaration. The reason seems to be that family members were expected to feel a sense of duty towards the deceased and, thus, to incur expense in burying them. Thus, again the regulations adopted by the Curia Iovis seem to have been in line with juristic opinion. Ulpian cites a rescript of probably Caracalla (*noster imperator*) confirming that one who pays for a funeral out of a sense of duty does not recover the expenses.²⁶² This principle had been in practice earlier. Ulpian reports that M. Antistius Labeo, a jurist of the Augustan period, required a declaration before witnesses in order for a (disinherited?) son to recover the funeral expenses from the deceased's heir.²⁶³ The son could not just claim after the fact that he had acted out of a sense of duty.

In fact, the motivation of the person who paid the expenses had to be precisely established in order for the action to recover the expense to be successful. Ulpian reports that an arbitrator had to assess in what “spirit” (*quo animo*) the claimant had buried the deceased: “was the person transacting the business of the deceased or of the heir or of humanity itself, or yielding to compassion, a sense of duty, or affection?”²⁶⁴ If it was compassion, what level of compassion? For Ulpian recognises that one can bury a body out of compassion, but not to the extent that demands he absorb the expense.²⁶⁵ Nonetheless, the jurist further asks who can bury a body

²⁶¹ *quod si supervacuo fuerit factum, ad illud se munire videntur, ne miscuisse se credantur, ad illud non, ut sumptum consequantur: quippe protestantur pietatis gratia id se facere. plenius igitur eos testari oportet, ut et sumptum possint servare, Dig. 11.7.14.8.*

²⁶² *sed interdum is, qui sumptum in funus fecit, sumptum non recipit, si pietatis gratia fecit, non hoc animo quasi recepturus sumptum quem fecit: et ita imperator noster rescripsit, Dig. 11.7.14.7.*

²⁶³ Again the logic of Ulpian's point is hard to follow. But Labeo only seems to allow the *actio in factum* when a declaration to witnesses had been made.

²⁶⁴ *utrum negotium quis vel defuncti vel heredis gerit vel ipsius humanitatis, an vero misericordiae vel pietati tribuens vel affectioni, Dig. 11.7.14.7.*

²⁶⁵ *potest tamen distingui et misericordiae modus, ut in hoc fuerit misericors vel pius qui funeravit, ut eum sepeliret, ne insepultus iaceret, non etiam ut suo sumptu fecerit: quod si iudici liqueat, non debet eum qui convenitur absolvere, Dig. 11.7.14.7.*

without feeling at least some sense of duty?²⁶⁶ It is here that Ulpian recommends the detailed declaration to sons and other heirs who wish to recover the expense, holding out the possibility that a judge may assess their sense of duty to be only partial and so award partial recovery of expenses (*Dig.* 11.7.14.9).

The broad point is that in irregular situations an unauthorised organiser of the funeral was not guaranteed that his expenses would be covered by either the estate or a closer family member, especially if the responsible person had a valid excuse for delaying burial. In addition, Ulpian makes it clear that not every jurist is as liberal as he²⁶⁷ and that not every judge is just nor every decision equitable (*Dig.* 11.7.14.13). Consequently, people must have thought that burying a body without being the mandated agent or without being the principle heir was a financial risk. Therefore, one aspect of the fines' overall purpose of encouraging *pietas* might have been counteracting the fear that could from time to time arise in a *curialis* of appearing to claim the inheritance and/or of being drawn into paying for the funeral, whose expense was unrecoverable or only recoverable through considerable effort. Such a purpose would have been in line with public interests, for hesitation to organise the funeral risked offending the gods, risked public health, and led to legal disputes that tied up magistrates. The explanation for the adoption of such clauses by a public institution need not rely heavily on the assumption that the *coloni* of Simitthus believed themselves to be living through a period of moral and political decline.

The regulations of the Collegium of Diana and Antinous provide an interesting comparison to those of the Curia Iovis. On the surface, their respective clauses regarding death resemble each other. Both regulations set a specific mile limit – twenty miles for the *collegium*

²⁶⁶ *quis enim sine pietatis intentione alienum cadaver funerat?*, *Dig.* 11.7.14.7.

²⁶⁷ Ulpian argues against Trebatius and Proculus, for example, who would deny recovery to someone who had buried the deceased because he thought that he was heir when he was not (*Dig.* 11.7.14.11).

and six miles for the *curia* –, which Cagnat considers particularly representative of the collegial nature of the Curia Iovis.²⁶⁸ These two clauses do share the indirect message that attendance is expected within the stated limit, although the identities of the players change.²⁶⁹ The stated goal of the three representatives from the *collegium* is even similar to that just argued for the regulations of the Curia Iovis: to “take care of his funeral” (*qui funeris eius curam agant*, *CIL* XIV 2112 line 1.27).

But here the similarities end, owing to the private status of the *collegium* and the public status of the *curia*. The twenty mile limit of the *collegium* is the minimal distance that triggers an embassy of three men to travel to the place of death of a member, while the six mile limit of the Curia Iovis is the maximum extent that a *curialis* could be fined for not going to the place of death of a relative. Bendlin, moreover, has shown that the *collegium*'s role was complementary: to supplement funerary costs with the *funeraticium* of 250HS and to augment the honour of the deceased member by participating in the obsequies.²⁷⁰ Only in cases of a member dying intestate and without relatives willing to step in, did the *collegium* consider taking full charge of a, then, inexpensive funeral (*CIL* XIV 2112 line 2.2).²⁷¹ The *curia* appears uniquely concerned with encouraging individual members to take charge of funerals in a personal capacity.

Such a public outlook may explain why *curiae* themselves rarely intervened to organise the interment, tombstone, and presumably obsequies of a deceased member or, in one case, a member's wife. Only six examples exist,²⁷² so *curiae* must have taken such actions only in fulfilment of a condition of a legacy,²⁷³ when the hierarchy of responsibility completely failed, or

²⁶⁸ Cagnat 1885: 133; cf. Waltzing 1895-1900: 3.365 *ad* line C6.

²⁶⁹ For the *collegium*, it is members who are expected to participate in the funerals of their fellows; for the *curia*, it is *curiales* who are encouraged to participate in the funerals of their own relatives.

²⁷⁰ Bendlin 2011: 254-257.

²⁷¹ Bendlin 2011: 254, 256-257.

²⁷² *CIL* VIII 3302, 3298, 3516+p.955, 17705, 23261; *CIL* VIII 14613=*ILS* 6825.

²⁷³ *CIL* VIII 14613=*ILS* 6825 records that the Curia Caelestia fulfilled the stipulations of a testamentary legacy of

to support a family too impoverished to cover the costs themselves. One interesting feature is the laconic nature of the epitaphs. No officer or *curialis* who might have spearheaded these efforts within the *curia* is named. Only names and a few other essential details are provided.²⁷⁴ One epitaph does not even name the *curia* (*CIL* VIII 23261=23262). There is an impersonal touch to these epitaphs, which one may expect from an institution.

There is, therefore, enough information to justify the application to the civic *curiae* of a relatively new approach to private associations. This approach maintains that regulations requiring members to banquet peaceably and joyously together, to celebrate major familial events (like a marriage or birth), to aid members in need, never to dishonour, slander, or otherwise harm them, and to participate in funerals (including the giving of money) fostered closer bonds between members and between members and their respective families.²⁷⁵ As has been discussed above, the various fines of the Curia Iovis similarly sought to foster socially acceptable conduct among its members. This new approach to voluntary associations stands in contrast to the still prevalent 19th century interpretation of the above-mentioned activities as the sole purpose of these associations, as if they were designed to act as surrogate families or mutual-aid societies, especially for the poor (*tenuiores*). The various fines and fees make it clear, in fact, that members had to possess a certain amount of disposable income just to join. Thus, the social activities and fines of associations were augmenting rather than replacing traditional familial safety nets.²⁷⁶ This

10,000HS, by building for the deceased member a mausoleum, performing what must have been the obsequies of his funeral, and committing to banquet on his birthday – *pro pietate*.

²⁷⁴ *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) Iulius Datus vix(it) annis L curiales pro pietate posuerunt h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*, *CIL* VIII 23261=23262.

²⁷⁵ Venticinque 2010: 283-285, 293; Verboven less directly argues that (especially prestigious) associations provided wealthy members a vehicle for acquiring social status, with which they or their descendants could eventually transition into the civic elite. For not only could wealthy members gain titles by ascending the internal hierarchy of the association, they gained a legitimate excuse for displaying wealth, generosity, and, thereby, conformity to aristocratic ideals (Verboven 2007: 887-889).

²⁷⁶ Bendlin 2002: 33-34; 2011: 252; Venticinque 2010; cf. Sigismund Nielsen 2006: 206.

argument is in line with the above argument regarding the funerary fines of the Curia Iovis.

Kotula has stressed how the activities of the North African *curiae* “satisfied the spirit of association.” As argued earlier, this appears to be true. Despite their terse nature, the funerary inscriptions support this point. Iulius Datus' fellow *curiales* explain their erection of a memorial to him as an act of duty (*pro pietate*, CIL VIII 23261=23262). While it is a typical sentiment for epitaphs, the fact that the *curia* organised and paid for the funeral and tombstone of the fifty-year-old does suggest a certain amount of sincerity.

Clearer are the three instances involving wives, all from Numidia. That two *curiae* at Lambaesis, the Iulia and Traiana, went out of their way to cooperate in erecting the tombstone to Castricia Paulina raise the possibility that their description of her as a *coniunx merens* was based on observation.²⁷⁷ Two more inscriptions from Lambaesis show a wife and *curia* working together to erect a memorial for a deceased *curialis*. One repeats the dedicatory formula, suggesting that the wife and *curia* were equal partners in the memorial: *curiales eo fecerunt curia Iovia, uxor ei fecit* (CIL VIII 3302). The other assigns the agency to the wife and puts the *curia* in the more passive role of facilitator: *Fortunata coniugi per curiales* (CIL VIII 3298). These cases not only suggest that wives and *curiales* met to coordinate the memorial, but that wives had limited initiative within their husband's *curia*. This further suggests that there was a prior relationship between *curiales* and each others' wives and families.²⁷⁸

Hints of such warm companionship can be detected in the language individuals used to describe their *curia* and its members. First a few benefactors employed words which suggest a

²⁷⁷ CIL VIII 3516+p.955. The stone is vertically divided into two halves with only the right side used by Castricia's epitaph. That she is said to have been seventy years old makes it improbable but not impossible that her husband was still alive. The likeliest scenario is that her husband had belonged to one *curia* and to the other the relative who initiated this curial effort, perhaps someone in her father's line of descent.

²⁷⁸ Cf. Tertullian's observation that wives recline next to their husbands at banquets and in taverns (*discumbet cum marito saepe in sodalitiis, saepe in popinis*, Tert. *ad Ux.* 2.6.1). It is plausible that the same happened at curial banquets.

sense of belonging, such as “his own *curia*” (*curiam suam*, *ILTun.* 1282=AE 1931, 32; *CIL* VIII 1845=16501, 1888) and, more clearly, “his fellow *curiales*” (*concuriales eius*, *CIL* VIII 1845=16501). Moreover, the Curia Aelia of Neapolis described M. Numisus Clodianus as a *bonus homo* on the base of the statue dedicated to his memory, after he had left to the *curia* a legacy of 10,000HS (*CIL* VIII 974+p.1282). At Simitthus, Volcius Messor addressed the *curiales* of the Curiae Germanica and Martia as *optimi* and references their good faith to perform what seems to be rites at his grave site five times a year to keep his memory alive.²⁷⁹ The use of the vocative and first person singular implies that the inscription quotes directly from Messor's will. The context of testamentary legacies shared by the last two examples raises the question of sincerity, but that question is unanswerable and not exactly at issue. The main point is that *curiales* did talk to one another using affective terms and that they wanted others – those reading the inscriptions or hearing the documents being read out – to understand that the basis of their relationship was emotional as well as legal.

Therefore, it may be particularly fruitful to adapt to the North African *curiae* Philip Venticinque's argument that voluntary associations used their regulations to foster dutiful and self-controlled behaviour, and, thereby, facilitate the establishment of trust between members and stabilise familial and communal life.²⁸⁰ With regard to Simitthus, the fostering of closer emotional bonds between the *curiales* and, by extension, a more cohesive and cooperative *populus* would have been legitimate public goals and they could have been the reason for the *decretum publicum* adopted by the Curia Iovis.

²⁷⁹ *do lego (denarios) CCL a vobis curiales optimi peto fideique vestr(a)e committo*, AE 1955, 126. For further discussion of the inscription, see above n.111.

²⁸⁰ Venticinque 2010: 292-294. Venticinque suggests that economic benefits motivated such regulations, which does not seem applicable to the curial situation, but this does not invalidate the broader ideas of his argument.

2.8 CONCLUSION

What does this study of the North African *curiae* tell us about honorific statues erected by the *curiae*? It was argued above that each *curia* had its own identity and that *curiales* – proud of it – asserted that identity, partly through the erection of public honours. This does not mean that the honours were acts of resistance or part of a civic power struggle with the decurions. Quite the opposite. The evidence suggests only cooperation between the two institutions, with the *ordo* as the clear leader. More simply, the likelihood that *curiales* identified closely with their *curia* suggests that they took decisions to honour seriously.

This possibility leads to the subject of the decision making process within *curiae*. Fellow *curiales* must have known each other well, although some doubtlessly more personally than others. While each *curia* was hierarchically organised, this hierarchy might have been evened out by the possible annual turn-over of officers, by the social activities *curiales* enjoyed together, and by the atmosphere of respect and good conduct the *curiae* sought to foster. This raises the possibility that the initiative for an honour could even come from the membership itself, perhaps in a form resembling a *postulatio populi*. The leaders likely also proposed curial honours, but were probably careful to select honorees who commanded respect. In turn, the *curiales* likely had the opportunity to discuss such proposals and even to object. But once momentum began to coalesce behind a proposed honoree, the same atmosphere of fellowship could have also made it daunting for the individual to object. It might have been easiest to follow the lead of the officers, other respected *curiales*, and the crowd.

Finally, the intimacy and structures of curial life, which fostered better conduct from its members and tighter emotional bonds, suggest that the laudatory terms like *innocentia* or *amor* found on the inscriptions of honorific statues were not mere platitudes. Rather, the *curiales* likely

understood their significance and implications. If the *curiales* were holding each other to higher standards, it makes sense that they did the same to their honorees. This does not mean that their praise of the honorees was always sincere and accurate. Rather, it suggests the possibility that the *curiales* were aware enough to use morally charged rhetoric in sophisticated ways.

III

Performing Public Honours

Statues were a deeply ingrained feature of Mediterranean societies, as Apuleius remarked during his trial for sorcery in 158/159 at Oea.¹ Their significance to the inhabitants of the Roman empire was founded on two broad ideas: (1) they conferred immortality on deserving honorees as a reward for good deeds² and, by doing so, inspired similar behaviour from future magistrates and benefactors;³ (2) they advertised the city's worth and importance, for they served as a record of the type of people it reared or attracted as benefactors.⁴ Consequently, people desired⁵ to receive statues and cities believed it beneficial to dedicate them.⁶ Q. Flavius Lappianus, a *flamen perpetuus* of Calama, claims to have received the offer of a statue from the *populus* of

¹ *Apol.* 15; Plin. *NH* 34.15-47; cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.137. See also Stewart 2003: Chapters 4 and 6 in particular.

² The many clauses introduced by *ob* and similar explanatory notes on inscriptions are the best example. Sufetula: *curiae universae statuarum honorem pro meritis suis hac tituli aeternitate signarunt*, *CIL* VIII 11332; similarly *IL Afr.* 134; *CIL* VIII 11340, 23226; Hippo Regius: *ut eximiam voluntatem eiu(s) tanti honoris titulis adaequarent*, *CIL* VIII 5276a-b; Thuburnica: *[l]abori grata obsequi[a] et ut remuneraren(tur) et ut facti eius gloria etiam ad posteros perseveraret*, *AE* 1988, 1116; Calama: *ad referendam gr[at]iam*, *CIL* VIII 5366=*IL Alg.* 1.287. See also: Apul. *Apol.* 14-15; *CIL* VIII 989+p. 979, 1283, 12354, 15881; *CIL* VIII 11343=*ILTun.* 353=*Sbeitla* 52; Cic. *Phil.* 5.41, *Phil.* 9.4, 10, 15-16; Hor. *Carm.* 4.8.13-15; Plin. *NH* 34.16-17; Suet. *Titus* 4.1; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.16, 20-22, 43, 59-61, 82, *Or.* 37.31, 37; Plut. *Mor.* 820A-D; cf. Cic. *Arch.* 11.26. For broader discussion, see Woolf 1996: 25-29.

³ Inscriptions which call the honoree an example: *AE* 2002, 1676; *CIL* VIII 11349, 22852, 24095, 26622; *ILTun.* 574 (if the reconstruction is correct). See also Cic. *Phil.* 9.3; Suet. *Aug.* 31.5; Plin. *Ep.* 2.7.5; cf. 8.6.13. Dio Chrysostom's concern that Rhodes' disgraceful reuse of old statues to honour benefactors will cause men to be less willing to exert themselves on behalf of the city implies that current rewards inspire future benefactions (*Or.* 31.22, 65). Cf. Gregory 1994: 92 (cf. 86-88) on images helping individuals to visualise the past.

⁴ Cf. Quint. *Inst. Or.* 3.7.26. Much of Dio Chrysostom's argument against Rhodes' practice of reusing old statues to honour new benefactors is that it is beneath the dignity of such a glorious and prosperous city. He seems to say that one would only expect that practice from a mean city (*Or.* 31.125-126, cf. 158-60, 138).

⁵ According to Augustine, Apuleius took certain citizens of Oea to court who were blocking the erection of a statue to him. He then subsequently published his successful speech (August. *Ep.* 138.19; Harrison 2000: 33). On the distinction of receiving a statue: Cic. *Orat.* 2.347; people recounting that they have received a statue: Apul. *Flor.* 16; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 37.37; criticisms of people's desire for statues: Cic. *Pis.* 93; *Verr.* 2.2 *passim*; Tac. *Dial.* 8.4; Dio Cass. 60.5.5-5, 60.25.2-3; but compare Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.138. On *ambitio* for statues: Plin. *NH* 34.30.

⁶ For broader discussion, see Stewart 2003: 147 (statues as *ornamenta* of the city).

Thabarbusis “gladly and gratefully” (*quam oblationem libenter et grate susceptam*, *AE* 1960, 214), while the people of Thugga similarly claim to have honoured a military tribune “gladly” (. . . *[Thug]genses . . . libentes dederunt*, *CIL* VIII 26580=*ILS* 8966=*ILTun.* 1422=*AE* 1902, 252). Meanwhile at Hippo Regius, an unknown dedicator (but what is probably the decurions acting in the name of the colony) declares its “prompt willingness” to honour a citizen publicly with a statue (*prompta voluntate ut civi statua[m] publ(ice) ponendam decr(everit)*, *Libyca* 2.1, 1954, #9, 393-5).

The families of honorees too continued to attach great significance to statues well after the honoree had died.⁷ The *ordo* of Thagaste, for example, decreed that the statue of C. Flavius Hilarus Felix should be placed “next to [those] of his parents” (*loco dato iuxta parentum*, *CIL* VIII 5150=17205=*ILAlg.* 1.880). At Sicca Veneria, a woman spent the time and money to obtain permission from the decurions and relocate a statue they had decreed to her great-great grandfather, then to inscribe the fact on the statue base (*hanc statuam Aemilia L(uci) f(ilia) Cerealis abnep[tis] d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) hoc [t]ranstulit*, *CIL* VIII 1648+p.1523).

The erection of statues, thus, was not an empty gesture soon forgotten. The sophist Favorinus of Arelate, for example, dedicated a speech later in life (138-155CE) to protesting the Corinthians' toppling of his statue (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 37).⁸ Moreover, people took note of statues decreed to others (Apul. *Flor.* 16.37; Plin. *Ep.* 2.7; August. *Ep.* 138.19) and noticed when they were set up or moved (Cic. *Phil.* 1.36; *Deiot.* 34; Plut. *Caes.* 6; Cass. Dio 43.49.1). People also noted the type of statue decreed and remarked on any distinctive features.⁹ They noticed the

⁷ See also Cic. *Phil.* 9.5, 16; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.71-72, 158, *Or.* 44.4. Relatives stating that they are “content” with the honour and offering to erect it at their own expense are another example of familial pride in public honours (Christol 2005b: 136, 138-139).

⁸ On the rhetorical strategies Favorinus utilised in the speech, see Gleason 1995: 9-20.

⁹ Bronze statues: Dio Chrys. *Or.* 37.8; Cass. Dio 77.2.4; gilt bronze (*inaurata*): *CIL* V 5049 line 7; Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.138, 143; *Clu.* 101.2.9; *Pis.* 25,10.6; Plut. *Caes.* 6.2; wearing a cuirass (*statua lorica*): Plin. *Ep.* 8.6.13; triumphal: Tac. *Ann.* 4.23.1; Tac. *Agr.* 40.1 (*inlustris*); *SHA Tyr. Trig.* 21.5 (*statuam inter triumphales*; likely

inscription,¹⁰ the payment method,¹¹ and the location of the statue.¹² The details mattered.¹³ If conveniently placed, people would even appeal to them during speeches (Cic. *Att.* 16.15.3.6; Apul. *Apol.* 85.2). They could also be “punished” with vandalism or toppling in the place of a now loathed, but absent, honoree.¹⁴

Given the many perceived advantages of public honours, the process to erect a statue was potentially complex, involving many people. The two prior chapters identified the various procedural paths for setting up a statue in public. This chapter will explore how public honours

false); equestrian: Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.86; gilt equestrian: Cic. *Phil.* 6.12; *quadriga*: RG 35; *SHA Tyr. Trig.* 21.5-6 (likely false). Generally: Cic. *Phil.* 9.13; gilded with marble extremities: *SHA Tyr. Trig.* 32.5 (likely false). Details of style and dress: Cic. *Rab. Post.* 27.5.4; Plin. *NH* 34.28-29, 31; on quality of execution: Plut. *Caes.* 6.2; on size: Plin. *NH* 34.19; Plin. *Ep.* 1.20.5; on height relative to other statues: Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.90; Tac. *Ann.* 1.74.3, 13.8.1; Cass. Dio 76.14.7; on colossal statues: Plin. *NH* 34.39-46; on emotion and virtue: Plut. *Flamin.* 1; *Brut.* 1.1. See also Zanker 1988: 327; Gregory 1994: 85.

¹⁰ Cic. *Att.* 6.1.17.7, *Fam.* 12.3.1, *Phil.* 6.12-15, 13.9; Tac. *Ann.* 3.64.2; Suet. *Vesp.* 1.2; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.83; Plin. *Ep.* 7.29, 8.6.2, 9.19.1; Cass. Dio 43.45.3; *SHA Heliogab.* 13.7, 14.2; *SHA Gall.* 19.4 (likely false); cf. Plin. *Ep.* 3.6.5; 6.10.3-4; Cass. Dio 77.11.2.

¹¹ Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.139; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.107-108, 114; Plin. *NH* 34.29; Apul. *Flor.* 16.29, 39, 45; *SHA Sev.* 14.4.

¹² Above all, Zimmer's study has demonstrated how important location was to the inhabitants of Cuicul and Thamugadi (1989: 7). The decurions loosely followed “Statuenprogramme” which placed statues in more visible and prestigious spots (*loci celeberrimi*) according to the prestige of the honoree (Zimmer 1989: 50, 52-53; followed with more discussion by Erkelenz 2003: 140-143; Stewart 2003: 136-139; cf. Zanker 1988: 326; Gregory 1994: 85-86, 91). Kaiser (2000: 61) approaches this topic from the perspective of urban organisation. He argues that the notables of Emporiae in Hispania Tarraconensis erected statues in “relatively calm places” with appropriate architectural settings (e.g. religious precincts and the forum) and not in streets and markets. The goal was to “remind” people of their role in urban life, rather than to “dominate the city.” On good position in the library at Corinth: Dio Chrys. *Or.* 37.8; statues of emperors in a temple at Comum (Plin. *Ep.* 10.8.1-4); care that a statue be near certain other ones: *CIL* VIII 5150=17205=ILAlg. 1.880; Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.90; in Roman forum: Cic. *ad Oct.* 4; Plin. *Ep.* 1.17; Cass. Dio 77.2.4; in *forum Augustum* Tac. *Ann.* 4.15.2; before temple of Castor and Pollux: Cic. *Phil.* 6.13; in temple of Venus: *SHA Tyr. Trig.* 32.5 (likely false); Caesar's statue among the kings on Capitolium: Cic. *Deiot.* 33, Cass. Dio 43.45.4; on capitolium: Cic. *Rab. Post.* 27.5.4; at foot of Palatine between temples of Faustina and Vesta: *SHA Gall.* 19.4 (likely false); in temple of Quirinus: Cass. Dio 43.45.3; Plut. *Caes.* 6.1, 6.4; on *rostra* at Rome: Cic. *Deiot.* 34, *Fam.* 12.3.1, *Phil.* 5.41; in theatre of Pompey: Tac. *Ann.* 3.23.1, 4.7.2; in *curia* of Syracuse: Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.138. See also Plin. *Ep.* 8.6.14; *accepto loco*, AE 1992, 1794; *sibi debitum iandudum locum adscribi* (ILAlg. 1.1296, dated 275+); *Dig.* 50.10.5pr (Ulpian). For Plautianus' statues among “images” (*simulacra*) of relatives of Septimius Severus: *SHA* 14.5. For statues as landmarks, see Corbier 1997 (re. Plin. *Ep.* 8.6.13: *idque aes figeretur ad statuam loricateam divi Iulii*); Stewart 2003: 122-123, 132.

¹³ Cf. Ando's argument that people paid close attention to the changing images of the emperor (2000: 212).

¹⁴ The toppling of Maximinus' statues in cities of Proconsularis: Herod. 7.5.8, then at Rome 7.6.2. See also: Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.160; *Pis.* 93.38, *ad Brut.* 1.15.7; Suet. *Tib.* 13; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.96-98, *Or.* 37.16, 20-22, 41; Juv. *Sat.* 10.56-58; Tac. *Ann.* 14.61.1, *Hist.* 3.7; Plin. *Pan.* 52.4; Plut. *Mor.* 820F; Cass. Dio 61.16.1, 74.14.2a, 76.16.2, 78.12.6, 79.18.1, 79.19.2; *SHA Comm.* 18.12-13, 20.5; Herod. 2.6.10, cf. a possible reference 2.3.7; *SHA Pert.* 6.3; *Sev.* 14.5; Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 9.11.2. Regarding *clipei* and *imagines*: Suet. *Dom.* 23.1. For discussion, see Gregory 1994: 94-98.

provided to the honorees and principal dedicators a respectable opportunity for self-display, and how the flexibility of the procedures allowed them to adapt the process to their own needs and desires, often with the result of fostering dialogue and, thereby, increasing the significance of the honour for all involved.

3.1 THE DECREE

Augmenting the significance of a statue started with the initial proposal to honour the individual. In council chambers, a laudation normally accompanied the proposal. At Rome in 43 BCE, the consuls eulogised Ser. Sulpicius Rufus to launch a senatorial debate over how to properly honour him, after he had died during an embassy to M. Antonius (Cic. *Phil.* 9.3). As noted in Chapter 1.3, the explanatory clauses found on the inscriptions of statues usually originated in the motivational clause of the decree, which, in turn, stemmed from the speeches in support of the proposed honour. This is shown the few times the dedicators went to the expense of inscribing a long text quoting the decrees verbatim (e.g. *IRT* 601; *CIL* VIII 15880=*ILTun.* 1593). Many inscriptions, however, more cheaply summarised the speeches with succinct phrases like *ob merita*, *bono civi*, or *optimo patrono*. This point is not considered by Olli Salomies, who presents the increasing amount of information and stylistic flourishes found on inscriptions over the late-second to fifth centuries as originating in the drafting of the inscription.¹⁵ It seems, rather, that the actual epigraphic trend Salomies is describing is an increasing effort to reflect the content of the principal speech in support of the honour. This makes sense, since the main supporters of the honour and the drafters of the inscription were probably often one and the same.

How exactly the augmentation of a statue's significance started would have depended on

¹⁵ Salomies talks only of “those who formulated honorific (and other types of) inscriptions” (1994: 91).

the circumstances of the honouring. Caecilius Claudianus Aelianus' statue in Gigthis was prompted by a *testimonium* of certain consulars praising the dedication and zeal by which he had conducted his embassy (presumably) to Rome.¹⁶ One can imagine the presiding *duumvir*, if he had a flair for the dramatic, utilising the *testimonium* to great effect in order to launch the proceedings for the honour.

After the formal proposal and laudation, one or more extended *sententiae* in support of the honour normally followed in the *interrogatio* stage of the debate.¹⁷ Aemilianus Strabo's written *sententia* in support of the petition to honour Apuleius praised the orator highly.¹⁸ This *testimonium*, as Apuleius twice characterises it (*Flor.* 16.34-35, cf. 38), covered much ground: their time as fellow students, Apuleius' constant support of his career, a survey of the statues and other honours decreed to Apuleius by various cities and peoples, a promise to pay for the statue, an apparent request that everyone follow his lead by voting in favour of the proposal, and, finally, a petition that the city erect the statue in a frequented place (*Flor.* 16.36, 39). Similarly, Cicero's *sententia* in support of a motion to erect a statue of Ser. Sulpicius Rufus contained a few paragraphs of standard panegyric (*Phil.* 9.10-11), in addition to an extended review of how the elderly senator devoted himself to service of the *res publica* despite the risks to his health.

Following the decree authorising the statue, it must have been polite practice for the honoree to acknowledge the honour and thank the voting body.¹⁹ Apuleius' public speech at

¹⁶ [- - -] ordo G[igthisi]m ob [le]gat[i]o[n]e[s] [magna cum] [in]dustri[a] ges[ta]s - - -] quibus pietatem eius et studium clarissimi viri consulares plenissimo testimonio prosecuti sunt statuam ponendam censuit ipse decreti honore contentus s(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciendum) c(uravit), CIL VIII 31=11032.

¹⁷ See, for example, IRT 601 (Appendix A). Dio Chrysostom mentions an unspecified number of men (τῶν ἀνδρῶν, *Or.* 44.6) speaking before the Prusan assembly in support of a resolution to honour him.

¹⁸ *Sententia* and letter: *Flor.* 16.36, 40; *laudator*: *Flor.* 16.35; *praeconium*: 16.38; cf. 16.37.

¹⁹ In *Or.* 37, Dio Chrysostom thanks the assembly of Prusa for having voted honours to him, but politely declines them. Speeches of thanks were normal in the Roman senate during the imperial period, though it seems mostly for favours granted by the emperor (Talbert 1984: 227-230).

Carthage is the prime example (*Flor.* 16).²⁰ In addition to thanking Aemilianus and the decurions, he states that he would be “ungrateful” (*ingratus essem*, *Flor.* 16.43) to ignore the role of his audience in the honour (i.e. the *postulatio*).²¹ If the honoree was absent, he or she sent a letter of gratitude to be read out to the voting body or, theoretically, someone could have represented the honoree, such as a friend or relative who was a member of the decurionate (cf. Plin. *Ep.* 5.7).²²

In fact, dedicators expected the honoree to be present, if possible. When the βουλή and δῆμος of Tyana wanted to honour their citizen Apollonios, they summoned the far travelling philosopher.²³ Apuleius begins his speech of thanks by explaining why he “all of a sudden” (*de repentino*) departed from Carthage after the meeting in which the Carthaginians petitioned to honour him (*Flor.* 16.1-4). He subsequently spends a large portion of the speech justifying his absence. He goes as far as to appeal to an anecdote from fourth century BCE Greece for precedent and to relate personal details about how he badly sprained his ankle, which forced him to depart to baths attached to a shrine of Aesculapius where he subsequently endured intestinal pain intense enough to require medicine (*Flor.* 16.20-23). In an effort to assure his audience that his respect for them is genuine, he then reports that he had already cut short his recovery time and was rushing back to see them when he received news of the statue (*Flor.* 16.19-24). This, he makes sure to tell them, only hastened his return in order to thank them.²⁴ It appears that he

²⁰ For Apuleius' audience, see Introduction 0.1. He was likely speaking to an audience mostly made up of influential Carthaginians, many of whom would have been decurions.

²¹ At multiple points, Apuleius talks of giving thanks: *Flor.* 16.1, 25, 29, 31, 43, 45.

²² At Forum Sempronii in Italy, for example, the decurions explain to their honoree that they did not send to him the decree of his honour, because, as with their first statue to him, he would have written back insisting on paying for it himself (*CIL* XI 6123 left side). A possible example from Calama, Proconsularis, is *CIL* VIII 5374=ILAlg. 1.292. It is found on a pedestal, but its lacunose state prevents certainty (*decreti vestri qua de [---] honestate cumulari S[---]JOSEVS splendoris essen[t --- [[---]]---] desiderastis effici*). In addition, ILAfr: 454 (also found on a pedestal) reproduces a letter (again lacunose) from the honoree mentioning *epistulae*. It is not clear, however, if the letter was in response to the honour or if it had stimulated the honour. Nevertheless, it is clear that there was a correspondence between the honoree and the city.

²³ Apol. *Ep.* 47. Cf. Plutarch's treatise on inoffensive self-praise, which assumes that the people are present to hear their own praise and react accordingly (Plut. *De cit. invid. laud.* 12=Mor. 543F, 21=547B).

²⁴ *veniebam redditum quod pepigeram, cum interim vos mihi beneficio vestro non tantum clauditem dempsistis,*

considered it bad form to be away from his own honouring.

Pliny articulated the essential reason why all parties involved might desire the honoree to be present for his/her reply: better communication. In a letter, he requests Calvisius Rufus to announce personally to the decurions of Comum that he will be following the wishes of a testator to provide a legacy to the city, even though the pertinent clause in the will is unenforceable (*Ep.* 5.7). He explains that he could make the announcement by letter, but that facial expressions, gestures, and tone of voice carry so many more inflections of meaning and intent. Letters, on the other hand, are “devoid of all of those advantages” and consequently “are exposed to spiteful interpretation” (*nam sermonem vultus gestus vox ipsa moderatur, epistula omnibus commendationibus destituta malignitati interpretantium exponitur, Ep.* 5.7.6). Decurions in Proconsularis probably did not consider the issue so analytically, but Pliny's letter shows that people were aware that interactions carried much more meaning when done face to face.

Furthermore, although a sober ideal was that members were silent and attentive during speeches,²⁵ in practice council chambers were probably noisy places and, from time to time, even raucous. Plutarch observes that people often voice their agreement as they listen to someone being praised, if they agree (*De cit. invid. laud.* 10=*Mor.* 542C). The Roman Senate presents an exaggerated example of member conduct, especially since the majority of the sources originate in the first century CE when it enjoyed the greatest relevance under the Empire. These sources show that the Senate could be a lively place, where sounds, gestures, and body language variously underlined or undermined *sententiae* and affected the mood of the house. Senators at Rome are known to have interjected and even heckled during speeches, to have shouted speakers down, to

verum etiam pernecitatem addidistis. an non properandum mihi erat, ut pro eo honore vobis multas gratias dicerem, pro quo nullas preces dixeram?, *Flor.* 16.24-25.

²⁵ For the Roman Senate: *Cic. Leg.* 3.18=40; *Laus Pisonis* 69; *Plin. Ep.* 3.20.3, 8.14.6; cf. *Dio Chrys. Or.* 31.162-163; *Or.* 44.10-12.

have broken out into laughter or tears, and to have applauded.²⁶ Similar actions likely happened in the civic councils of the provinces.²⁷ It is only the positive instances which are noted, however. Apuleius states that the Carthaginian decurions “decorated me in that *curia* with most honourable acclamations.”²⁸ Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 1.3, decurions practised mass *postulationes*. If these petitions by “all decurions” were anything like *postulationes populi*, then we should imagine them loudly vocalising in unison their desire to honour.²⁹

Much less evidence exists for the circumstances of honours said to have been set up by the *curiae*, *cives*, or *populus* rather than the *ordo*. One possibility is a *contio*, in which the organisers might have proposed the honour to the citizens and supported the idea with *encomia* of the potential honoree. Seneca, for instance, advises recipients to accept benefactions only at *contiones* they have convened, in order to express their gratitude publicly (*cui datur; ita accipienti adhibenda contio est*, *Ben.* 2.23.1-2). There is no direct evidence of *contiones* being called for this purpose in Proconsularis. The closest example is Apuleius' speech of thanks to the Carthaginians, for it was almost assuredly given in public and not in the *curia* to the decurions. The gathering, however, was probably not a *contio*, for the audience seems to have consisted mostly of respectable Carthaginians³⁰ and the speech contains no evidence for a formal structure to the gathering. Yet *contiones* are known to have occurred in other situations, including oaths of office (*LCGI* 81; *LI* 26, 59) and, if the reconstruction of the inscription is correct,³¹ a distribution of money by private benefactors at Theveste (*[qua]e omnia secundum voluntatem eius in*

²⁶ Talbert 1984: 264-268.

²⁷ Talbert 1989: 64.

²⁸ *qui me in illa curia honestissimis adclamationibus decoravere*, *Flor.* 16.44 with Lee 2005: 157.

²⁹ Jacques 1984: 400-425; see also Chapter 1.3.

³⁰ I.e. the audience was not a random crowd of the *populus*, although Apuleius may at one point refer to his audience as the *populus* (*gratum esse populo*, *Flor.* 16.45).

³¹ Stéphane Gsell *ad ILAlg.* 1.3040 suggests, “faute de mieux,” *vuluntatem eius inconfussam*]. But this more literary reading seems less likely than *in contione* and has not been adopted by later editors (*AE* 1945, 58; Bacchielli 1987: 301).

con[tione populi]. . . [a]dsignaverunt, *CIL* VIII 1858+p. 939=16504d=*ILAlg.* 1.3040). So it is not too much of a stretch to envision their use in public honours.

Moreover, a public assembly is the logical venue for the several known instances when an honoree expressed his or her contentment with an honour bestowed by the *populus* or *curiae* and remitted its cost (*CIL* VIII 72=23021; *AE* 1958, 144; *AE* 1960, 214). Only a public audience would have been suitable for this display of gratitude and generosity.³² Several inscriptions show either the honoree remitting the cost of the statue at its dedication or civic groups insisting on dedicating the statue despite the honoree's remittance.³³ In general, if the dedicatory term *populus* did indeed sometimes refer to the participation of all citizens (and not just the *ordo* acting in the name of the *populus*), it seems probable that honorees had the same opportunities for negotiation with them as they did with the decurions.

Thus, whether voted by the decurions or the people, public honours were supported by a rich dialogue between the honoree and the honourers. A successful *relatio* to honour the individual was opened with a speech praising him or her, which was subsequently supported by *sententiae*, some of which would have also included encomia. These speeches might have been punctuated from time to time with clapping and words of support from the others present. A few honours would have begun with a mass demonstration of everyone present – the *postulationes*. Ideally, the honoree witnessed and heard it all. It is safe to assume him reacting gratefully to the points made on his behalf. Once the decree had passed, he stood up and personally thanked his honourers. He also had the right to suggest alterations to the details of the honour, as long as they remained in line with the already authorised levels of prestige and cost. As discussed below, these

³² Similarly, Dio Chrysostom listened and then responded to speeches in support of a motion before the Prusan assembly to honour him (*Or.* 44.6).

³³ For remittance at dedication, see: Table 3.2.3, 40; for civic groups insisting on dedicating: see Table 3.2.6-8, 11-12 and discussion below in section 3.4.

suggestions might even have been welcomed as they allowed the dedicators to demonstrate once more the sincerity of their desire to honour. The whole process must have strengthened the relationships between dedicators and honoree, and particularly between the honoree and the main supporters of the honour – to judge from Apuleius' extensive focus on Aemilianus Strabo in the latter half of his speech.

3.2 THE DEDICATION

The paltry evidence makes it difficult to determine how elaborate the unveiling of new statues was. Certainly Dio Chrysostom's half-joke about the Rhodian archon picking any old statue almost at random to re-dedicate in the name of the latest honoree suggests that little thought went into the event (*Or.* 31.9). Pliny the Younger too did not include statues in his list of *sollemnes causae* to which Bithynians often invited the decurions or the citizenry in order to distribute *sportulae* of one or two *denarii* (*Ep.* 10.116). One may also find significant that, while several descriptions of varying length survive for dedications of religious objects and buildings in the Roman West (*Cic. Dom.*; *Plin. Ep.* 2.8; 4.1.4-5; 10.49), none survive (beyond mere mentions) for statues to local aristocrats or even to Roman senators, as if they were unimportant. Moreover, there was the literary topos that statues are not the eternal monuments they are sometimes claimed to be, for they deteriorate.³⁴

Nevertheless, Favorinus claimed before his audience at Corinth that each statue to a benefactor “is invested with aspects of divine law and that the city must protect them as dedications to gods” (τὰ τῆς ὁσίας περίκειται, καὶ χρὴ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ προεστάναι ὡς ἀναθήματος, *Dio Chrys. Or.* 37.28). He then goes on to argue that, once dedicated, honorific

³⁴ *Cic. Phil.* 9.14; *Tac. Ann.* 4.38.2. Cf. Borg and Witschel 2001: 117-118.

statues should not be removed just like dedications in a temple, for they are meant as a memorial for all time. The time for citizens to object to an honour was during the assembly that authorized it (*Or.* 37.29-30). Favorinus' claims were opportunistic, however, for he was protesting the removal and, he presumes, melting down of his own statue after he fell into disfavour with Hadrian.

Nonetheless, his comments might not have been entirely self-serving. Given the significance of statues in Mediterranean cities, it would be surprising indeed if their erection on public land was not marked in some way. Their unveiling was an infrequent event in the lives of cities after all. The direct evidence for speeches at the dedication of honorific statues is similarly lacking, but they too seem to have been a possibility.³⁵ The potential that the dedication of honorific statues was marked in some way increases when one takes into account the inscriptions indicating a high degree of emotional and/or financial investment in the statue by the dedicators, such as those raised by “all of the *curiae*/decurions,” the “entire *populus*,” those initiated by a mass *postulatio*, those paid by collected money, or those meriting public expenditure.³⁶ The problem in reconstructing the unveiling ceremony of an honorific statue is that almost all references to dedications are the bare word *dedicavit/erunt*, which itself only infrequently appears. But as noted in Chapter 1.3, inscriptions tended to economise space, so the brevity or the lack of reference does not mean that some sort of dedication ceremony did not take place.

As Stanislaw Mrozek has shown for Rome and Italy, anyone was able to dedicate an item: certainly magistrates, but even freedmen and slaves.³⁷ The inscriptions attest that the funders of

³⁵ The best evidence is so far indirect: Pliny's speech at the dedication of a library at Comum (*Ep.* 1.8); Apuleius' promise to have a book of thanks ready for the dedication of his statue (*ad dedicationem statuæ meæ libro etiam conscripto*, *Flor.* 16.47).

³⁶ For further discussion, see Chapter 4.3.

³⁷ Mrozek 2004: 123-125.

the statue were normally the dedicators. For example, honorees or family members who remitted the money originally offered for their statue generally dedicated it themselves. Political institutions and whole communities are likewise the stated dedicators of statues paid with public money or money they had collectively gathered, even though it can be assumed that a chief magistrate, priest, or other official most likely led the ceremony.

The most evidence survives for statues of emperors. At Uchi Maius, the *res publica* is said to have “set up” a statue to Septimius Severus with public money, but C. Lucilius Athenaeus dedicated it. Athenaeus, a former *sacerdos Cererum* at Carthage, used the *summa honoraria* he owed for the perpetual flamine at Uchi Maius, topped up with additional funds, to provide an ornamental base for the statue and a banquet at the dedication.³⁸ This generosity allowed him to headline the dedication of the entire monument, as emphasized by the deliberate contrast of his personal funds to the “paid out public money” (*amplius pecunia publica erogata basem cum ornamentis suis sua pecunia fecit*). His actions show that dedicating could be a sought-after privilege, doubtlessly because of the platform for self-display it gave to the dedicator.

In addition, there was the limited practice of prestigious men presiding over dedications to emperors. In Proconsularis, proconsuls,³⁹ patrons,⁴⁰ *curatores rei publicae* (*IL Afr.* 130, 131), and *duumviri quinquennales* (*CIL* VIII 15667=15668) are explicitly said to have dedicated statues to emperors paid with public funds decreed by the decurions.⁴¹ For instance, sometime

³⁸ *res p(ublica) U(chitanorum) M(aiorum) p(ecunia) p(ublica) p(osuit) in quam rem C(aius) Lucilius C(ai) f(ilius) Athenaeus sacer(dos) Cerer(is) C(oloniae) I(uliae) K(arthaginis) anni CCXXXV flam(en) p(er)p(etuus) depensis in curam s(upra) s(criptam) quam ipse gessit HS XII mil(ibus) n(ummum) summae suae honorariae et amplius pecunia publica erogata basem cum ornamentis suis sua pecunia fecit et epulo decurionib(us) dato dedicavit d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*, *CIL* VIII 26255=Uchi 2.35=ILS 9401.

³⁹ *CIL* VIII 621+p.927=11798, 800+p.931, 1386=1177=12267 (along with a *legatus pro praetore*); cf. Benzina Ben Abdallah et al 2014: 128 n.1.

⁴⁰ *IL Afr.* 419; *AE* 1913, 163; Numidia: *CIL* VIII 17871.

⁴¹ Special dedicators for buildings are known too, but there the special dedicator is consistently the proconsul (Saastamoinen 2010: 274-275, 295-299).

between 164 and 180 in the *castellum* of Ucubi, *duumviri quinquennales* are said to have followed a decree of the decurions and dedicated a statue to M. Aurelius “set up” by the *seniores* with collected money.⁴² The *duumviri quinquennales* as well as the decurional decree probably came from the Augustan colony of Sicca Veneria, in whose *pertica* Ucubi seems to have been.⁴³ Around 196 at Sufetula, moreover, the equestrian *curator rei publicae*, P. Aelius Rusticus, is said to have dedicated statues to Julia Domna and to Caracalla (*d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica) dedicante P(ublio) Aelio Rustico cur(atori) rei p(ublicae) e(gregio) v(iro)*), *ILAfr.* 130, 131). The presence of such dignitaries would seem to suggest a ceremony of some type for the unveiling of statues to emperors and members of the imperial family.

Furthermore, an inscription from Hippo Regius states that a certain Fuscus, a former *praefectus fabrum* and *duumvir quinquennalis*, dedicated a silver statue and silver *imagines* of Hadrian in his own name and in the name of his son. He adds the detail that they were dedicated “with a golden crown” (*suo et C(aio) Salvi Restituti fili sui nomine posuit idemque dedic(avit) cum corona aurea*, *CIL* VIII 17408=*ILAlg.* 1.10). *Cum corona aurea* dramatically occupies the final line of the inscription in the centre of the stone. It could be that the crown was already attached to the statue and that Fuscus just wanted to advertise his generosity, but the grammar suggests that he and his son laid the golden crown on the head of the silver statue as the final flourish that concluded the dedication ceremony.

If the evidence for dedication ceremonies is meagre for statues to emperors, it is entirely missing for statues to local notables. This does not mean that no ceremony took place. The evidence of benefactions at some dedications and the evidence of remittances – both discussed

⁴² *seniores Ucubitani aere conlato posuerunt Mettius Secundus Memmianus P(ublius) Larcus Numidicus Iuir(i) q(uin)q(uennales) dedicaverunt d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*, *CIL* VIII 15667=15668.

⁴³ *ad CIL* VIII 15669; Aounallah 2010: 88-89.

below – speak against the notion. To give just one example, an inscription from Thagaste records that at the dedication of his statue, M. Amullius Optatus Crementianus “gave to his *patria* 100,000HS for achieving his own munificence and to the *curiae* five-hundred *denarii* for additional banquets of wine and games.”⁴⁴ The statue was the decurions' reward for Crementianus' good character and previous generosity (*singularis fidei bonitatis munificentiae vir[o]*). As Pliny encouraged in his letters (*Ep.* 1.8.10; 5.11.1), Crementianus seems to have used the dedication to announce yet more giving. This does not mean that he had fabricated a dedication ceremony *ex nihilo* to promote his generosity. The inscription also records that the money for Crementianus' statue had been collected “competitively” (*conlata certatim pecunia*), a statement designed to suggest the sincerity of the desire to honour him. It is more likely that a ceremony was already planned, of which Crementianus took advantage, turning it into something epigraphically noteworthy. Therefore, when inscriptions do not mention the dedication, it does not necessarily mean that a ceremony had not taken place. Rather, it may mean that the attention of the drafters was on the individuals and groups involved, rather than on the ceremony itself.

3.3 'EXTRAS' AT DEDICATION CEREMONIES

When honorees wanted to ensure a large crowd at the dedication ceremony, they organised events to coincide with it.⁴⁵ As seen in Table 3.1, thirty-two to thirty-four of the inscriptions in Africa Proconsularis commemorating an honorific statue record that an “extra” benefaction accompanied the dedication ceremony. These extras ranged from banquets (*epula*), distributions of oil (*gymnasium*), wine, thrown gifts (*missilia*), or money (*sportulae*, etc.), to

⁴⁴ *in cuius dedicatione ss(estertium) C mil(ia) n(ummum) ad opus munificentiae suae patriae donavit et curiis praeter epulas vini e[t] ludum X quingeno[s]*, CIL VIII 5146+p.1634=ILAlg. 1.876.

⁴⁵ Duncan-Jones 1982: 139.

spectacles such as *ludi*, *ludi scaenici*, gladiators, or gymnastic displays (again *gymnasium*).⁴⁶ They occurred on the day of the dedication,⁴⁷ in public, and perhaps before the statue if space permitted.⁴⁸ Unlike extras distributed at some building dedications, evidence does not exist for the extras extending over several days.

The organisers of these events were individuals, usually either the dedicator of a privately funded statue in public (often to a superior such as the emperor) or the honoree or the honoree's heir.⁴⁹ For example, around the middle of the third century in the *municipium* of Furnos Minus, the *universus populus* used *aes conlatum* to set up a statue to L. Octavius Felix Octavianus, a decurion of Carthage and Furnos Minus' patron and *curator rei publicae*. "On the occasion of his dedication, he provided *ludi scaenici* and a banquet and oil to the *populus*" (*ob cuius dedicationem ipse ludos scaenicos et epulum populo dedit et gymnasium*, *CIL VIII 25808b*).⁵⁰ No inscription shows public money being used for an extra, or even the *ordo* or *curiae* using private funds to organise one.⁵¹ Third parties, however, could step in to provide an extra at a dedication.

⁴⁶ Depending on the city and context given by the inscription, *gymnasium* seems to have meant variously oil and other implements related to exercise or gymnastic displays/competitions (Fagan 1999: 271; Saastamoinen 2010: 367-369).

⁴⁷ The formula *die dedicationis* to introduce extras is infrequent, but found throughout the Roman West (e.g. Plin. *Ep.* 4.1.6; cf. Saastamoinen 2010: 366). For Proconsularis: *CIL VIII 769=12224, 937+p.2340=11216, 993+p.2440=12454, 1548=15550, 15271, 26559; AE 2004, 1700; AE 2005, 1689; AE 2006, 1755; AE 1997, 1654=AE 2003, 2013=AE 2005, 1686=AE 2007, 1741.*

⁴⁸ The most direct evidence for these points is limited in Proconsularis to other types of benefactions. For instance, C. Egnatius Cosminus Vinicianus, left behind a legacy, so that the *curiae* of Uthina could feast on his birthday *in publico* (*CIL VIII 24017*). At Theveste, C. Cornelius Egrilianus, a former prefect of the Legio XIV Gemina, ordered in his will *gymnasia* to be handed out to the *populus* "publicly in the baths" (*[gy]mnasia populo publice in thermis prae[bere] iussit*), *CIL VIII 1858+p. 939=16504d=ILAlg. 1.3040*). Furthermore, L. Cassius Restutus, a veteran and *decurio* of Auzia in Mauretania Caesariensis, stipulated that distributions of money were to be made on the birthdays of himself and his wife *ante horam tertiam ante basem statuarum tam meae quam uxoris meae* (*CIL VIII 9052*). For Italy, see: *dividiatur deducta ornatone statu(a)e*, *CIL XIV 367, 431, V 7906*. Cf. Mrozek 1987: 46-47.

⁴⁹ E.g. *CIL VIII 44+p.922=11058, 5146+p.1634, 14783, 25808b, 26279* (uncertain); *AE 1960, 214; AE 1931, 41*; by the honoree's heirs: *ILAlg. 1.2145*; by the mother for honoured daughter: *AE 1955, 152*; daughter/heir for honour to father: *CIL VIII 12422+p.2432*; parents for son's honouring: *AE 1928, 26*.

⁵⁰ See also: *CIL VIII 262=11430, 1323=14855, 1889+p.1576, 12422+p.2432; 14791; ILAfr. 315; ILTun. 769; AE 1960, 214; AE 1975, 877; AE 1910 159=1942/43, 98; AE 1995, 1657; AE 2004, 1700; ILAlg. 1.2145.*

⁵¹ The lacunose *CIL VIII 11009* has the *ordo* in the nominative case, but its verb is in the pluperfect subjunctive. Hence, the following *s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit) et lu[dis editis dedicavit]* probably has a different subject. The grammar of *CIL VIII 5146+p.1634* could suggest that the *ordo* used *aes conlatum* to provide the *epula*, wine, and

In Althiburos, the managers of imperial estates provided a banquet to celebrate the dedication of statues set up by the *curiae* to the wife of a *procurator Augusti* and to a man who might have been the procurator (*curiales curiarum X ob merita posueru[nt] ob quam dedication[em ep]ulaticium*⁵² *actores [d]ederunt*, *CIL* VIII 1827+p.2722=16472; *CIL* VIII 1828+p.2722). The statue dedications must have provided the opportune moment for the managers to express appreciation to their superior.

A strong hierarchical element to the extras is evident. As Stanislaw Mrozek observed for Italy,⁵³ in Proconsularis it was the group who needed the least assistance, the decurions, who were most often targeted with an extra and who received the most expensive and, hence, most prestigious gift. For example, several times the decurions received *sportulae*, a distribution of money whose most common value was 4HS, but 20HS is also found three times.⁵⁴ 250HS per *curia*, on the other hand, was the most typical cost of *epula*, which is estimated to have meant about 2 to 4HS on average per *curialis*, but the exact number would have fluctuated depending on attendance.⁵⁵ 4HS is the highest recorded monetary distribution to citizens in Proconsularis.⁵⁶ Spectacles open to the whole *populus* (which included the decurions) probably cost even less per person, though the evidence for prices is meagre.⁵⁷

ludi, but the words in *cuius dedicatione . . . suae patriae donavit* strongly suggest that the honoree paid for these extras.

⁵² *Epulaticium* appears to refer to a banquet rather than, say, money for a banquet (on analogy of *viaticum*), for *CIL* VIII 11813 records the establishment of a foundation at Mactaris for an annual *epulaticium ex usuris*.

⁵³ Mrozek 1987: 38-41, 53, 83-86, 105.

⁵⁴ Duncan-Jones 1982: 81-82, 104-105; cf. 1962: 63. Mrozek argues that, for Italy, 20HS was the preferred amount for each decurion, while 4HS was the frequent monetary gift to the people (1987: 86, 97).

⁵⁵ Duncan-Jones calculated on a self-admitted false premise (1962: 115; 1982: 277-282) that *epula* cost on average 2.5HS per *curialis* (1962: 73-74). Kotula estimates a range of one to two *denarii* (=4-8HS; 1968: 118). Jacques (1990: 395), working with Duncan-Jones' figures, loosely estimates 2HS as the average. Pudliszewski's calculations for Spain suggest one *denarius* (4HS) per person as the average (1992: 75-76).

⁵⁶ Duncan-Jones 1982: 82.

⁵⁷ Duncan-Jones 1962: 64.

Table 3.1: 'Extras' at the Dedication of Honorific Statues in Africa Proconsularis

	CITY	CITATION	DATE	EXTRA(S)	HONOURERS	DONOR	HONOREE(S)
EMPERORS							
1	Henchir Bedd (<i>municipium</i> [- - -])	<i>CIL</i> VIII 14371		. . . [<i>st</i>]atuum quam idem pa[te]r su(u)s promiserat fecit et ob dedicationem ordini epulum dedit	son fulfilling promise of father	same	unknown emperor
2	Sutunurca	<i>IL Afr.</i> 300= <i>AE</i> 160= <i>AE</i> 1910, 154= <i>AE</i> 1942/43, 98	138 or bit later	. . . ob dedicationem viscerationem et gymnasium populo dedit	father of a <i>flaminica perpetua</i>	same	Hadrian
3	Sutunurca	<i>CIL</i> VIII 24003	148	. . . ob dedicationem visce[rationem] . . . dedit	adopted son of <i>flamen perpetuus</i>	same	M. Aurelius (as heir)
4	Sutunurca	<i>IL Afr.</i> 303= <i>AE</i> 1909, 160	162	. . . ob dedicationem epulum et g'y`mnasia et ludos scaenicos dedit d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)	man to mark the perpetual flamine of another person	same	L. Verus
5	Uchi Maius	<i>CIL</i> VIII 26255= <i>Uchi</i> 2.35= <i>ILS</i> 9401	197	. . . in quam rem C(aius) Lucilius C(ai) f(i)lius Athenaeus sacer(dos) Cerer(um) C(oloniae) I(uliae) K(arthaginis) anni CCXXXV flam(en) p(er)p(etuus) depensis in curam s(upra) s(criptam) quam ipse gessit HS XII mil(ibus) n(ummum) summae suae honorariae et amplius pecunia publica erogata basem cum ornamentis suis sua pecunia fecit et epulo decurionib(us) dato dedicavit d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)	<i>res publica</i> dedicated by <i>flamen, sacerdos Cererum</i> at Carthage	<i>flamen, sacerdos Cererum</i> at Carthage	Septimius Severus
6	Uchi Maius	<i>CIL</i> VIII 26259= <i>Uchi</i> 2.43	212/217	[- - -] cum imaginibu[s - - - popu]lo gymnasium [- - -]			Caracalla and Julia Domna

	CITY	CITATION	DATE	EXTRA(S)	HONOURERS	DONOR	HONOREE(S)
MEMBERS OF THE IMPERIAL ELITE							
7	Althiburos	<i>CIL</i> VIII 1827+p.2722=1647 2= <i>ILTun.</i> 1647	161/192	. . . <i>ob quam dedication[em ep]ulaticium actores [d]ederunt [- - -</i>	the 10 <i>curiae</i>	<i>actores</i>	wife of <i>procurator Augusti</i> and provincial priest of Africa
8	Althiburos	<i>CIL</i> VIII 1828+p.2722= <i>ILTun.</i> n. 1645= <i>ILS</i> 5783	161/192?	. . . <i>ob dedicationem decurionib(us) sportulas curi<i>s epul(um) act[o]res eius deder(unt)</i>	the 10 <i>curiae</i>	<i>actores</i>	the <i>procurator Augusti</i> of <i>CIL</i> VIII 1827?
9	Uchi Maius	<i>CIL</i> VIII 26279= <i>Uchi</i> 2.89	100/299	. . . <i>Pullaienus Bassus ut adfectibus civium pareret epulo quarto a se dato titulo contentus statuam de suo posuit itemque dedicavit</i>	<i>ordo</i>	Bassus (the honoree?)	a descendant of senators?
CIVIC NOTABLES							
10	Ammaedara	<i>NDEAmm.</i> 19= <i>AE</i> 1999, 1796	200/299	<i>[- - -]ERNIS et Augustal(ibus?) e[did(erunt?)]</i>	<i>curiae et Augustales</i>		equestrian augur, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , aedile
11	Furnos Minus	<i>CIL</i> VIII 25808b= <i>ILS</i> 9403= <i>AE</i> 1909, 162		. . . <i>ob cuius dedicationem ipse ludos scaenicos et epulum populo dedit et gymnasium l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	<i>universus populus</i>	honoree	patron and <i>curator rei publicae</i> , Carthaginian decurion, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> of the divine Pius, <i>magister sacrorum Cerealium</i>
12	Gor	<i>CIL</i> VIII 12422+p.2432	175/225	<i>Maria Victoria fil(ia) heres eius titulo et loco contenta [s(ua) p(ecunia)] posuit et cum Ofelio Primo sul[fete] fl(amine) p(er)p(etuo) suo ordini epulum dedit</i>	<i>ordo</i>	daughter	<i>flamen perpetuus</i>

	CITY	CITATION	DATE	EXTRA(S)	HONOURERS	DONOR	HONOREE(S)
13	Gor	<i>ILTun.</i> 769		<i>. . . statuam [- - -] S cuius dedicationem [- - -] r P. X mille pol<l>icitus est [- - -] ex reditu eorum [- - -] quamdiu [- - -] duum [- - -] pugile [- - -] [- - -] et epulum decurionibus [- - -] et post D[- - -] sua [- - -] P[- - -] ita ab [- - -] [l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto)] d(ecurionum)</i>	parents	parents	son, decurion
14	Hippo Regius	<i>Libyca</i> 2.1, 1954, #9, 393-5		<i>. . . propter quod ad remunerandam op[time] adfectionem et pietatem atq[ue]] libe[ralitatem] filiae suae perpetuo memoriam du[lcissimam(?) - - -] decurionibus sportu[las - - -] HS ep[ul]andi gratia Aug[ustali]bus quodannis dandos statuit corpori quoq(ue) Augustalium ad sportulas aureos binos</i>	a civic group (text damaged: “univer[- - -]”)	mother	daughter
15	Madauros	<i>ILAlg.</i> 1.2145	200/233	<i>. . . Corneliae Romani[ll]a Postumiana e[st] Vi]ctorina Claudiana et Eulogia Romanilla ff[il]iae] et heredes eius sua pecun[i]a posuerunt s[po]rtulis decurionibus et curialibus dat[is]</i>	<i>ordo</i> and <i>populus</i>	daughters	deceased equestrian <i>flamen perpetuus, duumvir</i>
16	Madauros	<i>AE</i> 1931, 41		<i>ob cuiu[s] dedicationem] idem Fl[avius - - -] spo[rtulas] decur[ionibus] dedit] et cur[iis] epulum(?) et] popu[lo] gymnasium(?) - - -]</i>	<i>ordo</i> and <i>populus</i>	honoree	<i>duumviralis</i>
17	Meninx	<i>CIL</i> VIII 44.p+922=11058	200/299	<i>. . . impens(am) remis(it) et [s]portulis dedicavit</i>	<i>ordo</i>	honoree	<i>duumvir</i>
18	Municipium Aurelium C[- - -]	two identicle inscriptions: <i>CIL</i> VIII 828=12347 =23964= <i>ILS</i> 5713 and <i>CIL</i> VIII 23965	267/299	<i>. . . perfecit adq(ue) dedicavit et univers<a>e plevi epulu(m) per tridum dedit nec non et ludos sc(a)enicos ex(h)ibuit</i>	honoree himself: <i>flamen perpetuus, curator rei publica</i> ; with son	honoree	honoree
19	Sufes	<i>CIL</i> VIII 262=11430= <i>ILS</i> 6835	200/299	<i>. . . Q(uintus) Magnius Maximus Flavianus fil(ius) eius eq(ues) R(omanus) honore cont(entus) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit) et ob dedic(ationem) sportulas dedit l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	<i>ordo</i>	son	<i>flamen perpetuus</i> with the rank of a <i>duumvir quinquennalis</i>

	CITY	CITATION	DATE	EXTRA(S)	HONOURERS	DONOR	HONOREE(S)
20	Thabarbusis	<i>AE</i> 1960, 214	225/274, perhaps up to 283	. . . <i>idem Lappianus reddita {n}omni pecunia solo honore contentus amplius etiam exhibito epulo et gymnasio cum civibus dedicavit</i>	<i>populus</i>	honoree	equestrian <i>flamen perpetuus</i> of Calama
21	Thagaste	<i>CIL</i> VIII 5146+p.1634 = <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.876	200/249	. . . <i>in cuius dedicatione ss(estertium) C mil(ia) n(umum) ad opus munificentiae suae patriae donavit et curiis praeter epulas vini e[t] ludum X quingeno[s]</i>	<i>ordo</i>	honoree	equestrian
22	Theveste	<i>CIL</i> VIII 16559= <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.3070	100/199	. . . <i>ob [q]uas ded[icationes - - -]</i>	<i>curiae and Augustales</i>		daughter of a pontifex and <i>duumvir</i> , wife of an equestrian
23	Theveste	<i>CIL</i> VIII 16556= <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.3064= <i>ILS</i> 6839	175/225	. . . <i>cuius honoris remunerandi causa idem Rufinus sportul(as) decurionib(us) et lib(ertis) Caes(aris) n(ostri) itemq(ue) forensibus et amicis curiis quoque et Augustalibus aureos binos et populo vinum dedit et ludos edidit</i>	<i>curiae universae et Augustales</i>	the husband	(1) <i>duumvir</i> , augur; (2) his wife
24	Theveste	<i>CIL</i> VIII 16560= <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.3071	150/249	. . . <i>ob quam dedicationem [decur(ionibus) et lib(ertis) Caes(aris) n(ostri) itemque foren]sibus sportulas curiis et Augustal[ibus . . . dederunt]</i>	<i>curiae</i> (probably) and <i>Augustales</i>	honorees (probably)	(1) <i>munerarius</i> ; (2) (probable) wife
25	Thubursicu Numidarum	<i>ILAlg.</i> 1.1301	209/211	<i>[- - - ad cuius dedica]tionem [- - -] / [- - -] epulandum bi(?) [- - -] / [- - -] IO dederunt [l(ocus)] d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	<i>univ[ersae] curiae</i>		<i>duumvir, sacerdos Liberi</i>
26	Tuccabor	<i>CIL</i> VIII 1323=14855 = <i>ILTun.</i> 1288		. . . <i>ob quam dedica(vi)t epul(um) dec(urionibus) et pop(ulo) [g]ym(nasium) ded(it)</i>			<i>flamen perpetuus?</i>
27	Vallis	<i>CIL</i> VIII 14783= <i>ILS</i> 5075	200/233	. . . <i>ob cuius dedicationem idem Egnatius praeter gymnasium et missilia quae aediles edere solent diem sacri liberaliorum auxit et omni inpena sua eum civib(us) universis exhibuit amplius etiam ludos scenicos edidit et ep[u]lum populo dedit l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	friends	honoree	aedile

	CITY	CITATION	DATE	EXTRA(S)	HONOURERS	DONOR	HONOREE(S)
HONOREES OF UNCERTAIN STATUS							
28	Giufi	<i>CIL</i> VIII 867=12374		<i>[- - -] ob dedicationem decurionibus [- - -]S epulum deder[unt] et ludos scaenicos biduo exhibu[erunt] l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>			
29	Henchir Zian (Zita)	<i>CIL</i> VIII 11009		<i>. . . s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit) et lu[dis editis dedicavit]</i>	<i>ordo</i>	honoree	a man
30	Pupput	<i>IL Afr.</i> 315		<i>--- ob de]dicatione[m --- decurio]nibus spor[tulas] curialibus [epulatio]nes dedit [- - -]us Dativus et [Ru]fus liberti [patr]ono optimo [d(ecreto)] d(ecurionum)</i>	freedmen	freedmen	personal patron
31	Theveste	<i>CIL</i> VIII 1889+p.1576 = <i>IL Alg.</i> 1.3072		<i>---] ob cuius statucae dedicationem sportulae datae sunt decurionibus X quini item curiis et Augustali[bus - - -]</i>			
32	Ureu	<i>AE</i> 1975, 877	200/299, probably 200/235	<i>. . . ob cuius dedicationem decurionib(us) sportulas et epulum curialib(us) et universis civibus dedit</i>	<i>ordo</i>	sons?	honoree
UNCERTAIN EXTRAS							
33	Pagus Mercurialis	<i>AE</i> 1995, 1657	193/194	<i>. . . qui ob hon(orem) flam(onii) sui perp(etui) magg(istris) flaminib(us) sportul(as) et de[cu]riis singulis binos aureos [et] gymna[sium] biduo populo deder(unt) d(ecreto) p(aganorum)</i>	<i>pagani</i>	<i>flamen perpetuus</i>	Divine Pertinax
34	Pheradi Maius	<i>CIL</i> VIII 23056= <i>ILTun.</i> 245= <i>AE</i> 496		<i>--- A]ntonius Gem[ellus(?) ---] / [- - - et] P(ublius) Mas[s]aeus Satu[rninus(?) ---] / [he]redes datis [i]n [funere eius] curiis [in] sing[ulos] cives - - -]</i>	heirs	heirs	aedile

An inscription from Theveste, which Kotula dates between 175 and 225,⁵⁸ records the most complex distribution of extras given for the dedication of a statue in Proconsularis. The *curiae* and *Augustales* honoured at their own expense Q. Crepereius Germanus Rufinus, an augur and *duumviralis*, as well as his wife, Aurelia Ianuaria (Table 3.1.23).⁵⁹ “In order to compensate” them for this honour, Rufinus gave *sportulae* to the decurions and two gold coins (worth 200HS, probably per group) to the imperial freedmen, the association of advocates, his *amici*, the *curiae*, and the *Augustales*. Finally, he gave wine to the whole *populus* and put on *ludi*.

While the dedicators and recipients of extras often were one and the same,⁶⁰ Rufinus' distributions show that the honoree was free to include any group he or she wished in the extras, irrespective of who the dedicators were. The dedicators of his statue, the *curiae* and the *Augustales*, did not receive as much money as the decurions. While they did receive two *aurei* each like the advocates and Rufinus' *amici*, they were only mentioned after these two groups as if they were less important. Only the generic *populus*, which probably included *incolae* as well as the wives and children of the *coloni*, received a less expensive gift and came further down the list.⁶¹ Rufinus was not alone in distributing extras to groups beyond the dedicators. C. Egnatius Felix, for instance, provided oil, *missilia*, *ludi scaenici*, and an *epulum* to the whole *populus* of Thagaste, even though unnamed *amici* are cited as his honourers.⁶²

The application of sociological theory to Roman banqueting has highlighted how shared

⁵⁸ Kotula 1968: 41 n.29.

⁵⁹ An honorific dedication to another notable of Theveste seems to have stimulated a similarly complex distribution, but its heavy restoration is partly based on the example of Rufinus' distribution (*CIL* VIII 16560=*ILAlg.* 1.3071).

⁶⁰ *universus populus ex aere conlato statuam posuit ob cuius dedicationem ipse ludos scaenicos et epulum populo dedit et gymnasium*, *CIL* VIII 25808b. See also *CIL* VIII 12422. *AE* 1960, 214 records honours given by the *populus*, but it is the *cives* who received the extra. As argued in Chapter 4.2.D, the term *cives* regularly included the decurions as well as the *populus*. That may be its understanding here.

⁶¹ Kotula 1968: 58-59; Jacques 1990: 399-400; cf. Gascou 1976: 47.

⁶² *CIL* VIII 14783. Similarly, M. Amullius Optatus Crementianus was honoured by the decurions of Thagaste with collected money, but gave *epula vini* to the *curiae* and put on *ludi* (*CIL* VIII 5146+p.1634).

meals that temporarily “transgressed” clearly defined social boundaries reinforced social hierarchies and, at the same time, strengthened the broader identity that linked the different status groups together.⁶³ The chance to dine with social superiors (although not at the same *triclinium*) and to dine as recognisable groups set apart from the rest of the diners (e.g. the *populus*) or (non-dining) onlookers were two main attractions for the invitees.⁶⁴ These basic points seem applicable to other forms of distribution. One benefit donors must have hoped for was an increase in popularity and prestige, presumably with the aim of converting them into political capital. Trajan and Pliny agreed that some of the local notables in Bithynia were using special occasions as an excuse to distribute money for political gain (*speciem διανομῆς*, Plin. *Ep.* 10.116.1, 117.1).⁶⁵ This fits in well with the donor's ability to select his recipients and, perhaps, also with the hierarchical nature of the extras, for they neatly categorised the beneficiaries, allowing each one to have his position in the community acknowledged and reaffirmed. The preference that donors showed for the decurions can be explained by that they were often peers of the decurions and that the decurions enjoyed the most authority in the community.⁶⁶

Despite this hierarchical aspect, inclusive elements to extras also existed. A probably unspoken rule was that, if the donor decided to give a gift to a group, he had to give to every member of that group present.⁶⁷ If he invited the *curiae*, he could not exclude one. Nor could he,

⁶³ Donahue 2003: 437; Ascough 2008: 41-43.

⁶⁴ The latter attraction is the key feature of “segregative dining” (Donahue 2003: 432-434; Ascough 2008: 37-38).

⁶⁵ Reading *in speciem διανομῆς incidat* as nothing but fear that the distributions will become “rawdy public occasions,” seems to be too conservative (Sherwin-White 1966: 727). Pliny uses the same construction at *Ep.* 1.8.17, where he expresses worry about the political implications of addressing a large crowd: *in speciem ambitionis inciderem*. *Ambitio* more clearly implies corrupt practices for political gain, so it is likely that this is the meaning behind his use of *διανομή*.

⁶⁶ Jacques 1984: 400-401; Mrozek 1987: 84-87.

⁶⁷ For Italy, Mrozek (1987: 46) suggests that donors restricted times (especially to the early mornings) and required recipients to be physically present in order to limit the numbers of attendees and, hence, the amount of money spent. While this possibility cannot be ruled out entirely, it does not square well with the purpose of celebrating a new statue/building and, most of all, of enhancing the glory of the donor through a display of generosity. Seeing that these extras were voluntary and occurred infrequently at the dedication of statues, it would seem to have been counter-intuitive to organise a display of one's wealth only to try to suppress participation.

say, give *sportulae* to the first fifty members of the *ordo*, but not members fifty-one to one-hundred. The inscriptions record specified groups as beneficiaries, not numbers of people. The clearest examples of this feature are the benefactors who boast of providing an extra to the *universae curiae*, the *universi cives*, or the *universus populus*. But even the inscriptions which simply stated the invited groups without claim to universality should not be taken to be indicating a limited number of invitees without direct evidence.

It was possible to limit the recipients of a benefaction to a section of a larger group without offending all members, but this section was still an official unit of the larger group. As discussed in Chapter 2.6, a man at Theveste, whose name is lost, put on a gladiatorial show to his own *curia* “on account of the office of the annual flamine.” Later, the *universae curiae* and *Augustales* set up and paid for a statue in his honour at a location selected by the *ordo*.⁶⁸ The *curiales* of the other *curiae*, then, could not have been overly bothered by the targeted nature of his benefaction. Meanwhile, Julia, a *flaminica* of Mustis, gave to the “first class” of the Curia Augusta a “worthy sum of money,” whose interest would allow this class to feast annually.⁶⁹ Because she wanted the foundation never to run out of money (*omnib(us) annis in perpetuum*), she might have had to limit the number of attendees and the *curia*'s division into classes would have allowed her to do so while saving face.⁷⁰ In her will, however, Julia not only provided the money for a long-since promised statue to Ceres Augusta for the well-being of Severus Alexander and Julia Mamaea, but ordered that an *epulum* be provided to all of the *curiae* at its dedication.⁷¹ The public dedication, thus, seems to have necessitated inviting all units of the

⁶⁸ *ob honorem flamonis annui munus [Idi]bus(?) [o]mnibus senis [par(ibus)] curiae suae [dedit] univer[sae] curiae [et A]ugustales [pecuni]a sua locus datus ex decreto ordinis, CIL VIII 1888.*

⁶⁹ *et amplius curia[e] honestiss(imae) Aug(ustae) classi prim(a)e summam p[ecu]niae dignam ex cuius usuris annuis redac[tis] omnib(us) annis in perpetuum epularetur t[ri]buit donoq(ue) dedit, AE 1968, 588=IMustis 20.*

⁷⁰ See Chapter 2.2 for a discussion on the internal divisions of the *curiae*.

⁷¹ *Cereri Aug(ustae) sac(rum) . . . munus quod Iulia Q(uinti) f(ilia) [---] ho[n]estae memoriae flaminica imi[tata paren]tes maioresq(ue) suos qui munifici in [patriam] extiterunt id est C(aium) Iulium C(aii) f(ilium) Cor(nelia)*

public institution, while the private foundation did not.

As with the awarding of statues, the donor was likely normally present. This was a standard expectation of donors of any type of benefaction.⁷² Presence at the event is indicated grammatically on the inscriptions with the note that the donors both dedicated the statue and gave an extra. The patron and *curator rei publicae* of Furnos Minus, L. Octavius Felix Octavianus, is said to have “himself” given theatrical shows, a banquet, and oil to the *populus*, “to mark its dedication” (*ob cuius dedicationem ipse ludos scaenicos et epulum populo dedit et gymnasium*, *CIL* VIII 25808b=*ILS* 9403=*AE* 1909, 162). Moreover, a few inscriptions record that honorees remitted the funds originally authorised for their honour and dedicated the statue themselves with an extra. At Meninx, for example, the former *duumvir* [...] Annius Egnatianus “remitted the money and dedicated [the statue] with *sportulae*” (*impens(am) remis(it) et [s]portulis dedicavit*, Table 3.2.27; cf. Table 3.2.26, 40).

As will be discussed in Chapter Five, willing generosity (*liberalitas*, *munificentia*, *largitio*) was a celebrated and expected virtue of the good notable. Attesting to this virtue is inherent in the very act of recording on stone that one gave extras. A few inscriptions go further. A donor in Bisica Lucana boasted of having provided *epula* “as lavishly as possible” at the

*Fe[licem] Felinianum flam(inem) perp(etuum) qui statuam Iov[i Victo]ri in foro posuit patriae suae per decr[etum] universi ordinis promisit inlata suo [tempo]re legitima summa honoris et amplius curi[ae] honestiss(imae) Aug(ustae) classi prim(a)e summam p[ro]p[ri]etariae dignam ex cuius usuris annuis redac[tis] omnib(us) annis in perpetuum epularetur t[ri]buit donoq(ue) dedit epulumq(ue) decedens ob dedi[c(ationem)] curiis dari iussit Q(uintus) Iulius Felix frater eius et Iulius Homullus et Iulius Honoratus eius ab ea statuam adlat(am) statuer(unt) et epulo curiis dato ded(icaverunt), AE 1968, 588=IMustis 20. It is hard to follow the exact sense of the inscription on account of the lack of grammatical sign-posting. The *quod* clause outlining the reasons for Julia's statue to Ceres is interrupted by two relative clauses outlining the benefactions of her parents and ancestors (without use of the expected pluperfect). Beschtaouch believes that the *quod* clause resumes at *promisit*. It also seems possible that it resumes earlier at *patriae suae per decr[etum] universi ordinis*, which Beschtaouch believes still belongs to the second relative clause (1968: 204).*

⁷² E.g. Plin. *Ep.* 4.1.5-6; negative: Apul. *Apol.* 87-88. A relief from Asculum Picenum in Italy shows the donor of *alimenta* observing the distribution. A clerk stands beside him counting the money being given out (Veyne 1959: 116-117). Cf. *mater . . . viritim di[vi]sionem dedit*, *CIL* X 110. Mrozek argues that emperors set the example by being present at distributions of *congiaria* (Mrozek 1987: 48, n.60), but this custom might have originated with patrons overseeing the distribution of *sportulae* to their clients.

dedication of a building, which included “not only the *universus populus* of his own city, but also of the neighbouring cities” (*populos universos non solum propriae urbis verum etiam vicinarum epulis quam largissime ministravit, CIL VIII 23880*). At Limisa, an unknown dedicator of a statue (whose subject is also unknown) states that he gave oil and wine to the people *passim* in addition to an athletic competition (*die dedicationis spectaculo at[h]letarum edito decurionibus sportulas itemque populo gymnasium et vinum passim dedit, AE 2004, 1700*). By *passim* the donor probably did not mean the standard definition of “in a scattered manner,” “at random,” but *viritim* (as found on an inscription from Italy), that is to every one present irrespective of status.⁷³

That people eagerly anticipated *epula* can be inferred from a reason the *res publica* of Uchi Maius gave for publicly honouring their patron: “he gave very frequent *epula* to his fellow citizens [according to] particular vows [he had made]” (*epulas [sic] ci[vi]bus suis frequentissi[ma]s votis propriis praebuit, CIL VIII 26280*).⁷⁴ This explanation is matched by the boast of Pullaienus Bassus, also from Uchi Maius, to have given his fourth *epulum* on the dedication of his statue, whose cost he had remitted (*CIL VIII 26279*; cf. *CIL VIII 12018*). Moreover, sometime probably in the third century at Zucchar, L. Sisenna Bassus left in his will 22,000HS to the *res publica*, the interest on which (*ex reditu*) was not only to pay for a statue to himself (after seven years), but to provide on his birthday *sportulae* worth 5 *denarii* to each decurion and 60 *denarii* to the *curiales* (collectively or per *curia*?; *CIL VIII 11201=ILS 5494*). These distributions were to be done “in the name of banqueting” (*epulationis nomine*), an odd note that recalls the rare usage of *epulum* to mean *sportulae*.⁷⁵ That Sisenna Bassus adds this note

⁷³ In Croton, Italy, Futia Longina gave out a *divisio* “to the decurions and *Augustales* while they banqueted [and] to the *populus*, man by man” (*mater filio piissimo ob cuius statuæ dedicationem decurionibus Augustalibus [e]pulantibus po[p]ulo viritim di[vi]sionem dedit, CIL X 110; CIL XIV 2120*). For the standard translation of *passim*, see *OLD s.v. passim* 1, 3. Cf. Benzina Ben Abdallah (*ad ILLimisa* 28 p.125), who says that the adverb is serving as an alternative to the phrase *universus populus*.

⁷⁴ Kotula 1968: 114.

⁷⁵ Slater 2000: 112.

suggests that banqueting was the spirit in which he wanted each decurion (at least) to receive the money. Perhaps he hoped that they would buy their own provisions with the money and banquet in his memory in smaller groups as they pleased. Whatever his exact desire was, the ideas behind *epula* were evidently enticing enough to make *sportulae* alone unsatisfactory to Sisenna Bassus.

The popularity of benefactions is also evident from the *adclamatio* commemorated just after the Severan era in a mosaic at Smirat, near Thysdrus.⁷⁶ It shows how the audience of a beast hunt and the *munerarius*, Magerius, were in “dialogue” as the former made a show of pressing the latter to pay for the performance and as the latter made a show of acquiescing (*AE* 1967, 549).⁷⁷ His willingness to pay was likely never in doubt. Similar dialogues can be detected in *postulationes populi* for benefactions, such as when a *duumvir* of Vinea, to mark his dedication of a statue of the Roman she-wolf, put on *ludi scaenici* in accordance with a demand of the *populus* perhaps made during a *pollicitatio* for the statue.⁷⁸

The impression is that one benefaction led to the other. The effect was a perpetual renewal of the implicit “historical contract:” the decurions control the bulk of wealth in the community and consequently local affairs, but to the benefit of everyone.⁷⁹ The master performance, the mark of a true politician, was for the benefactor to convince everyone that he or she gave voluntarily, out of love for one's city and citizens. According to Paul Veyne, that is what transformed the extra from a tax (from the perspective of the donor) or from an act of condescension (from the perspective of the recipients) into a mutual celebration, which, in turn, transformed the extra and the statue it was accompanying from a singular event into a lasting

⁷⁶ Beschtaouch 1966: 148-250.

⁷⁷ Beschtaouch 1966: 134, 140-141; Jacques 1984: 400-401. On the “dialogue” specifically between Magerius and the spectators: Beschtaouch 2006a: 1404; Fagan 2011: 128-132; Edmondson 2016.

⁷⁸ *Numini Augustorum sacrum C(aius) Aurelius Saturninus Papiria Cilonianus Ilvir inlata rei p(ublicae) Ilviratus honoraria summa amplius de suo signum lupae cum insignib(us) suis posuit et expostulante populo diem ludorum scaenicorum edidit d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*, *CIL* VIII 958=12438. Jacques 1984: 401-402.

⁷⁹ Veyne 1976: 104, 194-198, 342-344.

memory.⁸⁰ This will be a focus of Chapter Five.

It suffices to relate now that, like how Pliny rationalised the shrine he had built at Tifernum Tiberinum and the accompanying *epulum* at its dedication as an effort not to be outdone in “love” by the town's citizens (*nam vinci in amore turpissimum est*, *Ep.* 4.1.5), Pullaienus Bassus (*titulo contentus*) made a point of stating that he gave his fourth *epulum* at Uchi Maius “in order to yield to the affections of the citizens” (*ut adfectibus civium pareret*, *CIL* VIII 26279).⁸¹ Similar indications of affection may be found in an unknown donor's decision not to say simply that he gave *sportulae* to the decurions of the Municipium Aurelium C[- - -], but to say that he had given *sportulae* to “his own fellow decurions” (*sportulas condecursionibus suis dedit*, *ILTun.* 746). A benefactor from Vallis, in celebration of a statue *pro salute* of an unknown emperor, similarly claimed to have given *sportulae* “to his own fellow decurions” and a banquet to “his own *curia*” (*ob quam dedicationem sportulas condecursionibus suis dedit et curiam suam epulavit*, *ILTun.* 1282).

Thus, the provisioning of an extra was more than a bare display of excess wealth. Even with the evidence of *postulationes populi* raising the possibility of social pressure on civic notables to give, it would be inaccurate to claim that extras were obligatory and, hence, a formality devoid of meaning. The low frequency of attestations of extras at dedications speaks against such notions. Rather, they were the conscious decision of the donor, who chose the type of extra(s) and the invitees, in order to meet personal goals. The invited groups could be the same as the honourers, but they could also represent a greater or lesser segment of the population than the honourers. These choice crowds gave the donors their target audience for their acts of generosity and for particular messages they might have wished to convey in a speech. The

⁸⁰ Veyne 1976: 683-693.

⁸¹ For discussion regarding the language of 'civic love,' see Chapter 5.4.

attendees, furthermore, provided a cheerful audience of witnesses of the dedication and thereby shared in it, confirming their belief that the honoree merits the honour. One common result must have been stronger long-term ties between the honoree, dedicators (if different), the attendees, and their respective families.

3.4 '*CONTENTUS*' INSCRIPTIONS

The above discussions suggest that the honoree and dedicators alike had the potential to animate the stages of the honouring process, in order to provide context for the honour and a means to strengthen the bonds between the dedicators and honoree. The dedicators, honoree, and sometimes third parties were in dialogue with one another, from proposal to dedication. When people were especially keen to maximise the glory of the honour and foster relationships, they often provided a banquet, distributed money, put on games, or provided some other additional benefaction.

As seen in Table 3.2, a group of fifty-three inscriptions record another way to maximise glory and foster relationships. These are what I call '*contentus*' inscriptions, for *contentus/a* is the key word to understanding why an honoree or, in a few cases, a relative of the deceased honoree undertook to erect a statue originally decreed by a civic institution or other group. An inscription from Gigthis clarifies what is meant by the phrase *honore contentus*. It states that [Cae]cilius Cla[udia]nus Aelianus “took care to make [the statue] with his own money,” being “content with the honour of the decree” of the *ordo* (*ipse decreti honore contentus s(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*, Table 3.2.14). Aelianus was declaring that he considered the decurions' decree honour enough for him and would not let them pay for the statue, or even erect and dedicate it.

Table 3.2: 'Contentus' Inscriptions of Africa Proconsularis

	City	Date	Honoree	Initiator	Remitted Funds	Remitter	Text	Citation
1	Avitta Bibba	153/ 159	Q. Agrinius Speratus Speratianus, <i>sacerdos Cereris</i> at Carthage	<i>ordo</i>		honoree	. . . <i>cui cum ordo statuam ob porticum e[ius] liberalitat(e) n[ovam] exstructam decrevisset de suo posuit d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	<i>CIL</i> VIII 805 = <i>ILS</i> 4464
2	Bulla Regia	161/ 169	<i>procurator Augusti</i> of local origin	<i>ordo</i>	public	brother	. . . <i>cui cum ordo equestrem publico sumptu ponendam censuisset L(ucius) Domitius Fabianus frater eius remisso rei p(ublicae) sumptu de suo posuit</i> [letter of promotion to procuratorship from M. Aurelius and Commodus follows]	<i>AE</i> 1962, 183
3	Bulla Regia			<i>ordo</i>	public		<i>[- - -]cu[m] honore con[tentus - - -] sum<p>tum rei p(ublicae) remisiss[et - - -]ordo statuam pedestr[em - - -]ponendam e<f> censui[t - - -] d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)] p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i>	<i>CIL</i> VIII 14473
4	Capsa		Flavia Urbica, <i>flaminica perpetua</i>	<i>curiales curiae decem</i>	collection	honoree	<i>[- - -]curial]es curi[ae dece]m ob me[rita] eius statua(m) aere collato posuerunt itemque dedic(averunt) honore contenta pecunia[m] remisit</i>	<i>AE</i> 1996, 1700
5	Civitas Saraditana	154/ 160	P. Iulius Gibba	<i>ordo</i>	public	sons	. . . <i>ob singularem eius erga rem publicam adfectum cum ordo statuam publice ponendam decrevisset P(ublius) Iulius Gibba sacerdos Cerer(um) c(oloniae) C(oncordiae) I(uliae) K(arthaginis) anni CXC VIII et L(ucius) Iulius Maximus et C(aius) Iulius Urbanus et M(arcus) Iulius Felix fili(i) patri piissimo honore contenti posuerunt</i>	<i>CIL</i> VIII 23820

	City	Date	Honoree	Initiator	Remitted Funds	Remitter	Text	Citation
6	Gigthis	138/161	M. Servilius Draco Albucianus, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> and <i>duumvir</i>	<i>ordo</i>	public	honoree	. . . <i>quod super multa in rem p(ublicam) merita et amplissimum munificentiae studium legationem urbicam gratuitam ad Lati[um] Maius petendum duplicem suscepit tandemq(ue) feliciter renuntiaverit ordo publice ponendam censuit et cum is honore contentus pecuniam rei p(ublicae) remisisset populus de suo posuit</i>	<i>CIL VIII</i> 22737
7	Gigthis	138/161	[M. Servilius Draco] Albucianus	<i>ordo</i> and <i>populus</i>	public	honoree	. . . <i>ordo populusq(ue) remissa rei p(ublica) pec(unia) de suo posuit ob merita d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) l(ocus) d(atus)</i>	<i>CIL VIII</i> 22738
8	Gigthis	138/161?	M. Iulius Puteolanus	<i>ordo</i>	public	honoree	. . . <i>ob multa in rem pub(licam) m[erita quod leg]ationem urb[ic]am [- - c]ausa bis gratu[iter] susceptam s[ust]i[n]ui[t] ac feliciter [a]dminis[travit cu]m ordo statuam d[ecrevisset] [is]que honore con[tentus pec]uniam rei p(ublicae) re[m]isisset popu[lus de suo [posuit] d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	<i>IL Afr.</i> 21
9	Gigthis		M. Ummidius Sedatus	<i>ordo</i> following a <i>postulatio populi</i>	public	honoree	. . . <i>ornatori patriae expostulante populo consensu decurionum ordo statuam publice decrevit quo honore contentus M(arcus) Ummidius Sed[atus] sua pecunia posu[it] dedic[avit]</i>	<i>CIL VIII</i> 22743 = <i>ILTun.</i> 44
10	Gigthis		C. Ummidius Sedatus	<i>ordo</i>		son	. . . <i>cum ordo statuam decrevisset M(arcus) Ummid[ius] Sedatus p[at]ri[us] honore con[tentus] sua pecunia [posuit]</i>	<i>CIL VIII</i> 28+p.921 = 11042
11	Gigthis	150/200	[L.] Servaeus Firmus	<i>ordo</i> and <i>populus</i>	public	honoree	. . . <i>ob merita in rem p(ublicam) et singularem in sing(ulos) universosq(ue) munificentiam p(ublica) p(ecunia) ponendam decrevit quam cum remisisset honore contentus ordo populusq(ue) cum incolis sua p(ecunia) p(onendam) curaverunt</i>	<i>CIL VIII</i> 11039

	City	Date	Honoree	Initiator	Remitted Funds	Remitter	Text	Citation
12	Gigthis	150/ 200	Q. Servaeus Fuscus	<i>ordo</i> and <i>populus</i>	public	honoree	. . . <i>ob merita in rem [p(ublicam) et] singularem in singulos universosque munificentiam p(ecunia) p(ublica) ponendam decrevit quam cum remisisset honore contentus ordo populusque cum incolis s(ua) p(ecunia) p(osuit)</i>	<i>CIL</i> VIII 11040
13	Gigthis		[.] Servaeus Honoratus, <i>duumvir</i>	<i>ordo</i> following a <i>postulatio populi</i>	public	honoree	. . . <i>cui ordo expostul(a)nte populo ob munificentiam statuam cum decrevisset isq(ue) remissa rei p(ublicae) pecun(ia) de suo ponere vellet ordo populusq(ue) r=s?` (ua) p(ecunia) p(onendam) c(uravit)</i>	<i>CIL</i> VIII 32+p.921 = 11034
14	Gigthis		[. Cae]cilius Cla[udia]nus Aelianus, <i>flamen</i> of city and province(?), <i>duumvir</i>	<i>ordo</i>		honoree	. . . <i>ordo G[igthisi]m ob [le]gat[i]o[n]e[s] [magna cum] [in]dustri[a] ges[tas - -] quibus pietatem eius et studium clarissimi viri consulares plenissimo testimonio prosecuti sunt statuam ponendam censuit ipse decreti honore contentus s(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciendum) c(uravit)</i>	<i>CIL</i> VIII 31+p.2293 = 11032 = <i>Bardo</i> 13
15	Gor	175/ 225	Marius Marinus, <i>flamen perpetuus</i>	<i>ordo</i>	public	daughter	. . . <i>ob insignem in patria et cives suos liberalitatem qui testamento suo r(ei) p(ublicae) suae Goritanae HS XII mil(ia) n(ummum) dedit ex cuius usuris die natali suo Idibus Septembr(ibus) quod annis decuriones sportulas acceper`i`nt et gymnasium universis civibus obque liberalitatem eius cum ordo de publico statuam ei decrevisset Maria Victoria fil(ia) heres eius titulo et loco contenta [s(ua) p(ecunia)] posuit et cum Ofelio Primo sul[fete] fl(amine) p(er)p(etuo) suo ordini epulum dedit</i>	<i>CIL</i> VIII 12422+p.24 32
16	Gurza		L. Antonius Rogatus, patron (of <i>curia</i> or city?)				. . . <i>curiales curiae Antoniae patrono is honore contentus pecuniam remisit</i>	<i>CIL</i> VIII 72 = 23021

	City	Date	Honoree	Initiator	Remitted Funds	Remitter	Text	Citation
17	Hippo Regius		daughter of remitter	<i>ordo</i>	public	mother	. . . univer[- -] <i>prompta voluntate ut civi statua[m] publ(ice) ponendam decr(everit) cui Vibia Sev[era ho]nore con[tent]a sua pec(unia) [posuit] propter quod ad remunerandam op[time] adfectionem et pietatem atq[ue]) libe[ralitatem] filiae suae perpetuo memoriam du[lcissimam(?) - -] decurionibus sportu[las - -] HS ep[ul]andi gratia Aug[ustali]bus quodannis dandos statuit corpori quoq(ue) Augustalium ad sportulas aureos binos</i>	<i>Libyca</i> 2.1, 1954, #9, 393-5
18	Hippo Regius	100/299	[Q.] Aurelius Honoratus, <i>duumvir, flamen Augusti perpetuus</i>	<i>ordo and populus</i>	<i>sportulae</i>	wife	. . . [ob insigne]m in cives amorem et ob honestissi[mam egregiamq]ue eius liberalitatem quo testa[mento dedit illatis(?) HS] C mil(ibus) in die natali Mariae [- - - Honora]tiana(?) uxoris suae flami/[nicae divae Augus]tae(?) perpetuo decurio[nibus item curiis omnibus] et Augustalibus epula[--]RIA [cl]ar[i]ssim[us ordo] et populus Hipponiensis [- -] ex [.] s[p]ortul[i]s [et] at referendam memoriae FAN[- -]RASTAR[- - Ma]riae(?) Saturninae uxori eius [- -]VR[- -]IA[- -]et quae honor(e) content[(a) s(ua) p(ecunia) p(osuit)?]	<i>AE</i> 1958, 144 = <i>Libyca</i> 4, 314-5
19	Lepcis Magna	1/109	C. Marcius Dento, <i>flamen Augustalis, sufes, flamen perpetuus</i>	<i>ordo and populus? (publice)</i>	public	honoree	<i>C(aius) Marcius Dento flamen Aug(ustalis) suf(es) flam(en) perpet(uus) statuam publice sibi ob merita decr[e]tam s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit)</i>	<i>IRT</i> 600
20	Lepcis Magna	109/200	Ti. Iulius Frontinus, <i>flamen divi Augusti</i>	<i>ordo</i>		son	. . . univer[s]us ordo col(oniae) Lepcis Magn(ae) merenti statuam decrevit Ti(berius) Iulius Ti(beri) f(ilius) Fronto honore contentus indulgentissimo [p]atri de suo posuit	<i>IRT</i> 598

	City	Date	Honoree	Initiator	Remitted Funds	Remitter	Text	Citation
21	Lepcis Magna	100/199		<i>ordo</i>			<i>[- - -]ri ordo [- - -]am decrevit [- - - honore conten]tus pecuniam rem[isit - - -]</i>	<i>IRT</i> 613
22	Lepcis Magna	100/199	L. Avillius Marsus	<i>ordo</i> following a <i>postulatio universorum</i>		father	<i>. . . expostulantibus universis bigam ordo decr(emit) pater piissimo f(ilio) hon(ore) cont(entus) sua pec(unia) fecit</i>	<i>IRT</i> 633
23	Lepcis Magna	190/210	Ti. Plautius Lupus Rufinus, <i>duumvir</i> , <i>flamen</i>	<i>ordo</i> following a <i>postulatio decurionum</i>	public	honoree	For the complete inscription, see Appendix A. Lines B25-26: . . . <i>placere Plautio Lupo o(ptimo) o(rdinis) n(ostri) v(iro) [bi]gam de publ(ico) ubi volet collocari pos[se Plau]tius Lupus de suo collocaturum se dixit.</i> Lines C8-19: . . . <i>cum Plautius Lupus . . . co[n]tentumq(ue) auctoritate ip[s]orum de suo si permitt[er]ent positurum adq(ue) ita in s[e]ntentiam M(arci) Rufi flami[ni]s perpetui q(uid) p(laceret) c(irca) i(d) f(ieri) dec(uriones) ce[n]s[u]erunt ut Plautius Lupus sibi bigam quo loco vellet de suo poneret</i>	<i>IRT</i> 601 = Appendix A
24	Limisa	200/299	L. Iunius Proculus Felicianus, <i>flamen Augusti perpetuus</i>	<i>ordo</i>	<i>sportulae</i>	honoree	<i>. . . cui cum ordo ob eximia eius merita publice statuam de sportulis ponend(am) censuisset honore muneris oblati content(us) sua pec(unia) p(osuit) l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	<i>ILL</i> Limisa 7 = <i>AE</i> 2004, 1679
25	Madauros				collection		<i>[- - -]CONL[- - -]M statuam [quam ei ordo OR curiae col(oniae) ae]re collato [ponendam decreverat] ipse titulo [contentus sua pecunia] fecit [- - -]</i>	<i>ILAlg.</i> 1.2155

	City	Date	Honoree	Initiator	Remitted Funds	Remitter	Text	Citation
26	Madauros	200/233	M. Cornelius Fronto Gabinianus, equestrian, twice <i>duumvir</i> , <i>flamen perpetuus</i>	<i>ordo</i> and <i>populus</i>	public	daughters	. . . <i>spendidissimus o[r]d[o] et populus coloniae Madaurensium o[b in]signem in se amorem et frumenti copiam t[emp]ore inopiae sibi largiter praestitam hono[re]m bigae et statuae decrev[e]runt pecunia [publi]ca quam Corneliae Romani[ll]a Postumiana e[t Vi]ctorina Claudiana et Eulogia Romanilla ffiliae] et heredes eius sua pecun[i]a posuerunt s[po]rtulis decurionibus et curialibus dat[is]</i>	<i>ILAlg.</i> 1.2145
27	Meninx	200/299	[.] Annius Egnatianus, <i>duumvir</i>	<i>ordo</i>		honoree	. . . <i>[de]c(reto) ord(inis) ob rem [p(ublicam)] in mag(istratu) indust[r]ie adque integre administratam impens(am) remis(it) et [s]portulis dedicavit</i>	<i>CIL VIII</i> 44+p.922 = 11058
28	Municipium Avula (?)	232	P. Lorenius Pudens, aedile	<i>ordo</i>	public	father, <i>duumvir</i>	<i>M(arcus) Lorenius Lorenianus omnib(us) honorib(us) funct(us) cum P(ublio) Lorenio Pudenti aedil(i) pio filio statuam poni in foro municipii sui ab ordine postulasset et or[do pa]tri de[crevisset] re]mi[ssa impensa] si[bi oblata ipse] statu[am fili(i) sui] posu[it idemque] dedicav[it]</i> RIGHT FACE: <i>P(ecunia) p(ublica) VII K(alendas) Apr(iles) Lupo et Ma[x]ximo co(n)s(ulibus)</i>	<i>CIL VIII</i> 714 = 12133 = <i>ILS</i> 5499
29	Sabratha						<i>[- - -]M[- - -]em et [- - -]esset [- - -] honore con]tentus [- - -]</i>	<i>IRT</i> 137
30	Sabratha	100/199	[.] Avitius Rufus, <i>duumvir</i>	<i>ordo</i>		father	<i>[- - -] decre]t(o) ordin(is) ob merit(a) eius erga rem publicam ex[im]ia Q(uitus) Avi]tius Lucanus pater titulo et honore [contentus] sua pecunia posuit</i>	<i>IRT</i> 96

	City	Date	Honoree	Initiator	Remitted Funds	Remitter	Text	Citation
31	Sabratha	100/ 299					<i>[- - -] eius sta[t]uam decr[etam publice honore] conten[t]us s(ua) p(ecunia) p(osuit) pra[- - -]osten[- - -] A[- - -] A in templ(o) G(enii) co[l](oniae) - - -]</i>	IRT 6
32	Sabratha	100/ 299	C. Flavius Pudens, <i>duumvir, flamen Liberi Patris, flamen</i>	<i>ordo following a postulatio populi</i>	public	honoree	<i>. . . cuius pater Fl(avius) Tullus post multas liberalitates per quas patriam suam exornavit aquam privata pecunia induxit item lacus n(umero) XII exstruxit eosdemque crustis et statu marmoreis excoluit praeterea HS CC mil(ia) num(mum) ad tutelam eiusdem aquae rei publ(icae) promisit et intulit quod ipse quoque Pudens super numerosam munificentiam quam in cives suos contulit etiam muneris gladiator spectaculum primus in patria sua per dies quinq(ue) splendidissimum ediderit ordo Sabrathensium populo postulante quadrigam ei de publico ponend(am) censuit Fl(avius) Pudens honore contentus sua pecunia posuit</i>	IRT 117
33	Segermes	150/ 199	D. Iulius M[- - -]	<i>ordo</i>	public	parents	<i>[- - -] trib(uno) [leg(ionis) - - - cu]m ordo Segerm[itanorum] pecunia publica statuam d[e]cre[visset] D(ecimus) Iulius Satu[r]ninus(?) et Marcia Pa[c]ata [pare]ntes pecuniam [rem]iserunt et de suo posuerunt</i>	CIL VIII 23069 = Bardo 75 = ISegermes 21
34	Sicca Veneria	120/ 130	Q. Iulius Aquila, equestrian	<i>ordo</i>		brother	<i>. . . Iulius Fidus Aquila fratri optimo decreto ordinis posuit p(ecunia) p(ublica) remissa</i>	CIL VIII 15872
35	Simitthus	109/ 111	C. Otidius Iovinus, <i>praefectus fabrum, sacerdos provinciae Africae</i>	<i>ordo</i>	public	honoree, with brother curating	<i>. . . cui cum ordo pecunia publ(ica) statuam decrevisset titulo contentus pecunia sua posuit curatore Q(uinto) Otidio P(ubli) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Praenestino fratre praefecto fabrum</i>	CIL VIII 14611 = ILS 6811

	City	Date	Honoree	Initiator	Remitted Funds	Remitter	Text	Citation
36	Zama Regia		mother	<i>ordo</i>	public	honoree	. . . cui cum <i>ordo</i> ob meri[t]a maiorum eius et indo[le]m Pomponi Martialis [O]ctaviani fili(i) eius statu[a]m de publico ponendam de[c]revisset ipsa pecunia rei [p]ublicae remissa loco ab [ord]ine impetrato de suo p(osuit)	CIL VIII 12021
37	Sufes	200/ 299	P. Magnus Amandus, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , <i>quinquennialicius</i>	<i>ordo</i>		son	. . . qu[i] prae]ter summ(am) hono[r]ariam] flamoni(i) p(er)p(etui) et quinquennialitatis amplius HS L(milia) n(ummum) obtulerit ex cuius quantitatis usuris quodannis XII K(alendas) Nov(embres) die natali dei Herc(uli) Geni(i) Patriae divisiones dec(urionibus) dantur Q(uintus) Magnus Maximus Flavianus fil(ius) eius eq(ues) R(omanus) honore cont(entus) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit) et ob dedic(ationem) sportulas dedit l(ocus) d(atu)s d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)	CIL VIII 262 = 11430 = ILS 6835
38	Sululos	100/ 192	[.] Caecilianus Rogatus			relatives	. . . ob m[erita(?)] - - -]IIR CV[- - -]LI statuam [- - - decre]vissent [- - - Cae]cili Felix et [- - - hon]o[re co]n[te]nti [de suo fecer(unt) et dedica]verunt	CIL VIII 23942 = 23943 = Bardo 189 = ILTun. 654
39	Tepelte		[- - -] Adiutor, <i>flamen perpetuus</i>	<i>ordo</i>	public	honoree?	. . . civi optimo qui [egregia fi]de maxima sollici[tudine] - - - rei p]ubl(icae) nego[tia] gessit aliisq(ue) reb(us) pu]blicis ab [Imperatore? - - -]praepo[situ] s - - - q]uique [- - - t]empla pecu[nia] sua restituit et - - - per]iculum con[- - -]iavit [et - - -]as [- - - operis m]usei [- - - templ]o dedi[cavit] et ludos scaenicos (?) ad]siduo dedit [statuam] quam splendidissim]us <i>ordo p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i> [ponen(dam) decreverat honore contentu]s de suo p[osuit] [d(ecreto)] d(ecurionum)	CIL VIII 12253

	City	Date	Honoree	Initiator	Remitted Funds	Remitter	Text	Citation
40	Thabarbusis	225/ 274	Q. Flavius Lappianus, equestrian	<i>populus</i>	collection?	honoree	. . . <i>ob insignem singularemque</i> eius in cives <i>munificentiam ac liberalitatem qua inter cetera ab universis omne curarum onus amolitus est in qua re parentum suorum liberalitates supergressus sit</i> <i>populus Thabarbusitanus statuam ex HS VI mil(ibus) DCLXI n(ummum) constantem obtulit quam oblationem libenter et grate susceptam idem</i> Lappianus reddita {n}omni pecunia solo honore contentus amplius etiam exhibito epulo et gymnasio cum civibus dedicavit	<i>AE</i> 1960, 214
41	Thagaste		C. Flavius Hilarus Felix, equestrian	<i>ordo</i>		honoree	. . . <i>cui cum splendissimus ord[<i>o</i> munici]pii sui [Thag(astensium) sum(?)]mo su[o consensu(?)] in[<i>patri[s honorem]</i> et hon[orem pro]prium [- - -]QVE IM[- - -]S DO[- - -]TVF[- - - a]c rem [publica]m statuam loco da[to] iuxta parentum decrevisset exemplum [re]missa pecunia quae o[ff]erebatur poni curavit</i>	<i>CIL</i> VIII 5150 = 17205 = <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.880
42	Thuburbo Maius	200/ 299	C. Faltonius Fuscus	<i>ordo</i>		father	. . . <i>cui cum ordo statuam decrevisset L(ucius) Faltonius Valens pater titulo contentus piissimo filio s(ua) p(ecunia) p(osuit)</i>	<i>CIL</i> VIII 854+p.1272
43	Thuburbo Maius	138/ 161	M. Fannius Vitalis, <i>praefectus iure dicundo, flamen</i>	<i>ordo</i>		honoree	. . . <i>HS X m(ilia) n(ummum) rei p(ublicae) intulit et amplius ludorum scaenicor(um) diem et epulum dedit cui cum ordo statuam decrevisset titulo contentus d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	<i>CIL</i> VIII 853 = 12370 = <i>ILTun.</i> 692
44	Thuburnica		Q. Octavius Primus, <i>duumvir</i>	<i>ordo</i>	public	son	. . . <i>hui[c] ordo cum ob eximiam eius in rem publicam operam [et] in cives adfectionem statuam de public(o) c(o)l(oniae) statuendam censeret C(aius) Octavi[u]s Honoratus filiu[s] opti]mo p[at]ri s(ua) [p(ecunia) f(ecit) l(ocus)] d(atu)s d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	<i>CIL</i> VIII 14703+p.25 43

	City	Date	Honoree	Initiator	Remitted Funds	Remitter	Text	Citation
45	Thubursicu Numidarum	100/199	Larcia Laeta, wife of <i>princeps gentis Numidarum</i> and <i>flamen perpetuus</i>	<i>ordo</i>	public	honoree	. . . cui <i>ordo</i> <i>statuam publice ponendam cum decrevisset ipsa honore contenta sua pecun(ia) posuit d(e)d(icavit)</i>	<i>ILAlg.</i> 1.1297 = <i>ILS</i> 9392
46	Thubursicu Numidarum	102/117	<i>duumvir</i>	decurions on petition of <i>ordo</i> and <i>populus</i>	collection	decurions?	<i>cum expostulant(ibus) [splendido(?) or]dine et populo I[- - -]E [- - - pra]eter[e]a aere conlato [- - - summa re(?)m]issa rei p(ublicae) cuius honor [- - - d]ecuriones N[- - - pecunia prop]ria posu[erunt - - -]</i>	<i>ILAlg.</i> 1.1300 ⁸²
47	Thubursicu Numidarum	209/211	<i>duumvir, sacerdos Liberi</i>	<i>universae curiae</i>	collection	son(s) or other heir(s)?	. . . <i>statuam quam ei univ[ersae] curiae aere co[n]la[to] ob meri]ta eius in sin[gul(os) uni]vers[osque] etiam decrevisse[nt - - -]D[- - -]S[- - -]mo de suo p[oserunt] ad cuius dedica]tionem [- - -]epulandum bi(?) [- - -]IO dederunt [l(ocus)] d(atu)s d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	<i>ILAlg.</i> 1.1301
48	Thugga		son	<i>ordo</i>		mother	[- - -]O [- - - p]ostulasset [- - -]S mater filio [- - - titu]lo contenta [- - -]avit d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) [- - -]Helv[io(?) - - -]	<i>CIL</i> VIII 26627
49	Thugga	205/211	L. Terentius Romanus	<i>populus</i>	collection	son, equestrian <i>flamen perpetuus</i>	. . . <i>patri carissimo cui cum populus Thugg(ensis) ob aquae curam pro meritis eius ex aere conlato tunc statuam ponendam obtulisset C(aius) Terentius Pap(iria) Iulianus Sabinianus fl(amen) perp(etuus) v(ir) e(gregius) de suo posuit loco a re p(ublica) d(ato)</i>	<i>Dougga</i> 37 = <i>AE</i> 1966, 512

⁸² Gsell (*ad ILAlg.* 1.1300) only offers restorations for some of the lacunae. “[- - - summa re(?)m]issa rei p(ublicae) cuius honor” is my own restoration, based on the strength of Table 3.2.1, 2, 6, 12, 35, 51; “*expostulant(ibus)*” and “*splendido*” are also my restorations.

	City	Date	Honoree	Initiator	Remitted Funds	Remitter	Text	Citation
50	Thugga	166/ 169	Q. Calpurnius Rogatianus, <i>patronus pagi et civitatis, praefectus fabrum</i>		public	son	. . . <i>equo publi[co ex]ornato ab Imperatoribus [M(arco) Anto]nino [et L(ucio) V]ero Augustis Arme[niacis Medic]is Parthicis Max(imis) statu[am publice dec]retam ob merit[a] M(arcus) Cal[purnius - - - Vict]or(?) pater eius honofre contentus de suo posuit d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	CIL VIII 26594
51	Uchi Maius	100/ 299	[.] Pullaienus Bassus or relative ⁸³	<i>ordo</i> ⁸⁴		honoree	[- - - bas]em(?) <i>de suo fieri expostulasset pro memor(ia) etiam munificentiae domus eius qua Genium patriae statu[s] adornasset et epulum ter dedisset imagines ipsi patri coniugi liberisq(ue) eius decrevit Pullaienus Bassus ut adfectibus civium pareret epulo quarto a se dato titulo contentus statuam de suo posuit itemque dedicavit</i>	CIL VIII 26279 = Uchi 2.89
52	Utica		<i>sacerdos?</i>		public		[- - -]cui c[um - - -]et sacerdot[- - -]orum templi sui decrevit [- - -] d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica) decuriones et mu[nicipes - - -] quam summam rei publica[e remisit(?) - - -]	IL Afr: 424 = Bardo 442
53	Vaga		M. Iulius Maximus, <i>duumvir quinquennalis, flamen perpetuus</i>	<i>ordo</i>	public	nephew	. . . <i>cui cum ordo splendidissimus ob merita eius statuam p(ecunia) p(ublica) fieri decrevisset Q(uintus) Agrius Iulius Maximus Felix av`u`nculo suo magno pro pietate sua dato sibi ab ordine loco s(ua) p(ecunia) fecit d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	CIL VIII 1224 = 1438

⁸³ Dessau suggests that the mentioned statue was to Bassus' father or wife (*ad CIL VIII 26279*). Ibba et al (*ad Uchi 2.89 p.245*) suggest that the statue was to a god, but that ignores the “*imagines*” said to be decreed in the perfect indicative tense. It also would be an aberration at odds with the rest of the ‘*contentus*’ inscriptions. The focus of the inscription is clearly on Bassus and his family.

⁸⁴ “*Ordo*” because of the *decrevit* (Khanoussi and Mastino *ad Uchi 2.89 p.245*).

Table 3.3: Inscriptions Similar to 'Contentus' Inscriptions

	City	Date	Honoree	Initiators	Text	Citation
1	Ammaedara	150/ 211	C. Marius Fidus, <i>duumvir, flamen perpetuus</i>	<i>populus</i>	. . . populus Emeritensis ex p(ecunia) pu[bl(ica)] statuam in bigam eius contulerat ob merita et liberalitatem quam annuam perpetuam epulativam promisit ex voluntate eius equestres fili(i)s et pedestrem ipsi posuit	<i>Ant.Afr.</i> 2010/12, 164 = AE 2010, 1796
2	Henchir Zian ⁸⁵ (Zita)		unknown	<i>ordo</i>	Lucretio [- - -] et fortis[simo - - - cum] ordo statu[am - - - de]crevisset ob m[erita - - -] s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit) et lu[dis editis dedicavit]	<i>CIL</i> VIII 11009
3	Lepcis Magna ⁸⁶	175/ 299	L. Pompeius Cerealis Salvianus, <i>flamen</i>	<i>ordo?</i>	. . . <i>splendidissimus ordo decrevit</i> Silia L(uci) f(ilia) Pompeia h[er]es sua pecu[nia] fecit marit[us] opti[m]o	<i>IRT</i> 602
4	Madauros	100/ 299	Nonia Severa, wife	<i>ordo</i>	. . . offerente ordine L(ucius) Caelius Sabinus maritus sua pec(unia) posuit d(e)d(icavit)	<i>CIL</i> VIII 4686 = <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.2149
5	Segermes	175/ 225	senatorial patron	a curia?	. . . statuam [aeream(?) f]ecit et accepto loco m[un(icipium) Aur(elium) Aug(ustum)] Segermit(anum) dedicavit [- - -]	<i>ISegermes</i> 15 = AE 1992, 1794 = AE 1996, 1707 = AE 1999, 1773
6	Uchi Maius	125/ 174	decurion of Carthage, <i>patronus pagi</i>	<i>pagus</i>	. . . [[cui cum pagus ob merita eius statuam decrevisset p ^r leb ^s memor abstinentiae quam rei p(ublicae) suae praestitit decrev[i]t et [- - - loc]o [d(ato) d(ecreto)] d(ecurionum) [- - -]X[- - -]]]	<i>CIL</i> VIII 26276 = <i>Uchi</i> 2.83

⁸⁵ This might be a 'contentus' inscription, because the pluperfect of *decrevisset* is a standard element. This alone, however, is not enough evidence to put it in Table 3.2.

⁸⁶ The flow of the text suggests that this might be a 'contentus' inscription, but certainty is impossible, especially since *decrevit* is only in the perfect tense. The texts of the inscriptions are not consistent enough to make such determinations.

Two other inscriptions approach this level of clarity. In Lepcis Magna, Plautius Lupus declared himself *contentus auctoritate* before remitting the public money authorised by the decurions (Table 3.2.23). That is, he was “content with their resolution,” meaning the decurions’ decree of a *biga* at public expense in a location of his choosing.⁸⁷ At Limisia, meanwhile, L. Iunius Proculus Felicianus, a *flamen perpetuus* of the Augustus, declared that he was “content with the honour of the offered gift” (*honore muneris oblatis content(us)*, Table 3.2.24) and used his own money (*sua pecunia*) instead of the decreed *sportulae*. At first glance, *munus* is redundant, for it would seem to duplicate the sense of *honor*. Yet it was argued in Chapter 1.5 that *sportulae* meant either a special fund originally set up by a benefactor that the decurions now controlled or, perhaps, donations the decurions themselves had made. Felicianus, thus, was not turning down the idea of a statue so much as the additional “gift” of a statue paid with money the decurions controlled or owned. He was making a distinction between abstract and materialistic honour by declaring that he finds sufficient honour in the knowledge that his fellow decurions were willing to use *sportulae*.

These three inscriptions show that no formulation of the ‘contentus’ expression is standard. Out of the fifty-three inscriptions, thirty-five contain a declaration of contentment. *Honore contentus/a* is the most common formula, but *loco/titulo contentus/a* is also found.⁸⁸ Only eighteen, moreover, record an explicit reference to remittance. Sometimes neither a declaration of contentment nor remittance is present and the only indication that the money had been remitted is a change in dedicator and payment type at the end of the inscription.⁸⁹ In twenty-three of the

⁸⁷ Cf. from the decurions of Thugga: *decreti s[ui] auctoritate honoraverant* (CIL VIII 26622=ILTun. 1437=Dougga 56); from Madauros: *hono[re]m bigae et statuae decrev[e]runt*, ILAlg. 1.2145; from Curubis: *ordo . . . honorem statuae decrevit*, CIL VIII 12453=24101.

⁸⁸ *Titulo contentus*: Table 3.2.25, 30, 35, 42, 43, 48, 51. *Titulo et loco contenta*: Table 3.2.14. Cf. *accepto loco*, Table 3.3.5.

⁸⁹ E.g. Table 3.2.19, 21, 26, 44, 47, 49, 53; cf. Tables 3.2.1, 3.3.2.

honours, meanwhile, it was one or more relatives who remitted the money, sometimes adding a sentimental statement to the inscription about the presumably deceased honoree. The inscriptions, then, are unusually diverse in their content. This variation, in fact, is emblematic of the purpose of remittance.

This diversity carries over into their geographical distribution. The fifty-three inscriptions are found in thirty different cities across Proconsularis, from peregrine *civitates* to veteran colonies. Other instances are known from Numidia (e.g. *ILAlg.* 2.3.7931-2, 7928) and Mauretania Tingitana.⁹⁰ They are found in seemingly similar concentration throughout Italy.⁹¹ Freja Martin reports twenty-three inscriptions recording remittances.⁹² Estíbaliz Ortiz de Urbina Álava has recently counted eighty-two such dedications for Lusitania, Tarraconensis, and especially Baetica.⁹³ 'Contentus' inscriptions are, accordingly, far from being a North African phenomenon. Even though there is great variation among the 'contentus' inscriptions, it seems clear that they result from a set of procedures, customs, and expectations shared throughout the Roman West.

In Proconsularis, the item remitted always was the money originally authorised to pay for the honorific statue.⁹⁴ The *ordo* is by far the most common initial dedicator of the statues whose money was remitted (42/53 times: 79%), but the practice was not unique to that institution. Eleven times the decurions are said to be cooperating with the *populus* (including once *municipes*), either in response to a popular petition or as co-dedicator.⁹⁵ The *populus* is cited alone

⁹⁰ Christol 2005b: 137; Lefebvre counts 15 in the province (1994: 41-47).

⁹¹ E.g. *AE* 1964, 21; *CIL* V 1968, 4416, 5842, 7478, 7485; *CIL* IX 690; *CIL* X 544, 3704, 3724, 6094; *CIL* XI 1924, 3258, 3938, 6123, 6605; *CIL* XIII 1129; *CIL* XIV 431. For discussion, see F. Martin 1996a: 129-133.

⁹² F. Martin 1996a: 149.

⁹³ Ortiz de Urbina Álava 2007-2008: 1049-1050, 1054-1057. Sylvie Dardaine reported sixty-six in 1980 for the same area (1980: 41-42, 48-52). These numbers include variations of the *honore contentus impensam remisit* formula not found in Proconsularis: *honore accepto impensam remisit* and *honore usus impensam remisit*.

⁹⁴ However, twice in Volubilis, Mauretania Tingitana, the remitted money was for a public funeral (*IAM* 2.2.457, 481; Christol 2005b: 137).

⁹⁵ Table 3.2.7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 18, 22, 23, 26, 32, 46.

as the original dedicator twice (Table 3.2.40, 49; cf. Table 3.3.1), and one or more *curiae* three times (Table 3.2.4, 16, 47). Dardaine has similarly found in Baetica, Tarraconensis, and Lusitania that the *ordo* made 90% of the initial decrees and the *populus* six, once more in cooperation with the *ordo* (total sample: sixty-six inscriptions).⁹⁶ Meanwhile for Italy, the Senate (Tac. *Ann.* 12.53; Plin. *Ep.* 7.29, 8.6), a civic *collegium* (CIL XI 6605), and *corpora* of *Augustales* are also found as the original proposers of honours ultimately remitted (CIL XIII 1129, XIV 431). Once in Lusitania private *amici* were the initiators of the honour (ILS 6900). The practice of remittance, thus, could be applied to an honour originating from any source.

Thirty-six of the fifty-three inscriptions from Proconsularis have been assigned dates or date ranges by editors or other scholars.⁹⁷ Twenty-one are dated to the second century, with two date ranges extending into the start of the third.⁹⁸ Another thirteen date to the third century.⁹⁹ None have been securely dated beyond the Principate of Severus Alexander, although one has been dated tentatively from 225 to 283 (Table 3.2.40) and more may be as late as the end of the third century. The earliest of the fifty-three, from Lepcis Magna, does not state that the honoree was “content” with the honour nor that he had remitted it (Table 3.2.19). The honoree's name, C. Marcius Dento, is in the nominative case and records that he had set up the statue at his own expense. What identifies it as a '*contentus*' inscription is that the statue had originally been “decreed to him publicly because of his merits” (*statuam publice sibi ob merita decr[e]tam s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit)*). The decurions had, thus, initially awarded public funds for the statue which he later remitted (on *publice*, see Chapter 1.5). Dento is said to have been *sufes*, as well as a *flamen*

⁹⁶ Dardaine 1980: 54; similarly (with less detail) Etienne 1964: 119-120; Ortiz de Urbina Álava 2007-2008: 1052.

⁹⁷ Five have only been roughly dated to some time in the second or third century CE (Table 3.2.18, 31, 32, 45, 51).

⁹⁸ Table 3.2.1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 20, 21, 22, 30, 33, 34, 35, 38, 43, 46, 50; 23 is roughly dated 190/210; 15 is roughly dated 175/225.

⁹⁹ Table 3.2.24, 26, 27, 32, 37, 40, 42, 47, 49.

Augusti and *flamen perpetuus*. This must mean that the statue was decreed to him at the start of the second-century at the latest, if not sometime in the first, for the Punic offices disappeared after Lepcis Magna became a Roman colony in (probably) 109.¹⁰⁰ Its early date likely explains the uniqueness of its phrasing. Therefore, this dating of the '*contentus*' inscriptions of Proconsularis from the late first to the third centuries again roughly corresponds with that found for Baetica, Tarraconensis, and Lusitania by Dardaine and Ortiz de Urbina Álava,¹⁰¹ which is further evidence that they reflect a shared practice in the western Mediterranean.

The political and cultural interpretation of remittances must begin with a problem of phrasing. As mentioned earlier, eight inscriptions note that the remitter was “content” not with the honour but with the inscription and/or location (e.g. Gor: *titulo et loco contenta*, Table 3.2.15; cf. Segermes: *accepto loco*, Table 3.3.5). These phrases could be taken to indicate that the remitter was not “content with the honour of the decree,” but simply the inscription and/or location. The trigger for the remittance, in other words, could be interpreted to have shifted away from the entire honour and onto a detail of the honour.

Relying on the authority of Dio Chrysostom and probably Plutarch, Paul Veyne asserts that some remitters decided not to pay to erect their own honour, but contented themselves with only inscribing the decree,¹⁰² a situation which the *titulo contentus/a* phrase might seem to confirm. These eight inscriptions from Proconsularis are on statue bases, however, which must have once carried statues. An inscription from Uchi Maius even juxtaposes Pullaienus Bassus' declaration of being *titulo contentus* with his erection and dedication of the *statua* (*titulo*

¹⁰⁰ Reynolds and Ward-Perkins (*ad IRT* 600) date it between any point in the first-century CE and 109, although they observe that the letter forms seem later. Cf. Gasco 1972: 76; Di Vita-Evrard 1984: 198.

¹⁰¹ From the Flavian period to the first quarter of the third century (Dardaine 1980: 54; Ortiz de Urbina Álava: 1051).

¹⁰² Veyne 1976: 273 with n.215.

contentus statuam de suo posuit itemque dedicavit, Table 3.2.50). Clearly, then, one could be “content with the inscription” and still set up a statue.

That said, these eight inscriptions demonstrate a strong familial connection. Bassus, for example, was responding to a decree (*decrevit*) of (likely) the *ordo*, authorizing likenesses of himself, his father, wife, and children. To rationalise the decree, the *ordo* cites his family's history of benefactions to the city.¹⁰³ Unfortunately, it is unclear how the benefactions relate to the statue, because the top portion of the inscription is missing

Five other of these eight inscriptions were set up by a close relative of the honoree (with one of the remaining three being too lacunose to judge).¹⁰⁴ Sometime in the second-century, the father of one honoree at Sabratha declared himself to be content “with the inscription and the honour” (*pater titulo et honore [contentus s]ua pecunia posuit*, Table 3.2.30). The distinction the father made between the two items suggests that he considered them to be separate matters. Thus, Michel Christol and others are likely right that relatives were invested in the content of the inscription and used the remittance partly to be able to insert content of a familial nature into a text that would be on display in the centre of town.¹⁰⁵ It is hard not to discern a motivation of self-display in L. Faltonius Valens declaring that, *titulo contentus*, he, the “father,” set up the statue for his “most dutiful son” (*cum ordo statuam decrevisset L(ucius) Faltonius Valens pater piissimo filio s(ua) p(ecunia) p(osuit)*, Table 3.2.42).

Nonetheless, one can push the familial element too far as an explanation for alternate phrasing like *titulo contentus*. In Simitthus, for instance, C. Otidius Iovinus, a *praefectus fabrum*

¹⁰³ “[since] . . . he had petitioned [something] be made at his own expense for the memory of his still(?) magnificent house, by which he had adorned the *genius* of the fatherland with statues and had given a banquet three times,” Table 3.2.50.

¹⁰⁴ Table 3.2.15, 30, 35, 42, 48. Too lacunose: Table 3.2.25.

¹⁰⁵ Christol 2005b: 136, 138-139; Lefebvre 1994: 48; F. Martin 1996a: 132-134.

and *sacerdos provinciae Africae* between 109 and 111, was *titulo contentus* for his own statue (Table 3.2.35). Moreover, the same emotive sentiments are found in 'contentus' inscriptions which do not say *titulo contentus*. For example, the sons of P. Iulius Gibba, *honore contenti*, set up a statue to a “most dutiful father”¹⁰⁶ in Civitas Saraditana and Silia Pompeia paid for a statue to her “best husband” originally decreed by the *ordo* of Lepcis Magna, without stating at all that she was content or had remitted the money (Table 3.3.3; cf. Table 3.2.44, 53). At Bulla Regia, moreover, L. Domitius Fabianus records only that he had remitted the cost of his brother's statue (Table 3.2.2). Yet he included at the bottom of the inscription a glowing letter from M. Aurelius announcing his brother's promotion. The pride and the desire for prestige from publishing such a letter are obvious.

Declaring oneself *titulo contentus*, therefore, was not necessary to alter the inscription. Even non-remitting honorees could influence the wording of their inscription. Therefore, there may have been little functional difference between the claims of *honore contentus* and *loco/titulo contentus*. It is possible that some drafters used the phrases interchangeably. *Loco/titulo contentus*, then, may indicate little more than the particular focus of the (often) relative. The phrases show that remitters could have multiple goals in mind when they decided to remit the cost, one being more control over the wording of the inscription. I say “more” control over the inscription, for, of course, the decurions still retained final approval: *cum ordo statuum decrevisset titulo contentus [posuit] d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* (Table 3.2.43).

The eight inscriptions, therefore, are evidence that the remitters and civic groups were negotiating. This is more clearly seen with the word *offerre* – “to offer” –, whose cognates appear on four of the fifty-three 'contentus' inscriptions. (1) At Thagaste, the inscription of C. Flavius

¹⁰⁶ *fili(i) patri piissimo honore contenti posuerunt*, Table 3.2.5. See also: *Iulius Fidus Aquila fratri optimo decreto ordinis posuit p(ecunia) p(ublica) remissa*, Table 3.2.34.

Hilarus' statue notes that Hilarus remitted “the money which was being offered” and undertook to set up the statue himself (*[re]missa pecunia quae o[ff]erebatur poni curavit*, Table 3.2.41). (2) In Limisa, L. Iunius Proculus Felicianus is said to have erected his statue himself, “being content with the honour of the offered gift,” which must refer to the desire to honour him (*honore muneris oblati content(us) sua pec(unia) p(osuit)*, Table 3.2.24).

The process was not the same in every case. (3) Late in the principate of Septimius Severus at Thugga, G. Terentius Iulianus Sabinianus, an equestrian *flamen perpetuus*, paid for a statue to his “dearest” father, L. Terentius Romanus (*patri carissimo*, Table 3.2.49). The sentiment *pater carissimus* suggests that Romanus was by now deceased, since it is most frequently found on funerary inscriptions.¹⁰⁷ Sabinianus seems to have been aware of a long passage of time, since he explains in the inscription that the *populus* of Thugga “had at that time (*tunc*) offered to set up the statue from collected money,” because of Romanus' care of the water supply and because of other merits. A declaration of contentment or remittance by either father or son is not mentioned, but this does not mean that it did not occur. The likeliest scenario is that Romanus had declared his contentment and remitted the cost, but had been unable to erect it in his own lifetime and made it a condition of his will, which his son fulfilled. It is doubtful that the *populus* had ever collected the money.

(4) Alternately, at Thabarbusis the *populus* “offered” Lappianus a “statue costing 6,661HS, an offer [he] accepted gladly and gratefully.”¹⁰⁸ Only then is he said to have returned “all of the money, being content with the honour alone.” That the inscription says *reddita* rather than *remissa* implies that he was reimbursing the *populus* for an expense already incurred, an

¹⁰⁷ Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 176) finds *carissimus/a* to be the third most common epithet on epitaphs at Rome.

¹⁰⁸ *populus Thabarbusitanus statuam ex HS VI mil(ibus) DCLXI n(ummum) constantem obtulit quam oblationem libenter et grate susceptam idem Lappianus reddita {n}omni pecunia solo honore contentus*, Table 3.2.40.

inference supported by the specific cost given for the statue. The inscription, thus, retains traces of procedural theatre. He first accepted the offer as presented, making all of the appropriate gestures and pronouncements of appreciation and gratitude. Only then did he propose the counter offer of returning the money, so that he could erect the statue himself and spend even more money – we are told – providing a banquet and oil to the citizens (*solo honore contentus amplius etiam exhibito epulo et gymnasio cum civibus dedicavit*, Table 3.2.40). That would only be fitting for an honoree honoured for his “marked and singular munificence and liberality to citizens,” which even “surpassed the liberalities of his parents.”¹⁰⁹

While a form of the word *offerre* is rare among '*contentus*' inscriptions, it is even rarer among other types of public honorific statues. There are only two examples. One comes from Madauros, which says that, “with the *ordo* offering” (*offerente ordine*, Table 3.3.4), L. Caelius Sabinus set up a statue to his wife. Although the situation might have been more complex, the concise wording at least suggests that the *ordo* never planned on setting up the statue itself, but was merely giving the husband the opportunity. The other exception comes from Ammaedara. There, the *populus* “had offered” a *biga* from public funds to the former *duumvir* and *flamen perpetuus*, C. Marius Fidus. Fidus accepted the payment terms, but convinced them to erect equestrian statues to his sons and a pedestrian one to himself.¹¹⁰ The *populus* wanted to reward him for his merits and the annual banquet he provided, while Fidus desired to secure public recognition for his sons. The proposed statue in a two-horse chariot was just the starting point of the proceedings and likely served to mark the general range of cost and statue type that the *populus* was prepared to authorise.

¹⁰⁹ *ob insignem singularemque eius in cives munificentiam ac liberalitatem qua inter cetera ab universis omne curarum onus amolitus est in qua re parentum suorum liberalitates supergressus sit*, Table 3.2.40.

¹¹⁰ *populus Emeritensis ex pecunia publicae statuam in biga eius contulerat ob merita et liberalitatem quam annuam perpetuam epulativam promisit ex voluntate eius equestres filii et pedestrem ipsi posuit*, Table 3.3.1.

The stated offer sometimes found in the *contentus* inscriptions, thus, is a trace of the negotiations that normally occurred between honourers and honoree.¹¹¹ That '*contentus*' inscriptions refer to it more often is a consequence of the negotiating power wielded by a person offering to remit.

The *senatus consultum* of the Roman Senate in 52 CE recording Pallas' honours can shed further light on the potential complexities of these negotiations, for indeed 'negotiation' is how Pliny characterises the Senate's interactions with Pallas on the issue (*ut cum Pallante auctoritate publica ageretur*, *Ep.* 8.6.9). There were two decrees: the initial one which Pallas sought to amend¹¹² and the final one incorporating the amendments. The first one Pliny presents as inconclusive. He quotes the final *senatus consultum* incorporating Pallas' refusal of the money as only saying that the Senate "had undertaken to decree this sum" (*hanc summam . . . decernere coepisse*, *Plin. Ep.* 8.6.10, 12), which implies that it did not carry through with its original intention. Pliny himself characterises the offer of money as a *sententia* (*Ep.* 8.6.10),¹¹³ a vow (*votum*, *Ep.* 8.6.7), and a wish (*voluisse quidem senatum censere dandum ex aerario sestertium centiens quinquagies*, *Ep.* 8.6.8). Tacitus relates that the *sententia* belonged to the consul designate, Barea Soranus, and that it ostensibly began as an unplanned reaction to Claudius' revelation that Pallas had been the author of a *relatio* concerning freeborn women married to slaves (*Tac. Ann.* 12.53). Pallas, then, was already connected to the current proceedings of the Senate and was probably officially notified of the decreed honours immediately after the senators had agreed to pursue Barea's *sententia*. It was at this point that Pallas intervened and moderated

¹¹¹ Briand-Ponsart has similarly concluded that negotiation was a common part of public honours (2013: 252), although not in as much detail. The main subject of her discussion is *postulationes populi*, so she does not focus on the set of inscriptions (i.e. '*contentus*' inscriptions) that best exemplify the negotiation.

¹¹² Pliny twice states that the Senate had "decreed" the original package of honours: *huic enatus . . . ornamenta praetoria decrevit et sestertium centies quinquagies, cuius honore contentus fuit*, *Plin. Ep.* 7.29.1; 8.6.1.

¹¹³ While the Latin of Pallas' funerary inscription can be read to say that the money had been decreed, the position of *decrevit* does not make this absolutely clear. Such a detail would have been glossed over anyway.

his honours, refusing some and accepting others – to borrow Pliny's language.¹¹⁴

Despite the formal decree of honours, the Senate could not force Pallas to accept them. Rather, they had to “work” to convince him (*ut eum compelleret ad cedendum senatui*, *Ep.* 8.6.8; *senatus opus fuit*, *Ep.* 8.6.12), which they attempted by seeking Claudius' support and by rationalising the gift as a deserved reward and conducive to the public good (*quanto ab eius modi cupiditatibus remotior eius animus esset*, *Ep.* 8.6.8). The emperor, in turn, conferred with Pallas and replied to the Senate that Pallas “wanted this part of the *sententia* remitted” (*eam partem sententiae . . . remitti voluisset*, *Ep.* 8.6.10). The final *senatus consultum*, thus, was the result of a multi-step negotiation. The initial decree was just the starting place; it served as a platform for both the Senate and Pallas. Pallas not only still received honours in the end, but capitalised on this moment of public attention to refuse one of them in order to underline the senators' praise of his virtues. By recording the attempt to give the money in the final *senatus consultum* and then publicly commemorating it in bronze, the senators, in turn, were still able to demonstrate their gratitude and devotion to Pallas, despite his refusal, and to flatter him further by presenting him as a model to emulate – much to Pliny's later ire.

In order to use the *senatus consultum* as a model for civic *decreta*, account must be taken of the emperor and the power of his freedman.¹¹⁵ But otherwise the intricacy of the negotiations in the Senate of Rome would not have been out of place in the senates of Africa Proconsularis. Plautius Lupus is similarly shown to have forced a second decree from the decurions of Lepcis Magna with his offer to pay for the statue himself (Table 3.2.23). Moreover, the decurions of Forum Sempronii in Italy delayed informing the honoree of their decree until the statue was

¹¹⁴ *imaginare Pallantem velut intercedentem senatus consulto moderantemque honores suos et sestertium centies quinquagies ut nimium recusantem, cum praetoria ornamenta tamquam minus recepisset*, Plin. *Ep.* 8.6.11.

¹¹⁵ On the emperor's ability to intervene in the proceedings of the Senate, see Talbert 1984: 168-174.

ready. They explain that “we did not send the decree to you, lest now, just like you did before when a statue [had been] publicly decreed to you, you again write back that you are merely content with the honour Therefore, the decreed statue, now ready so that you cannot deny something, is arriving.”¹¹⁶ The only option they left open to the honoree was the wording of the inscription.¹¹⁷ It seems that the decuriones had realised that no amount of persuasion could have stopped their honoree from remitting the money. Of course, referring to the first remittance, assuming a second, and going to extreme lengths to avoid it only heightened the honour for both parties.

The inscription that accompanied the statue of M. Lorenius Lorenianus' son in the forum of Avula, Proconsularis, presents a different aspect of the negotiations (Table 3.2.28). First, it begins with Lorenianus' name in the nominative case, signalling that his is the name people should remember and not his son's (although the letters of Lorenianus' name are not any larger than the rest of the inscription). Second, it relates in a *cum* clause that Lorenianus had petitioned for the statue to be set up in the *forum* and that the *ordo* had duly decreed this. Finally, it states that unspecified money offered by the decurions had been remitted and that Lorenianus himself set up and dedicated the honour.

This sequence of events can be interpreted in two ways. The *cum* clause could mean that he had petitioned for *a* statue to be erected in the forum, meaning that Lorenianus was the motivating force behind the statue from the start. This would indicate that the process was

¹¹⁶ *praecipue morum tuorum modestia singularis reverentia insignis necessario nos compulit ut tandem parem tibi gratiam in quantum potest dum ignoras referamus nam statuam tibi pedestrem de nostro ponendam iam pridem decrevimus sed idcirco decretum ad te non misimus ne nunc quoq(ue) sicut antea cum publice tibi statua decreta est fecisti honore tantummodo te contentum esse rescriberes quae res tuam quidem modestiam inlustraret nobis vero velut segnitiam exprobraret igitur statua decreta ne quid negare possis iam comparata advehitur, CIL XI 6123 left side lines 7-20.*

¹¹⁷ *quod superest voluntati nostrae consule et qualem inscriptionem dandam putas petentibus facito notum, CIL XI 6123 left side lines 20-22.*

artificial, designed or abused in order to reflect as much limelight as possible on the remitter. In other words, Lorenianus got the decurions to decree the honour only to say that he remitted the money they authorised – with his name foremost on the inscription. The other possible interpretation of the *cum* clause is that Lorenianus was only negotiating the location of *the* statue. In this scenario, the decurions initiated the honour and proposed to erect it in another, apparently less desirable, location. This would mean that the father took a hard line in the negotiations: that he would only pay for it himself, if they authorised the location in the more prestigious *forum*. If so, then there is the additional possibility that the decurions chose the original location to spur the father's generosity. Either way, Lorenianus' honour for his son would seem to betray a hard edge to the negotiations, although the possibility must be kept in mind that the organisation of the inscription is unintentionally creating a false impression. The honour is an indication of the wide-range of tones that the negotiations could strike.

In Lorenianus' case, the characterisation of “negotiation” seems appropriate, since his inscription seems to betray a self-serving quality. In other cases, such a characterisation may be misleading.¹¹⁸ The reality seems to have been that the tone of the remittance depended on the conduct and tact of the remitter. Apuleius' reflection on his own honour decreed by the decurions of Carthage is illustrative (*Flor.* 16.25-28):

an non properandum mihi erat, ut pro eo honore vobis multas gratias dicerem, pro quo nullas preces dixeram? non quin magnitudo Carthaginis mereatur etiam <a>philosopho preces pro honore, sed ut integrum et intemeratum esset vestrum beneficium,¹¹⁹ si nihil ex gratia eius petitio mea defregisset, id est, ut usque quaque esset gratuitum. neque enim aut levi mercede emit qui precatur, aut par<v>um pretium accipit qui rogatur; adeo ut omnia utensilia emere velis

¹¹⁸ On the risk self-praise posed to offending one's audience, see Gleason 1995: 9-20.

¹¹⁹ Opeku (1974: 286) says that this first half of the sentence implies that Apuleius knew that the decurions were planning to honour him. This is a near certainty, since at the start of the speech Apuleius reveals that he was present for the *postulatio* calling for the statue (*Flor.* 16.1). What he could not have guessed was the timing of the decree.

*quam rogare.*¹²⁰ *id ego arbitror praecipue in honore observandum; quem qui laboriose exoraverit, sibi debet <u>nam gratia<m>, quod impe<t>rarit; qui vero sine molestia ambitus adeptus est, duplam gratiam praebentibus debet, et quod non petierit et quod acceperit. duplam igitur vobis gratiam debeo, immo enimvero multiugam, quam ubique equidem et semper praedicabo.*

Was I not to hasten back [from the Persian waters], so that I could express many thanks to you for the honour, for which I had spoken no entreaties? It is not that the greatness of Carthage does not merit an entreaty, even from a philosopher, but so that your benefit would be whole and undefiled; if a petition of mine should have taken nothing from its appeal, it is that in each and every way it be voluntary. For, in fact, neither does the man who entreats [for a statue] buy it at a low cost, nor does he who is asked accept a small price, to the point that you want to buy all necessities rather than ask [for them]. This I judge to be observed chiefly in an honour. He who laboriously pleads for one, owes himself one favour: what he achieved. But he who gained one without the bother of canvassing owes a double favour to those who approved it: since he did not seek it and since he received it. I, therefore, owe you a double favour, nay indeed multiple, which I will truly proclaim everywhere and always.

Apuleius returns to this ideal of a purely voluntary honour at the end of the speech, when he innocently denies knowledge of how he was able to accomplished the truly “difficult” and “arduous” task of winning over the *populus*, *ordo*, magistrates, and other leading men of Carthage to the point that they wanted to honour him.¹²¹ The orator's criticisms are not necessarily directed at people who pay, but at people who are the primary advocate for their own statue: they choose the easier and, ultimately, less beneficial and dignified route to honour.¹²² While Apuleius avoids the language of negotiation in his speech,¹²³ his own careful manoeuvring for public funds

¹²⁰ “An easy thought. Asking and accepting a favour is harder than simply obtaining what you want by using your own resources,” Hunink 2001: 164.

¹²¹ *igitur, quod difficile factu erat quodque re vera arduum, non existimabatur: gratum esse populo, placere ordini, probari magistratibus et principibus, id – praefascine dixerim – iam quodam modo mihi obtigit, Flor. 16.45, cf. 43.* Moreover, Apuleius inverts the normal language of praise at multiple points, by claiming that it was the city which demonstrated “merits” towards him, when it voted him a *beneficium* – the statue (*mihi beneficio vestro, Flor. 16.24; vestrum beneficium, Flor. 16.25; beneficium ad me publicum, Flor. 16.42; universo ordini vestro <pro> amplissimis erga me meritis quantas maximas possum gratias ago atque habeo, Flor. 16.44; benefacti tui, Flor. 16.48*). Normally, it was the honoree's *beneficia* which “merited” honouring.

¹²² In fact, Lee (2005: 147) detects similar rhetorical techniques in *Flor. 16* for ensuring tasteful self-praise as Gleason (1995: 13) found in Favorinus' speech at Corinth in defence of his statue.

¹²³ One does not find, for example, a cognate of *offerre*.

for the statue – or for a second statue at public expense – belie his beliefs. The problem was not the negotiation, but appearing to care about the honour alone.¹²⁴

The fundamental consequence of being the driving force behind one's own honour was that one did not have the opportunity to forge closer bonds with the dedicators and the city.¹²⁵ As Apuleius remarks, such a person really only has him or herself to thank, while the person who did not solicit the honour owes thanks doubly to the dedicators: for the statue and the initiative. In the latter situation, it was still possible to gracefully yet firmly push for amendments to the proposed honour. The orator, in fact, quite plainly infers that Carthage would be considered cheap and have its standing in the empire diminished, if the decurions did not vote public funds.¹²⁶ In brief, how the statue was awarded was just as important as the honour itself. The best honours were those which generated dialogue between the honoree, the dedicators, and – as with the consular Aemilianus Strabo in Apuleius' case – third parties who so enthusiastically agreed with the merits of the award that they had to contribute as well. The more people involved, the greater their status, and the more personal their contribution, the more prestigious the honour.

These values are reflected in the several '*contentus*' inscriptions which show that the dedication of the statue itself could be a point of negotiation. Several times the original promoters set up the statue, even though the honoree had remitted or would remit the money. The (likely) ten *curiae* of Capsa, for example, used collected money to “set up and dedicate” a statue to Flavia Urbica, a *flaminica perpetua*.¹²⁷ The inscription concludes, however, with the note that Urbica,

¹²⁴ Indeed, Apuleius supposedly went to court at Oea in order to remove opposition to the dedication of a statue to him there (August. *Ep.* 138.19).

¹²⁵ Cf. Lee's comment (2005: 146) that “Part of the essential interest in fragment 16 is the number of social transactions Apuleius executes with his speech.”

¹²⁶ *quid igitur superest ad statuæ meae honorem, nisi aeris pretium et artificis ministerium? quae mihi ne in mediocribus quidem civitatibus umquam defuere, ne ut Carthagini desint, ubi splendidissimus ordo etiam de rebus maioribus iudicare potius solet quam computare* (Flor. 16.46).

¹²⁷ *Flaviae Urbicae flaminicae perpetuae [curiales] es curi[ae dece]m ob me[rita] eius statua(m) aere collato posuerunt itemque dedic(averunt) honore contenta pecunia[m] remisit*, Table 3.2.4.

“content with the honour, remitted the money.” Clearly, the *curiae* had not just completed the collection, but also the dedication, for the verbs they govern are in the indicative. Three scenarios are possible: Urbica did not know of the honour prior to the dedication; it took until the dedication for her to gather the necessary funds; she waited for a suitably large audience for her gesture.

A different dynamic is known to have occurred five times at Gigthis. L. Servaeus Firmus (Table 3.2.11) and his son, Q. Servaeus Fuscus (Table 3.2.12), were likely honoured together, because their inscriptions are nearly identical: the *ordo* and *populus* decreed a statue at public expense “because of his merits towards the *res publicae* and singular munificence towards each and every one” (*ob merita in rem p(ublicam) et singularem in sing(ulos) universosq(ue) munificentiam*). Each honoree, content, remitted the public money, yet it was the *ordo* and *populus* along with the *incolae* who set it up – *sua p(ecunia)*. Another set of three inscriptions pertains to perhaps the same two embassies to Rome, of which the second finally won from Antoninus Pius the *ius Latinum maius* for Gigthis. In all three, the *ordo* is said to have decreed a statue at public expense: two to M. Servilius Draco Albucianus, a *flamen perpetuus* who is given the credit for the success of the embassy (Table 3.2.6-7), and one to M. Iulius Puteolanus, who is only said to have benefited the *res publica* with his many merits (Table 3.2.8). Both men remitted the initially authorised public money (*pecuniam rei p(ublicae) remisisset*), but in the end it was the *populus* who erected the statues – *de suo*.

The grammatical force of the *sua/o* in all five inscriptions points to the decurions, *populus*, and/or *incolae* as the financial donors.¹²⁸ The situation is not entirely clear cut, however.

Can we really assume that the individuals in these groups were so committed to the honours that

¹²⁸ A possible parallel from Thubursicu Numidarum records – as reconstructed – that the decurions and, possibly, the *populus* persisted in setting up a statue to a *duumvir* with [*pecunia prop]ria* (see Table 3.2.46).

they volunteered their own private funds simply because the honoree decided not to burden the city with the cost?¹²⁹

The suspicion that details have been left out is magnified by a sixth example from Gigthis. In this case, the inscription relates that the *ordo* had decreed a statue to [...] Servaeus Honoratus “because of his munificence,” that Honoratus remitted the public money for his honour and “was wanting to set [the statue] up at his own expense,” but that, in the end, it was the *ordo* and *populus* who set it up.¹³⁰ So far, it follows the same pattern as the five above inscriptions from Gigthis. The final line of the inscription, however, reads *RPPC*. Johannes Schmidt emends it to read *s̄(ua) p(ecunia) p(onendum)(!) c(uravit)* in conformity with *CIL* VIII 11039 and *CIL* VIII 11040 discussed above as Table 3.2.11 and 3.2.12.¹³¹ That *p̄(ublica) p(ecunia)* was the intended phrasing is unlikely, for Honoratus is explicitly said to have remitted the originally authorised money to the civic treasury.

An unexplored possibility is that the drafter really did mean *RPPC*: *r(emissa) p(ecunia) p(onendam) c(uravit)*.¹³² Such a reading would indicate that the *ordo* and *populus* persisted in using the public money, while at the same time acknowledging that Honoratus had wanted to remit. The inscription conveys Honoratus' wishes (*vellet*) in a *cum* clause, which must be read as concessive.¹³³ The question is, what did the *ordo* and *populus* deny Honoratus: just the dedication

¹²⁹ Contra S. Reinach and E. Babelon (*ad BCTH* 1886: 48), who assert that Q. Servaeus Fuscus (what is now Table 3.2.12) paid for the materials, but that the *ordo* and *populus* took charge of the erection of the statue. Jacques suggests that the *populus* paid through an institutional structure, such as the *curiae* (Jacques 1984: 419). Briand-Ponsart indicates acceptance of Schmidt's emendation of the “R” on the final line of *CIL* VIII 11034, by reporting simply: “. . . *s̄(ua) p(ecunia) p(onendum) c(uraverunt)*” (2013: 250 n.61). Yet she says that it was the city in each case that finally paid, which must mean at public expense (“*frais public*,” 2013: 250). *Sua pecunia* marks the usage of private money, however.

¹³⁰ [*Se*]rvaeo Q(uinti) f(ilio) [Q(uir)ina] Honorato omnibus honorib(us) patriae suae functo cui *ordo* *expostul(a)nte populo ob munificentiam statuum cum decrevisset isq(ue) remissa rei p(ublicae) pecun(ia) de suo ponere vellet ordo populusq(ue) r. p(ecunia) p(onendam) c(uravit)*, Table 3.2.13.

¹³¹ See Schmidt's commentary *ad CIL* VIII 11034.

¹³² Jacques (1984: 417-418) reproduces the line as “*r. p. p(onendum) c(uravit)*,” but without further comment.

¹³³ Thus, I translate the inscription as: “To [...] Servaeus Honoratus, son of Quintus [in the Quirina tribe], having completed all of the honours of his city, to whom, although the *ordo*, with the people demanding, had decreed a

of the statue or both its dedication and its cost? It is safer to join Schmidt in assuming an error on the part of the drafter or inscriber and to replace the *R* with an *S* on the model of the five other similar inscriptions from Gigthis. It remains possible, however, that the *ordo* and *populus* truly did refuse to accept Honoratus' remittance and paid for the statue with the remitted public funds.

Either way, the *ordo* and *populus* retained control over the honour, despite Honoratus' offer. His statue originated in a mass petition of the *populus* (*cui ordo expostul(a)nte populo ob munificentiam statuam cum decrevisset*), indicating that they were heavily invested in the honour. Honoratus declared his wishes to set the statue up himself, but the *ordo* and *populus* were so determined to see the honour through that they either used the public money anyway or negotiated a compromise with Honoratus to use their own money to set up the statue themselves. It was a win-win situation. The honoree's desire to spare the city the cost was commemorated on stone, his reputation permanently increased. The *ordo* and *populus*, on the other hand, used the process itself to confirm the sincerity of their gratitude towards the benefactor, for only truly grateful people would go through so much trouble and (possibly) expense. The inscription further exemplifies the procedural theatre of public honours.

The motivations behind the *populus'* dedications of statues to Albucianus and Puteolanus are more difficult to discern. The most detailed of Albucianus' two inscriptions says that, "beyond his many merits towards the *res publicae* and very abundant zeal for munificence, he twice undertook an embassy to [Rome] free of charge to seek the *Latium maius* and finally announced success."¹³⁴ While reference is made to other services to the city, the emphasis is on the grant of the *ius Latinum maius*. It is unclear why this would have been so important to the *populus*, if one

statue because of his munificence and he, having remitted the money to the *res publica*, was wanting to set it up at his own expense, the *ordo* and *populus* took care to set it up with the remitted/their own money."

¹³⁴ *quod super multa in rem p(ublicam) merita et amplissimum munificentiae studium legationem urbicam gratuitam ad Lati[um] Maius petendum duplicem suscepit tandemq(ue) feliciter renuntiaverit*, Table 3.2.6.

presumes that they already had the personal rights conferred by the regular *ius Latinum*: the putative rights of *conubium* and *commercium* with Roman citizens.¹³⁵ The one known benefit of the *ius Latinum maius* was that all decurions gained Roman citizenship, rather than just former magistrates as was the case in cities with the regular *ius Latinum*.¹³⁶ Entry into the decurionate was not fluid enough for this to have benefited most members of the *populus*. The motivations of the *populus*, thus, appear reduced to vagueries: celebrating an overall boost in civic status and prestige, or general esteem for Albucianus.

Their motivation, however, becomes clear, if Gascou is correct that Gigthis was only a peregrine *civitas* prior to the grant of the *ius Latinum maius* and that the grant accompanied the promotion of Gigthis to *municipium* status.¹³⁷ In this scenario, the *Gigthisenses* never enjoyed the regular *ius Latinum* and the *ius Latinum maius* would have served to create instantly a large body of Roman citizens of *honestior* status in the city (i.e. the decurions), in addition to providing to every citizen the personal Latin rights. A corroborating piece of evidence is that the *Gigthisenses* honoured Antoninus Pius as *conditor munic[ipi(i)]* (CIL VIII 22707), a title which makes most sense if he had promoted the city to *municipium* status and had not just increased their Latin right. Such a scenario would have provided ample motivation for the *populus*' insistence on honouring Albucianus, but it does remain hypothetical.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Sherwin-White 1973: 109; Mackie 1983: 201-203.

¹³⁶ Gascou 1972: 138; Sherwin-White 1973: 255.

¹³⁷ Gascou 1972: 140; 2003a: 233-234; 2003b: 148.

¹³⁸ A possible parallel for the actions of the *populus* comes from Uchi Maius. A relatively detailed inscription, constructed similarly to many of those recording remittances (with *cui cum* plus a pluperfect subjunctive, followed by the main action of a different group in the perfect indicative), records that “although(?) the *pagus* had decreed a statue to him, because of his merits, the *plebs*, mindful of his self-restraint which he offers to his own *res publica*, decreed and [set it up?] at the location provided by decree of the decurions [- - -].” (Table 3.3.6). The inscription records different motivations for the *pagus* and *plebs*, as if they were distinct. It is unclear, however, whether the *plebs* took over the same statue the *pagus* had decreed or whether they set up another. The duplication of *decernere* is slightly unusual and may indicate that the *plebs* had offered their own statue to Extricatus after learning of the one decreed by the *pagus*.

To sum up, these '*contentus*' inscriptions make two aspects of the honouring process abundantly clear: the flexibility of the procedures and the existence of an on-going dialogue between the honoree, dedicators, and even third parties. The honour was as significant as they wanted it to be and could afford it to be. Any of them could manipulate the procedures or propose amendments to the initial decree, in order to suit their own aims and to heighten the significance of the honour. These ideas and practices strengthened the bonds between all parties involved and were not just symbols of those bonds.

3.5 REMITTANCES AND POLITICAL MESSAGES

As noted above, Honoratus declared that he “wanted” to set up his statue himself (*isq(ue) remissa rei p(ublicae) pecun(ia) de suo ponere vellet*, Table 3.2.13). The question is why? The preceding discussion revealed the elaborateness of the dialogue, in which remitters and their honourers engaged. It was argued that this dialogue tended to strengthen the bonds between them. This, on its own, is insufficient explanation of the motivation for the honoree's decision to remit, since all honours stimulated at least a short dialogue and since remittance was not necessary for an elaborate one.

Currently, there are three general approaches to understanding remittances, all of which are unsatisfactory.¹³⁹ First, there are the dismissive accounts. Paul Veyne notes the exchanges that remittances stimulated, but characterises them as “a petty comedy” or “a polite exchange of courtesies,” which suggests a lack of substance and point.¹⁴⁰ Others, most notably Azedine

¹³⁹ There has yet to be full analysis of the topic and most discussions which do exist tend to be limited to a footnote, a paragraph, or a few pages.

¹⁴⁰ “L’élévation d’une statue devient le prétexte d’échanges de politesses et de nouvelles évergésies,” Veyne 1976: 273. Veyne similarly described a decree at Pagai from the first-century BCE as “bien amusant” (1962: 65 n.1). The process, according to Veyne, was “une petite comédie,” for the honoree was present and offered to pay for the statue himself in order to save the city the expense.

Beschaouch, present phrases like *honore contentus pecuniam remisit* as a “stereotypical” or “repetitive” formula, which implies that they were just epigraphic convention.¹⁴¹ As noted above, there was not, in fact, a typical way to present remittances epigraphically.

Second, there is the self-serving explanation. The essential argument is that honorees or their relatives remitted in order to gain “control over the medium of the message.”¹⁴² Christol in particular highlights the long-term benefit the family received, first by being able to clearly link on the inscription several generations of the same family and, second, by eulogising the often deceased honoree in the centre of town in terms reminiscent of epitaphs.¹⁴³ As mentioned above, this theory has merit. Twenty-three of the fifty-three remitters were relatives of the presumably deceased honoree. Moreover, ten of the inscriptions contain sentimental statements, like *piissimo patri*, which are unusual for public honours.¹⁴⁴ In addition, there are the eight inscriptions which record that the remitter was “content” not with the honour but with the inscription and/or location (e.g. Gor: *titulo et loco contenta*, Table 3.2.15; Segermes: *accepto loco*, Table 3.3.5). These remitters too tended to be family members.

Yet as also noted above, it was not absolutely necessary to remit in order to influence the wording of the inscription. Moreover, a phrase like *titulo et loco contenta* may indicate nothing more than a particular focus of the remitter; it does not necessarily mean that his or her overall intentions were different from honorees who declared themselves to be *honore contentus/a*. Finally, the remittances by relatives make up less than half of the fifty-three known ‘*contentus*’ inscriptions. They cannot tell the whole story. Having greater control of the inscription is a logical motivation for all remitters, but it is unlikely to have been the only one.

¹⁴¹ See n.89 above.

¹⁴² Christol 2005b: 139; Lefebvre 1994: 48; quote: F. Martin 1996a: 132-134.

¹⁴³ Christol 2005b: 136-139; Lefebvre 1994: 48.

¹⁴⁴ Table 3.2.5, 17, 20, 22, 28, 34, 42, 44, 49, 53; cf. 2; Table 3.3.3.

The third and most common interpretation is also the only one to suggest that the remitter was trying to send a message: generosity.¹⁴⁵ According to this view, remittance was another form of euergetism, an additional benefaction that notables could give to their community. Given that many of the inscriptions note the prior benefactions of the honorees or their families, generosity does seem to be an implied message of the remittance. The *quadriga* awarded to C. Flavius Pudens is a good example. Upon petition of the *populus*, the *ordo* of Sabratha decreed the honour not only for the “many liberalities” (*multas liberalitates*) of his father, which included twelve decorated pools, a new water supply, and 200,000HS for its upkeep, but also for the city's first five-day gladiatorial show, which Pudens himself put on “above the many acts of munificence he conferred upon his own citizens” (*super numerosam munificentiam quam in cives suos contulit*, Table 3.2.32). With a history of generosity like that, how could one not spare the city the expense of the honour?

Again, however, while generosity is a likely message that people wished to convey when they remitted, it is not the only or the even the chief message. Covering the cost of the statue was unlikely to make the same impression as creating a new water supply, organising a multi-day gladiatorial show, or any number of the more common types of benefactions which these same remitters provided. Besides, providing a banquet or distribution at the dedication was the more

¹⁴⁵ Lancel 1958: 150; Veyne 1976: 273; Dardaine 1980: 39, 54-55; Lefebvre 1994: 40-41, 279; Ladjimi Sebaï 1995: 745-746 n.21; F. Martin 1996a: 131-132; Beschtaouch 1999: 1041; Tran 2007: 428-429; Ortiz de Urbina Álava 2007-2008: 1047, 1049-51; cf. Millar 1993: 249 re. *SEG* 35.744. The brief account of Liebenam, on which Veyne partly relies, portrays remittances as financial relief to the city which granted the honour (“Endlich haben, wie zahllose Beispiele bezeugen, die Geehrten selbst (*honore contentus*, wie die häufigste Formel lautet) oder ihre Familie oder Freunde die Kosten für solche Bewilligungen der Stadt abgenommen und das Denkmal aus eigenen Mitteln errichtet,” 1900: 128). Generosity is also the thrust of Briand-Ponsart's recent presentation of remittances. She does conclude that honorees remitted to increase the *dignitas* of the family, which is a broad statement (2013: 252). But since she discusses remittances only in financial terms (“Néanmoins cela engageait le budget de la cité, engagement qui se trouvait toutefois souvent compensé par le fait que le personnage honoré ou un proche “faisait remise” de la somme destinée à cet hommage.” 2013: 248), she must mean an increase in *dignitas* by display of generosity.

typical and direct way to highlight one's liberality during the honouring process. Apuleius' actions regarding his statue at Carthage show that a reputation was not necessarily tarnished by pushing for public funds despite a genuine offer to use private funds. As observed in Chapter 1.5.B, out of the sixty-nine known instances of public funds voted to honour local notables, only twenty-three were remitted. Forty-six of the notables accepted the public funds. Remittances had plenty of bandwidth to carry both the vague message of generosity and a more specific message.

This specific message, I suggest, had three overlapping aspects. First, it signalled concern for the finances of the honourers. Out of the fifty-two inscriptions, twenty-six times the remitted money is said or indicated to have been public funds. The second most common source of funds is money collected from the people, *aes conlatum* (at six times). When proposing to remit the public money for the *biga* offered by the decurions of Lepcis Magna, Plautius Lupus “made the statement that he would not burden the city, whose people, [and whose] trust, zeal and [- - -] of the decurions he reveres” (*u(erba) f(ecerit) ne oneraret urbem cuius pubes fid(em) studium in[- - - d]ecurionum adoraret*, Table 3.2.23 lines 9-11). As discussed in Chapter 1.4-1.5, the use of public funds in cities with Roman statutes was carefully regulated and tracked. Ideally, there was a culture of fiscal prudence; if not, the emperor imposed a *curator rei publicae* to see to its installation.

Second, there is the possibility that the remitters were striving to meet ideals of statesmanship. In his *Πολιτικά παραγγέλματα*, Plutarch states that “the best man is he who has no need of such things [i.e. statues and other expensive honours], but flees and declines them (ἄριστος μὲν οὖν ὁ μηδενὸς δεόμενος τῶν τοιούτων ἀλλὰ φεύγων καὶ παραιτούμενος, *Mor.* 820C). Plutarch is holding the statesman to the high standard of emperors, who refused whole

honours (not just the cost) in the practice known as *recusatio*.¹⁴⁶ Yet he acknowledges that “it may not always be easy to reject some favour of the people and their friendliness, when they are given to this” (ἂν δ’ ἢ μὴ ῥάδιον δήμου τινὰ χάριν ἀπόσασθαι καὶ φιλοφροσύνην πρὸς τοῦτο ῥυέντος, *Mor.* 820C-D). One must guard against damage to one's reputation by refusing every public honour. In such cases, “some inscription suffices, or a tablet, or decree, or young shoot” (ἐπιγραφὴ τις ἀρκεῖ καὶ πινάκιον καὶ ψήφισμα καὶ θαλλός, *Mor.* 820C). Despite his political idealism, Plutarch was pragmatic regarding local politics.¹⁴⁷

Dio Chrysostom seems to have put into practice a similar set of ideas. Speaking to the Prusan assembly, perhaps soon after his return from exile in late 97 CE,¹⁴⁸ Dio refused a statue, stating that he drew all the honour he needed from their goodwill and friendship.¹⁴⁹ He explained that “this is most sufficient for a reasonable man: being loved by his own citizens” (τοῦτο γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ ἱκανώτατον ἐπικεῖ, τὸ ἀγαπᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ πολιτῶν, *Or.* 44.2). “When he has this,” Dio continues, “why would he still need in addition statues, proclamations, or privileges of front seats? For one word spoken from goodwill and friendship is worth more than all of man's gold, crowns, and everything else that seems illustrious.”¹⁵⁰ In case the Prusans insist on him having one of these “illustrious” honours, Dio next points out that he, in fact, already has many such honours, those awarded to his ancestors (*Or.* 44.3). He then proceeds to list them.

¹⁴⁶ Wallace-Hadrill 1982: 36-37; Talbert 1984: 359; Stewart 2003: 85. For emperors: e.g. *R.G.* 21.3, 24.2; Plin. *Pan.* 21.1, 52.3, *Ep.* 10.9; Claudius *P.Lond.* 6.1912 lines 28-51; *SHA Ant. Pius* 4.10, 5.2, 10.1. For governors: Cic. *Att.* 5.21.7; *Q. frat.* 1.1.8.

¹⁴⁷ Aalders 1982: 49; similarly Jones 1971: 114, 117; Carrière 1977: 240-241, 246; cf. Desideri 2011: 83-84.

¹⁴⁸ The dating of *Or.* 44 is disputed, although most seem to prefer a date soon after Dio's return to Prusa from exile. For discussion and bibliography, see Salermi 2000: 63 n.42, cf. 66-67 n.67. For dating the speech to after an embassy to Trajan at Rome in probably 101, see Jones 1978: 138; Swain 1996: 226.

¹⁴⁹ εὖ μέντοι ἐπίστασθε ὅτι τὰς τιμὰς ἔχω πάσας, καὶ ὅσας νῦν εἰσηγείσθε καὶ εἰ τινες ἄλλαι εἰσὶν, ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ εὐνοίᾳ καὶ φιλίᾳ καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου ἐγὼ δέομαι, *Or.* 44.2.

¹⁵⁰ καὶ ὁ τοῦτο ἔχων τί ἂν ἔτι προσδέοιτο εἰκόνων ἢ κηρυγμάτων ἢ προεδριῶν; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ, χρυσοῦς σφυρήλατος ἰστάμενος ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις ἱεροῖς. ἐν γὰρ ῥῆμα πλείονος ἅξιον ἀπ' εὐνοίας ῥηθὲν καὶ φιλίας ἢ τὸ ξύμπαν ἐν ἀνθρώποις χρυσίον καὶ στέφανοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, *Or.* 44.2

Here Dio changes subject and never refers back to his refusal during the rest of the speech. While he certainly was making a political point in this ecclesial speech, there is little profit in speculating on it without more concrete statements from him. Fortunately, Plutarch continues. In one of his *exempla*, he explicitly calls the moderating of honours “political” (τι . . . πολιτικόν, *Mor.* 820D). What he meant by this is multi-layered. On a basic level, the refusal of honours helped to avoid the envy of political opponents and of the people in general. Much how Plutarch observes that “the love of offices” (ἡ φιλαρχία, *Mor.* 813C) generates envy in others and opens up the statesman to criticism for “insatiable desire for reputation and power” (ἀπληστρία δόξης ἢ δυνάμεως, *Mor.* 812D), regarding honours he declares that (*Mor.* 819E-820B):

ἡ δὲ φιλοτιμία, καίπερ οὔσα σοβαρωτέρα τῆς φιλοκερδείας, οὐκ ἐλάττονας ἔχει κῆρας ἐν πολιτείᾳ· καὶ γὰρ τὸ τολμᾶν αὐτῇ πρόσσεστι μᾶλλον ἐμφύεται γὰρ οὐκ ἀργαῖς οὐδὲ ταπειναῖς ἀλλ’ ἐρρωμέναις μάλιστα καὶ νεανικαῖς προαιρέσεσι, καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῶν ὄχλων ῥόθιον πολλάκις συνεξαΐρον αὐτὴν καὶ συνεξωθοῦν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις ἀκατάσχετον ποιεῖ καὶ δυσμεταχείριστον. ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ Πλάτων ἀκουστέον εἶναι τοῖς νέοις ἔλεγεν ἐκ παίδων εὐθύς, ὥς οὔτε περικεῖσθαι χρυσὸν αὐτοῖς ἐξώθεν οὔτε κεκτηῖσθαι θέμις, οἰκεῖον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ συμμεμιγμένον ἔχοντας, αἰνιττόμενος οἶμαι τὴν ἐκ γένους διατείνουσαν εἰς τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν πολιτείᾳ· οὕτω παραμυθώμεθα τὴν φιλοτιμίαν, λέγοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔχειν χρυσὸν ἀδιάφθορον καὶ ἀκήρατον καὶ ἄχραντον ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ μώμου τιμὴν, ἀναλογισμῶ καὶ παριθεωρήσει τῶν πεπραγμένων ἡμῖν καὶ πεπολιτευμένων αὐξανομένην διὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι γραφομένων τιμῶν ἢ πλαττομένων ἢ χαλκοτυπουμένων . . . ὁ δὲ Κάτων, ἤδη τότε τῆς Ῥώμης καταπιπλαμένης ἀνδριάντων, οὐκ ἔῶν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι μᾶλλον’ ἔφη ‘βούλομαι πυνθάνεσθαί τινας, διὰ τί μου ἀνδριάς οὐ κεῖται ἢ διὰ τί κεῖται’. καὶ γὰρ φθόνον ἔχει τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ νομίζουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς μὴ λαβοῦσιν αὐτοὶ χάριν ὀφείλιν, τοὺς δὲ λαβόντας αὐτοῖς καὶ βαρεῖς εἶναι, οἷον ἐπὶ μισθῶ τὰς χρείας ἀπαιτοῦντας.

The love of honours, although more pompous than love of profit, is no less ruinous in civic life. For there is also more daring in it. For lazy and humble plans are not inherent in it, but especially vigorous and impetuous plans, and the surge from the crowd, which assists in lifting and driving it with praises, makes it uncheckable and unmanageable. So just as Plato says: young men must hear straight out of childhood that it is not right to wear gold on the outside nor to possess it, having a private gold mingled together in their soul. . . . Thus, let us downplay the love for honour, saying there is honour in ourselves uncorrupted, unruined, and undefiled by envy or disgrace, [but] increased with the thorough

calculation and consideration of our deeds and conduct in government. Therefore, there is no need for written honours, or those moulded, or those worked in bronze. . . . At a time when Rome was already filled with statues, Cato, not allowing there to be any of himself, said: "I prefer people to ask why a statue of me does not stand, rather than why there does." For envy permeates such things and many think that they owe a favour to those who have not received one, but that those who have received one are oppressive even to them, as if demanding services for hire.

As Cato's quip suggests, the core of Plutarch's argument was widely accepted in Roman society (e.g. *Juv. Sat.* 10.54-113¹⁵¹). The avoidance of envy might be behind Plautius Lupus' decision to remit the cost of his two-horse chariot statue. The decurions interpreted his wish not to burden the city as an act of *verecundia*, "modesty."¹⁵² This was a standard reaction. The *verecundia* of the recipient is the only reason Seneca finds acceptable for a delay in the giving of a benefit (*Ben.* 2.1.3); donors, in contrast, must promptly fulfil promises to give. According to Robert Kaster, "*verecundia* animates the art of knowing your proper place in every social transaction and basing your behaviour on that knowledge."¹⁵³ *Verecundia* had two aims: "avoiding offence to others, by avoiding improper assertion of self" and "protecting the self and its value" by avoiding offending others.¹⁵⁴ Valerius Maximus provides several examples of the virtue along these lines. One is of the scribe C. Cicereius yielding the praetorship to Cn. Scipio, when he saw that he was ahead of Scipio in the centuries (VM 4.5.3). Maximus explains that, as the client of Scipio Africanus, Cicereius could not bear beating the great man's son.¹⁵⁵

Pliny too characterises Pallas' refusal of the 15,000,000HS awarded to him by the senate as an act of modesty (*verecundia ipsius*, *Ep.* 8.6.12). Pallas likely had in mind the examples of Q.

¹⁵¹ For further parallels, see Courtney 1980: 460 *ad* lines 10.56-57.

¹⁵² See also the possible [- - - *verecundia quod esset duabus bigiis et equestrib(us) // [statuis tribus(?) contentus - - -]*, *CIL* X 7295.

¹⁵³ Kaster 2005: 15.

¹⁵⁴ Kaster 2005: 17.

¹⁵⁵ Contra Lancel 1958: 150, who says that one remitter (Table 3.2.39) was demonstrating a "lack of modesty" ("manque de modestie").

Naevius Cordus Sutorius Macro and P. Graecinius Laco, who became *praefecti praetorio* and *vigilum* respectively, after assisting Tiberius with the downfall of Sejanus. The Senate had similarly offered to them *ornamenta* (respectively *praetoria* and *quaestoria*), large cash rewards, and other honours equal to their honorary ranks, all of which they refused (Dio Cass. 58.12.7). The Senate had just passed a *senatus consultum* forbidding the granting of excessive honours in response to Sejanus' unprecedented rise in influence and accumulation of unique distinctions (Dio Cass. 58.12.6). Dio Cassius observes that the Senate was sending mixed messages by offering to Macro and Laco such extensive honours so soon after its decree. The two men likely calculated that displaying modesty was crucial for their reputation and long-term viability.¹⁵⁶ Pallas' position was even more precarious given the inconsistency of his influence with his freedman status. He perhaps also thought that a note of modesty would be helpful.¹⁵⁷

Envy did have consequences. Plutarch observes that all three-hundred of the statues erected to Demetrius of Phaleron were melted down into chamber pots while he still lived (*Mor.* 820E). “Many honours have experienced such things,” Plutarch continues, “being unendurable not only because of the wickedness of the receiver, but also the greatness of what was given” (καὶ πολλὰι τοιαῦτα τιμαὶ πεπόνθασιν οὐ μοχθηρία τοῦ λαβόντος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγέθει τοῦ δοθέντος δυσχερανθεῖσαι). According to him, “cheapness” of the honour is the “best and most certain safe-guard.” “The great and excessive honours, being oppressive much like badly weighted statues, are quickly overturned” (διὸ κάλλιστον καὶ βεβαϊότατον εὐτέλεια τιμῆς φυλακτήριον, αἱ δὲ μεγάλαι καὶ ὑπέρογκοι καὶ βάρος ἔχουσαι παραπλησίως τοῖς ἀσυμμέτροις

¹⁵⁶ Tacitus says that Macro learned from Sejanus and exercised his influence as praetorian prefect more subtly, although just as harshly (*Ann.* 6.29.3, 48.2). While Macro was eventually forced to commit suicide, Laco's prudence paid off, for he went on to accept the *ornamenta consularia* and other honours under Claudius (Dio Cass. 60.23.3; *ILS* 1336).

¹⁵⁷ Pliny finds Pallas' tomb inscription announcing that he was *honore contentus* “moderate and even humble” (*modicus atque etiam demissus*, Plin. *Ep.* 8.6.2) in comparison to the *senatus consultum* authorising Pallas' honours. Pallas perhaps wanted to tone down the rhetoric.

ἀνδριᾶσι ταχὺ περιτρέπονται).¹⁵⁸

Many examples of toppled statues are provided at the start of this chapter. The best illustration of the envy an honour could generate is a verse¹⁵⁹ inscription from Ausugum in Venetia, Italy, erected probably in the second half of the first century CE.¹⁶⁰ It is written from the point of view of the honoree. According to him, the people used collected money to dedicate the rare honour of a gilded statue (*[a]uratam faciunt generatis undique numm[s]*, *CIL V 5049* line 7). “Great envy grew from the repute.¹⁶¹ The citizens, just like lords, tried to expel their patron. Shame is in short supply [among them]” (*[i]nvidia crevit de nomine magna patronu[m] / si]c tamquam domini cives expellere temp[tant] / plebi?]* *praecisus pudor e[s]t*, lines 7-10). The honoree did have merit; he had put on gladiatorial shows over the course of a month and had subsidised the price of grain an unknown number of times.¹⁶² The honour, thus, began innocently. “Earnest and guiltless people, thinking that great things were being proposed and hoping that they were bearing gifts to me, were bearing my tombstone” (*solliciti insonte[s] proponi magna put[antes] / sperantesq(ue) mihi se munera ferre fere[bant] / funera*, lines 3-5).

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Seneca's story of the man who “took the measure of himself” and refused the gift of a city from Alexander, for fear of envy (*se ipse mensus tanti muneris inuidiam refugisset*, *Ben.* 2.16). The benefaction of a city is far grander than any statue, but Seneca's basic point retains validity for this discussion: benefactions need to be in proportion to the recipient.

¹⁵⁹ For discussion of the literary qualities of the text, see Courtney 1995: 316-317.

¹⁶⁰ Mommsen (*ad CIL V 5049*; followed by Wistrand 1981: 116) dates the letter forms to the first century, while Buonopane (*ad SI XII* p.164), Gregori (*ad EAOR II 23*), and F. Martin (1996b: 69-70) date the letters and content to the second half of the first century. F. Martin (1996b: 69-70) in particular points out that the dedicator's *nomen*, Claudia (*CIL V 5049* line 16), likely means that the family did not receive Roman citizenship until Drusus and Tiberius were active in the area in 15 BCE or until the Principate of Claudius. Courtney, however, says that “the poem looks much later to me,” pointing out that the word *lucustae* on line 10 is not found before the fourth century (1995: 317). He produces no other evidence, however, and the rest of the parallels he cites come from the late Republic or Julio-Claudian era.

¹⁶¹ F. Martin is more likely right that the sense of *nomen* here is “honour” or “fame” (1996b: 63-64). Wistrand states that it refers to the inscription (1981: 109, cf. 113-114 where he admits the possibility of ‘honour’) and translates it as “the wording of the dedication” (1981: 105). This understanding makes less sense, however.

¹⁶² *[e]dideram munus m[irabile m]ense [N]ov[embri] / a[n]nona(ue) meo su[m]ptu est lax[ata] per an[num?]*, *CIL V 5049* lines 1-2 (the reading of *per an[num]* is debated). For discussion, see F. Martin 1996b: 57-61. She (1996: 64) and Wistrand (1981: 112), however, assume too narrowly from these benefactions that he was an aedile.

The honoree sees envy¹⁶³ as the cause of his troubles and attacks his fellow citizens for becoming fickle and weak once they were no-longer the collective *populus* but merely individuals.¹⁶⁴ In contrast, his opponents, whoever they were, could have equally said that he did not deserve such a prestigious and expensive honour, and that its award made him haughty and imperious. It clearly upset the equilibrium of the community. These problems might have been avoided, if the honoree had refused the honour or remitted its expense.

The Ausugum honoree would have increased his reputation too. It is here that the third purpose behind remittances becomes apparent: sending a political message. Remittance helped to mould a particular reputation for oneself and one's family. Modesty was one aspect of this reputation. The core message, however, was self-control, modesty being, as Kaster makes clear, a product of self-control.¹⁶⁵ As stated above, thirty-three of the fifty-three inscriptions contain the statement that one was “content.” In comparison, only eighteen contain an explicit statement of remittance. This suggests that drafters believed the sentiment was important to the overall meaning of the inscription. So far, it has been interpreted merely as an expression of contentment, that is satisfaction with the honour.¹⁶⁶ This is true, but also not the complete sense of the

¹⁶³ For historical discussion of the *cives' invidia* the honoree cites, see Wistrand 1981: 112-116. Tacitus describes Tiberius soon after Augustus' death “restraining” the honours senators were proposing for Livia (*ille moderandos feminarum honores dictitans*) and promising “the same temperance” regarding himself (*eademque se temperantia*). The historian remarks that Tiberius was “anxious of the envy of others” and himself envious of his mother (*ceterum anxius invidia et muliebri fastigium in deminutionem sui*, Tac. *Ann.* 1.14.2). Veyne (1976: 318-324, 1990: 154) argues that euergetism was the major component to the social contract notables had with the rest of the populace that mitigated the populace's envy and allowed notables to continue to dominate politics. Veyne, however, is caught in a notable/non-notable dichotomy and does not acknowledge that notables could be envious of each other too (see below). Generosity was not enough; one also had to act in a suitably modest fashion.

¹⁶⁴ [*sic populus fuerat constans, disiunctus --- / ---] quisque sibi timidus*, CIL V 5049 lines 14-15. This statement is the conclusion to the comparison with locusts, who, the author says, are “fearful and unable to defend themselves” when separate, but “fearless” when in “joined divisions” (*ut forte lucus[tae / pal]a[nt]es timidae neque[un]t defendere ses[e / agmi]nibus iuncti[s q]uae pabula saepe seca[ntes / inpa]vidae campis hominum pecudumque [recumbunt]*, lines 10-13). For discussion of the simile, see Wistrand 1981: 111-112; Courtney 1995: 317; F. Martin 1996b: 66-68.

¹⁶⁵ Kaster 2005: 17, cf. 22. Forbis similarly states that *modestia* (“restraint”) and *verecundia* (“modesty”) are near synonyms, which point to the “propriety and restraint” of the honoree (Forbis 1996: 83; cf. Lefebvre 1994: 167-168).

¹⁶⁶ αὐτὸς δὲ ἀρκοῦμαι ταῖς [τιμαῖς] μετριωτέραις τε καὶ ἀνθρωπείαις, SEG 11.923. Cf. Cass. Dio 58.12.8. As noted

adjective.

Contentus/a is the perfect participle of *continere*, which literally means “to hold together” and, by extension, “to hold back,” “to limit.” *Continentia* also derives from *continere* and is the virtue (used almost interchangeably with *abstinentia*) by which Cicero most frequently boasts of his thriftiness and overall conscientious administration as governor of Cilicia.¹⁶⁷ He supports these boasts with repeated claims¹⁶⁸ that he does not exact the resources from the provincials to which he is legally entitled, nor permit statues of himself and other honours to be decreed.¹⁶⁹ It is by “the highest integrity and self-control” (*ab summa integritate continentiaque*, *Q. frat.* 1.1.8) that, Cicero says, his brother had also not accepted any statue or other gifts, after three years as governor of Asia. Declaring oneself “content,” thus, did not just express satisfaction with the honour,¹⁷⁰ but carried the extra sense that one could legitimately take more, but chooses not to.

It remains to explore how clearly this sentiment was expressed by the honoree and other

above, Plutarch advised that, rather than statues and other ostentatious honours, “some inscription suffices, or a tablet, or decree, or young shoot” (ἐπιγραφή τις ἄρκεϊ καὶ πινάκιον καὶ ψήφισμα καὶ θαλλός, *Mor.* 820C).

¹⁶⁷ *qua aequitate et continentia tuerer socios provinciamque administrarem*, Cic. *Fam.* 15.4.1; *nos provinciae praefecimus Coelium. 'puerum' inquit 'et fortasse fatuum et non gravem et non continentem!'* *adsentior*, Cic. *Att.* 6.6.3. Cf. from Cato: *Fam.* 15.5.2. *Abstinentia*: Cic. *Att.* 5.16.3; 5.17.2, 5; 5.21.5. Cf. Plin. *Ep.* 2.6.5; 5.19.9; 6.32. The author of the *rhētorica ad Herennium* defines *modestia* as “moderation limiting desire in the soul” (*modestia est in animo continens moderatio cupiditatem*, *ad Herr.* 3.2.3) and advises citing it when censuring boundless lust for offices, money, and “similar things” (*modestia partibus, utemur si nimias libidines honoris, pecuniae, similium rerum vituperabimus*, 3.3.5; cf. *Flor.* 18.17). Cicero is slightly more detailed in supporting his assertion that *continentia*, *modestia*, and *clementia* are constituent parts of *temperantia* (*Inv.* 2.54). Hellegouarc’h characterises *continentia* in the late Republic as “the act of restraining one’s passions” and as essentially synonymous with *abstinentia* (1963: 259–261; Valerius Maximus puts *continentia* and *abstinentia* together in the same category, 4.3). “Most often, it qualified the conduct of a military leader or a governor of a province who avoids indulging in the traditional pillaging of the governed. . . . It is a virtue considered profoundly Roman and traditionally attributed to ancestors” (1963: 260).

¹⁶⁸ *ob haec beneficia, quibus illi obstupescunt, nullos honores mihi nisi verborum decerni sino; statuas, fana, τέθηρππα prohibeo*, Cic. *Att.* 5.21.7; Cic. *Att.* 6.2.4; cf. *nos tamen sic in provincia nos gerimus, quod ad abstinentiam attinet, ut nullus terruncius insumatur in quemquam*, Cic. *Att.* 5.17.2; 5.16.3.

¹⁶⁹ Much like Cicero’s claims about his *continentia* as governor, Valerius Maximus describes Calpurnius Piso’s conduct as *continens* (4.3.10). For his efforts in freeing Sicily from a slave revolt, Piso awarded his son only the *titulus* of a golden crown weighing three pounds, meaning that he did not actually give him the crown. Piso, rather, promised to bequeath to his son the equivalent weight in gold, explaining that “it must not be paid from public money by a magistrate what would return to his own household” (*non oportere a magistratu e publica pecunia erogari quod in ipsius domum rediturum esset*, VM 4.3.10).

¹⁷⁰ Pace Wesch-Klein 1993: 68–69; Ortiz de Urbina Álava 2007–2008: 1047.

supporters of the honour. Etymology alone is a poor indicator of intent. Valerius Maximus frames an anecdote of M'. Curius Dentatus as an *exemplum continentiae*. He relates that the senate awarded Curius fifty *iugera* of land for having driven Pyrrhus out of Italy, but the rest of the *populus* seven. Curius, however, “did not exceed the limit (*modum*) of the popular allotment, considering a citizen hardly suitable for the *res publica*, who is not content with that which was distributed to the rest.”¹⁷¹ This mixture of refusal of an honour with concern for the state is reminiscent of Plutarch's advice, as well as remitters' probable desire to appear concerned for civic finances.

For Cornelius Nepos, Atticus too was an exemplar of self-control, if in a more personal manner on account of the political turmoil of his day. According to the biographer, Atticus had the resources, status, connections, and skills to be a major player on the political scene, but chose instead a policy of neutrality.¹⁷² The biographer correspondingly writes that Atticus “accepted prefectures offered by many consuls and praetors in such a way that he followed no one into his province. He was “content with the honour,” spurning personal profit.¹⁷³ In other words, Atticus was content with the title of prefect and did not perform any of the duties of those offices nor indulge in the unofficial financial rewards available to those helping to administer a province.¹⁷⁴ Nepos is presenting his refusal to accompany consuls and praetors to their provinces as one more example of the commitment to his own principles and to *mos maiorum* in the face of the corruption of his day.

Moreover, in addition to *verecundia*, Pliny explicitly reads Pallas' refusal of the gift of

¹⁷¹ *popularis adsignationis modum non excessit, parum idoneum rei publicae civem existimans qui eo quod reliquis tribueretur contentus non esset*, VM 4.3.5b, cf. 4.3.10.

¹⁷² Millar 1988: 42-44; Lobur 2008: 84-89.

¹⁷³ *multorum consulum praetorumque praefecturas delatas sic accepit, ut neminem in provinciam sit secutus, honore fuerit contentus, rei familiaris despexit fructum*, Nepos Att. 6.4. See also Atticus' refusal of statues while staying at Athens: *quamdiu adfuit, ne qua sibi statua poneretur, restitit, absens prohibere non potuit*, Nepos Att. 3.2.

¹⁷⁴ Millar 1988: 43.

money and his subsequent decision to commemorate his refusal on his sepulchre as a *moderationis exemplum* (Ep. 7.29.3, similarly 8.6.14; *ab eius modi cupiditatibus remotior eius animus esset*, 8.6.8; *abstinentiae* 8.6.9, *moderantem* 8.6.11; *verecundia* 8.6.12). And that is exactly what irks Pliny so much: that his cherished Senate would not only claim to award this uppity scum of a freedman (*hoc caenam*, 7.29.3, *liberto* 8.6.16) “gladly” (*libenter*, Ep. 8.6.12), but that they also very “eagerly” (*tanto impensius*, Ep. 8.6.9) enlisted Claudius' aid in winning over Pallas' “most arrogant self-restraint” (*superbissimae abstinentiae*). They even implied in their *senatus consultum* that they would have persevered in getting Pallas to “yield to the Senate” (*ut senatui cederet*, 8.6.9) had not Pallas convinced Claudius to request that the money be remitted.¹⁷⁵ In other words, this “most disgusting slave” (*fastidiosissimi mancipii*, Ep. 8.6.14; cf. *servo*, Ep. 8.6.4) did not just demonstrate his greater influence over the emperor, but gave a lesson to the Senate on sober moderation.

To make matters worse according to Pliny, the Senate seemed oblivious to their subservience (*humilitatem senatus*, Ep. 8.6.15), for they ordered that their *senatus consultum* be inscribed on bronze and set up at a “very frequented location,” so that Pallas' “very respected good faith and blamelessness may stimulate by their example zeal for so honest emulation.”¹⁷⁶ Tacitus, for his part, sardonically observes: “And fixed in official bronze was the *senatus consultum* in which a freedman, the possessor of three hundred million HS, was heaped with praise for his ancient parsimony.”¹⁷⁷

The connection between remittance and self-control is also found in inscriptions. A civic

¹⁷⁵ *sed cum princeps optimus parensque publicus rogatus a Pallente eam partem sententiae, quae pertinebat ad dandum ei ex aeario sestertium centies quinquagies, remitti voluisset*, Plin. Ep. 8.6.10.

¹⁷⁶ *cum . . . Pallantis spectatissima fides atque innocentia exemplo provocare studium tam honestae aemulationis posset*, Ep. 8.6.13, cf. 8.6.14-15.

¹⁷⁷ *et fixum est <in aere> publico senatus consultum, quo libertinus sestertii ter miliens possessor antiquae parsimoniae laudibus cumulabatur*, Tac. Ann. 12.53.1. Tacitus next turns to Pallas' brother Felix, whom, he says, “did not act with equal moderation” (*at non frater eius . . . pari moderatione agebat*, Tac. Ann. 12.54.1).

benefactor at Cumae, Italy, for instance, is said to have been “content with the honour of one two-horse chariot statue” (*unius bigae honore content(us)*) and remitted the second one that the *populus* had petitioned for him, “in conformity with his innate restraint” (*pro insita modestia sua*, *CIL X 3704=ILS 5054*).¹⁷⁸ At Thabarbusis, Proconsularis, Q. Flavius Lappianus highlighted his moderation in another way: by specifying that he had returned “all” of the 6,661HS the *populus* had offered for his statue, because he was content with the honour “alone” (*reddita {n}omni pecunia solo honore contentus*, Table 3.2.40).

Returning to the letter the decurions of Forum Sempronii sent to their honoree, who had already remitted the cost of an earlier statue. They explain that the “singular restraint of your morals and marked awe” compelled them to delay informing him of their new decree to honour him with a statue. They knew that he would again insist on remitting its cost. That would have only further “highlighted his restraint.”¹⁷⁹ It is possible that the *plebs* of Uchi Maius were doing something analogous. One inscription, like many recording a remittance, notes in a *cum* clause that the initial dedicator, in this case the *pagus* of Roman citizens, “had decreed a statue” to P. Marius Extricatus, patron of the *pagus* and decurion of Carthage. The probable peregrine *plebs* (*p`leb`s*), however, are said to have been “mindful of his self-restraint which he offered to his own *res publica*.” Then, in the perfect indicative – meaning the final decision actually executed – they decreed to do something “at the location [provided by decree] of the decurions” (*[[cui cum pagus ob merita eius statuam decrevisset p`leb`s memor abstinentiae quam rei p(ublicae) suae praestitit decrev[i]t et [- - - loc]o [d(ato) d(ecreto)] d(ecurionum) [- - -]]]*, Table 3.2.51). One

¹⁷⁸ The inscription says that the honoree had only remitted the “cost of the other [two-horse chariot statue]” (*alterius sumptus rei p(ublicae) remisit*, *CIL X 3704=ILS 5054*). Nonetheless, given that he had declared himself content with one *biga*, the sense must be that, by remitting its cost, he was refusing the entire second statue (cf. Forbis 1996: 84).

¹⁷⁹ *praecipue morum tuorum modestia singularis reverentia insignis necessario nos compulit . . . quae res tuam quidem modestiam inlustraret nobis*, *CIL XI 6123*.

plausible scenario is that the *plebs* resolved to erect and presumably pay for the statue themselves, in order to work around the Extricatus' self-control that would not let the *pagus* spend public money.

The fundamental message of remittance, then, seems to have been that the remitter was self-controlled. Lappianus and the other remitters could have accepted the offered funds as well as the decreed statue, but made a conscious decision to use their own money. That said, this motivation of remitters – to appear self-controlled – only appears to follow Plutarch. Their actions depart from his advice in a fundamental way and it is worth exploring this to perceive their aim more exactly.

Plutarch too associates the refusal or moderation of honours with self-control. “True honour” (ἀληθινὴν τιμὴν), he argues, is not statues, but winning a good reputation with the people (*Mor.* 820F). “Faith in one's character or its opposite has great influence in civic life,” Plutarch declares.¹⁸⁰ He explains that the people will not listen to those without a good reputation (821B-C); “nothing other than faith in goodwill and reputation for nobleness and justice proves a man to another to be willingly manageable and amenable” (ἄνθρωπον δ’ ἀνθρώπῳ χειροῖται καὶ πρᾶον ἐκουσίως οὐδὲν ἄλλ’ ἢ πίστις εὐνοίας καὶ καλοκαγαθίας δόξα καὶ δικαιοσύνης παρίστησιν, *Mor.* 821B). Plutarch soon elaborates, stating that the “foremost and greatest good of politicians' reputations is the trust [of others in them] providing access to deeds; second, that goodwill from many is a shield for good men against slanderers and troublemakers.”¹⁸¹ A good reputation, thus, provides political capital and prevents what excessive honours generate: envy

¹⁸⁰ οὕτως μεγάλην ἔχει ροπὴν ἐν πολιτείᾳ πίστις ἥθους καὶ τοῦναντίον, *Mor.* 801C.

¹⁸¹ καὶ τοῦτο μὲν πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον ἔνεστι τῇ δόξῃ τῇ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀγαθόν, ἡ πάροδος ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις διδοῦσα πίστις· δεύτερον δ’ ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς βασκάνους καὶ πονηροὺς ὅπλον ἢ παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν εὖνοια τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐστίν, *Mor.* 821C. Cf. *Mor.* 822F-823A.

(ἀπερύκουσα τὸν φθόνον).¹⁸²

The notable develops such a reputation, Plutarch asserts, by being a σώφρων ἄνθρωπος (*Mor.* 823A). Σωφροσύνη is the virtue of mastery over one's own desires or simply of conscious thought over unconscious impulse, with the goal of operating opportunely and smoothly in all situations.¹⁸³ The chief characteristic of a “prudent” man is πραότης, “mildness,” meaning that he consciously restrains his inner emotions in order to interact with others in a mild and patient manner.¹⁸⁴ Πραότης is what allows a statesman to de-escalate a tense situation, to temper the excesses of fellow notables, and to guide the people, all without arousing enmity (*Mor.* 800B, 808D, 809E, 810E, 815A, 824D, cf. 825D). In Plutarch's eyes, thus, a person who refuses a statue might keenly desire it, but ignores his own wants because he puts his fellow citizens first.¹⁸⁵ With this in mind, the appropriateness of *verecundia* as a virtue of remitters is fully understood, for Valerius Maximus states that it “directs very just men to neglect their private resources and to seek that public resources be as ample as possible” (*a qua tempestivus ad verecundiam transitus videtur: haec enim iustissimis viris praecepit ut privatas facultates neglegerent, publicas quam amplissimas esse cuperent*, 4.5pr.).

The fundamental difference between Plutarch's advice and the actions of the remitters is that the former advises either refusing statues or accepting token honours, while the latter only remitted the cost. They still set up statues, sometimes a very prestigious and costly statue in a two or four-horse chariot. The remitters, moreover, still make distributions and put on spectacles. At

¹⁸² The idea of an established reputation for virtue as a shield against slander and lawsuits: Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.17, *Off.* 3.39; Quint. *Inst.* 7.2.33; cf. Cic. *Sull.* 79, *Flacc.* 100; *De Orat.* 2.182.

¹⁸³ See Kosman (1983) and Rademaker (2005: 3-7) for discussion of this virtue in the *Charmides*. Cf. North 1977: 38; Rademaker 2005: 12-13.

¹⁸⁴ H. Martin 1960: esp. 67-68, 70, 73; Panagopoulos 1977: 217.

¹⁸⁵ See also, Plutarch's contrast of the elder Cato's φθόνος, which leads him to endanger Rome by hampering Scipio Africanus' war efforts, with Aristides' πραότης, which causes him to put aside his competition with Themistocles to help in Athens' efforts against Persia (*Comp. Arist. et Cat. Mai.* 5; Stadter 2011: 251).

Thabarbuisis, Lappianus offered a banquet and oil at the same time he declared himself to be “content with the honour alone” and gave back “all” 6,661HS.¹⁸⁶ While Plutarch is not rigidly against spectacles and distributions (*Mor.* 822A-B), he advises people to “control themselves” (κρατεῖν ἑαυτῶν) from giving unnecessary spectacles and benefactions, especially if they stir up the people, do not celebrate a god, or if they indebted the benefactor (*Mor.* 822F). To him, they are base “flatteries and bait” (νόθα καὶ κίβδηλα τὰ . . . θωπεύματα καὶ δελεάσματα, *Mor.* 823C), which attract only a fleeting reputation and “false honours” (ψευδώνυμοι τιμαὶ, *Mor.* 821F). In this light, the remitters of Proconsularis do not meet Plutarch's standards of the σώφρων ἀνὴρ.

This problem is not unbridgeable. Plutarch was well aware that he was promoting just one model of political conduct. While his advice is often idealistic,¹⁸⁷ he himself was pragmatic.¹⁸⁸ He did not expect moral perfection, nor believe it to be beneficial.¹⁸⁹ He also knew that most notables did not follow his advice nor ever would. The presumption of conflict with the people, other notables, and Roman administrators is found throughout the Πολιτικά παραγγέλματα. Much of his work is devoted to how the prudent notable can build an effective reputation amongst the flashy benefactions of the other notables and then how he can leverage that reputation. Plutarch does not bill his σώφρων statesman as the only model for building political capital nor even as the complete package (*Mor.* 823C-E). Rather, he is presenting an alternative to the more typical euergistic model.

In essence, he was providing a toolset for building political capital in the cities of the

¹⁸⁶ Table 3.2.40. For distributions by other remitters at the dedication of the statue, see: Table 3.2.15 (*epulum*), 17 (*epulum* and *sportulae*), 27 (*sportulae*), 37 (*sportulae*); cf. Table 3.3.2 (*ludi*). For spectacles and distributions that the honoree organised at other times, see Table 3.2.15, 23, 32, 39, 43.

¹⁸⁷ There is no need, however, to go as far as Michael Trapp in arguing that Plutarch was on an unrealistic and quaint quest to align the nature of civic politics with Platonist philosophy (Trapp 2004: 195-199; similarly Panagopoulos 1977: 202 who is critiqued by Carrière 1977: 245).

¹⁸⁸ Aalders 1982: 49; similarly Jones 1971: 114, 117; Carrière 1977: 240-241, 246; cf. Desideri 2011: 83-84.

¹⁸⁹ Hence Plutarch's criticism of the younger Cato for being too rigid in his thinking (*Phoc.* 3.3). Politicians had to be practical.

empire. Ideally, people used all of the tools, but in reality notables were to use as much as the circumstances allowed. Nothing stopped them from borrowing from other toolsets too. Because it was a developed and seemingly wide-spread model,¹⁹⁰ one could imply that he had all of the tools of that set just by using a few. Remitters did not have to be assiduous adherents to the model to make the point that they were self-controlled, prudent men, in addition to generous.

There could not have been a more opportune time for such a message than a gathering of people so eager to honour that they decreed public funds or contributed their own money. The honorees' declaration of contentment and counter-offer went contrary to the general expectation that notables only cared for their own prestige and private resources. Remittances were designed to make a distinct impression on the would-be honourers and to help them crystalise their opinion about the honoree's character. They likely lent concrete proof to the claims the honorees and their supporters had made elsewhere about their modesty, self-control, and patriotism.

3.6 PLAUTIUS LUPUS' AWARD OF A *BIGA* (IRT 601)

Easily the fullest example of a '*contentus*' dialogue is an inscription at Lepcis Magna (Appendix A). It records the decurions' decrees concerning the statue in two-horse chariot (*biga*) to Plautius Lupus, a *flamen* and former *duumvir*. Analysing it at length will bring out more clearly the nuances of such dialogues. The text is inscribed on three recessed faces of a rectangular base made from white marble. Face A is badly damaged. Little of its text survives, but it appears to have been a verbose dedication of the statue that included a résumé of a speech by

¹⁹⁰ Take for example Sallust's comparison of the political styles of Caesar and the younger Cato. The former was great due to his *beneficia* and *munificentia*, while the latter gave "nothing," earning his fame by *integritas vitae* (Sall. *Cat.* 54.2). Cato "preferred to be rather than to seem good" (*esse quam videri bonus malebat*, Sall. *Cat.* 54.6).

one of the chief supporters of the honour (*[sententia]m dixit fide*, line A25?).¹⁹¹

One consequence of the loss of Face A is that the inscription does not preserve Lupus' full name. It is likely to have been Tiberius Plautius Lupus Rufinus, however.¹⁹² This can be reasonably established from three other inscriptions. The most detailed one records that “*Ti. et Q. Plautii Lupus et Haterianus Rufini fratres*” erected a statue to M. Cornelius Capitolinus, a *flamen*, in accordance with the will of their brother, C. Aelius Rufinus – Capitolinus' son-in-law (*IRT* 593). This deceased brother was also a *flamen*; to him their mother Aquilia Blaesilla dedicated an item on the balustrade of the *curia* at Lepcis Magna (*IRT* 587).¹⁹³ In the final two inscriptions, it is “*Ti. Plautius Lupus*” who is now deceased and Q. Plautius Haterianus Rufinus, *frater*, alone is executing provisions in Lupus' will to erect statues on marble bases to their mother, Aquilia Blaesilla (*IRT* 632), and to Lupus' wife, Aurellia Sextilla (*IRT* 634). No other inscriptions mentioning a Plautius Lupus exist (*duo nomina* or more), so this is likely the same person as the recipient of the *biga*.

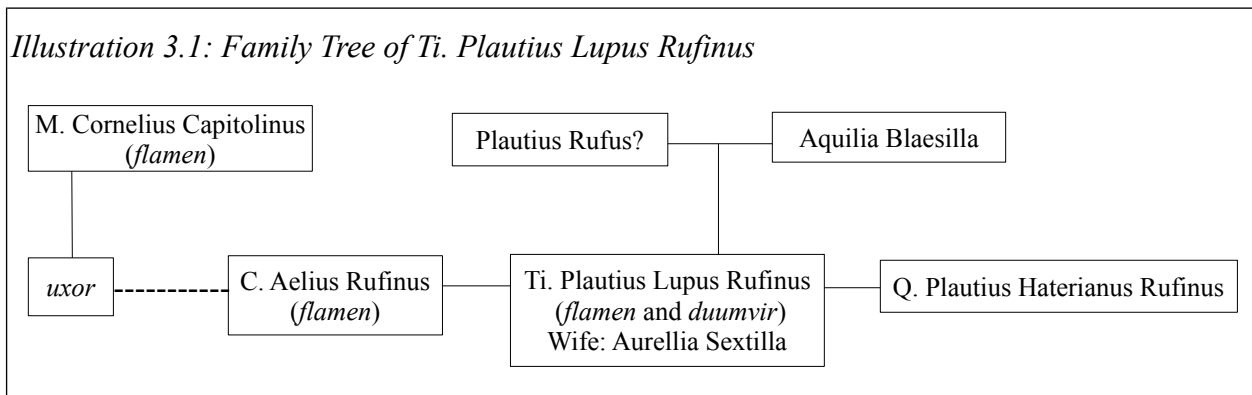
Reynolds and Ward-Perkins date the inscriptions for Lupus' statues to his mother Blaesilla and his wife Sextilla to the second century and to the second or third century respectively, on the basis of lettering. The lettering used for the inscription adorning the statue of the deceased brother, Aelius, which Blaesilla set up while still alive, they date to the second century or to the

¹⁹¹ Sherk 1970: 57.

¹⁹² Wesch-Klein takes the lack of mentioned *praenomen* in Face B and C as further proof of the inscription's third century date (1990: 125). She does not take into account, however, the following three inscriptions pointed to by Reynolds and Ward Perkins (*ad IRT* 632). Besides, *IRT* 601 (=Appendix A) is inconsistent in how it records names. The inscription records the standard *tria nomina* for one man, the *duumvir* designate (L. Cassius Longinus, line B3). Two names, however, are listed for four men. For one, the first of the two names is likely a *praenomen* (M. Rufus, line C15), while it is a *nomen* for the other three (lines B4, 18, 26; C3, 7, 8, 17). Indeed, one of these three latter men was a senator (Iunius Afer, line B18), who certainly had more than just the two listed names.

¹⁹³ Reynolds and Ward-Perkins report that the inscription is on a grey limestone block and that it appears to be uniform with *IRT* 517, which they describe as the balustrade of the *curia* of Lepcis Magna. The dedication, thus, would seem to be the balustrade itself or a bust or statue on the balustrade.

start of the third. The three-sided inscription for Lupus' *biga* they broadly date to the third century, also on the basis of lettering. But given the earlier statues to his mother and brother, the date range of the *biga* must straddle the turn of the third century (c.190-c.210 CE). These inscriptions solidly establish Lupus as a leading but still locally oriented civic notable,¹⁹⁴ who perhaps benefited from consolidation of family property after the death of his brother. The statue that his mother raised to her son, Aelius, and the statues that he and Aelius ordered in their wills reflect a family tradition of publicly demonstrating familial *pietas*. Both his position in the local governing class and his sense of duty are reflected in the decurions' award of the *biga*.



The texts of Faces B and C each contain a copy of a different *decretum* related to the *biga* which had rested on top of the base. The *duumvir designatus*, L. Cassius Longinus, moved the *decretum* of Face B, while the *decretum* of Face C originated with a *flamen perpetuus*, M. Rufus, whose *sententia* the current *duumvir*, Acilius Pompeianus, adopted and moved.

Each of the two preserved *decreta* are detailed summaries of the speeches given by Cassius and Acilius. The praise and biographical information they contain is extensive. From

¹⁹⁴ Another inscription mentions two other Plautii Hateriani: L. Silius Plautius Amicus Haterianus Gavilanus Proximus and L. Silius Plautius Haterianus Blaesilianus (*IRT* 635). The cognomen Blaesilianus also recalls Lupus' mother: Aquilia Blaesilla. No offices for these two are noted, but they might have been related to L. Silius Amicus Haterianus, who was a senatorial *curator rei publicae* of Oea in the first half of the third century (*IRT* 542 with Jacques 1982: 78-79). See discussion of Reynolds and Ward-Perkins *ad IRT* 632.

them, we learn (1) family history: that Lupus came from an eminent local family (*secundum splendorem natalium [s]uorum*, lines B10-11); (2) career history: that he was flamen by universal consent, then *duumvir* just a year before the awarding of the *biga* (*[Ilvi]r(o) anni praeteriti*, C3), and “most recently” (*proxime*, B17) that the decurions appointed him *curator* responsible for organising a gladiatorial show as stipulated in the will of a deceased Roman senator (B17-19); (3) benefactions to the city: several editions of games in thanks for offices and the decoration of a bath chamber with marble and mosaics (B5-17); (4) virtues (often in the superlative): his willingness to undertake responsibilities for his city (*libenter*, B6; *voluntate splendidissime*, B21); his integrity, restraint, and unassuming nature (*si[ngu]larem integritatem et modes[tiam]*, C4-5; *v[ere]c[u]ndiam suam*, C9); and his “most magnificent” generosity towards the city (*magnificentissima liberalitate*, B8; *nec contentus his liberalitatibus*, B13-14; *munificentiam ei[us]*, C5-6); (5) the conscientiousness he devotes to his civic duties (*secundum . . . dignitatemq(ue) col(oniae) n(ostrae)*, B10-11; *[e]ffusissimis adfectibus*, B12; *sollicitudini laboriq(ue) suo*, B19; *observata amplissimi senatus voluntate*, B20-21; *ne oneraret urbem*, C9-10); (6) his enthusiasm and respect for the city, its people, and the decurions (*adfectus*, B12, 22; *volputas* B23-24; *cuius pubes fid(em) studium in[- - -]ecurionum adoraret co[n]tentumq(ue) auctoritate ip[s]orum*, C10-13); finally (7) the respect that his efforts and virtues have earned among his fellow decurions (*o(ptimo) o(rdinis)*, B2, 25; *promeruerit*, B8-9, 17).

These two speeches demonstrate that the decurions possessed detailed information on their honoree, which recalls Apuleius' expressed desire to expose his whole life to the scrutiny of the Carthaginians as part of his apology for being away when they decreed the statue to him (*Flor.* 16.3). The speeches further demonstrate a willingness to praise peers effusively – and these were just the two speeches that directly lead to the *decreta*. More was certainly said in other

sententiae supporting the motions. Nonetheless, the provided details also show that the decurions took pains to demonstrate that they honoured with good and specific cause. They did not honour just anybody.

The process leading to Lupus' erection of the *biga* was not formulaic either. His latest effort on behalf of the city, the curatorship, spurred a mass demonstration by the decurions: an *expostulatio decurionum* – the only verified one in North Africa.¹⁹⁵ The statue they were demanding was not the typical pedestrian, or even an equestrian, but one in a two-horse chariot. In response, the *duumvir designatus* rose to give his speech and move the motion that they erect the *biga* at public expense at any location Lupus chose. The motion carried, to become the *decretum* of Face B. Then Lupus rose to request permission to pay for the honour himself, as noted on the last line. On Face C, his request is described as a statement (*u(erba) f(ecerit)*, C9). Lupus, thus, was physically present.¹⁹⁶ He could have made his offer to pay earlier in the process, but waited for the public money to be decreed. By doing so, he increased the glory of the honour, because it now came with official recognition that he was worth the expenditure of public funds and that he was too rich and good a citizen to let the city expend its limited resources in such a manner.

His offer forced a response from the decurions, which is the second *decretum* contained on Face C. Here the dramatics of the proceedings are most evident. Like Face B, it begins with reference to a mass petition of the decurions calling for a *biga* at public expense. This is likely a repeat mention of the same *postulatio decurionum*, partly because the petition is still for a *biga* at

¹⁹⁵ Other possibilities are *CIL* VIII 1548=15550; *ILTun.* 1066 (as restored); *IRT* 633; *ILAlg.* 1.1300. They are likely or possibly the result of *postulationes decurionum*, but certainty is impossible because of the poor condition of the text or vague language. See the discussion in Chapter 1.3. A definite example is known from Abella, Italy: *qu[od] universis ordinis viris postulanti[bus]*, *CIL* X 1208.

¹⁹⁶ On *verba facere* meaning “verbal expression”: Talbert 1984: 236-237.

public expense (C6). In addition, while the virtues of “singular integrity,” “restraint,” and “munificence” (lines C4-5) are not found so concretely articulated in Face B and, therefore, might refer to Lupus' offer to remit,¹⁹⁷ their potential is there. The praise of Lupus' integrity and restraint might refer to his conduct as *duumvir*, which is said to be “according to the splendour of his family and the status of our colony” (lines B9-11). The munificence, meanwhile, could refer to the several spectacles Lupus put on, as well as the decoration of a chamber in the baths (lines B7, 13-15, 17-21). The *expostulationes* of Faces B and C, therefore, should be considered one and the same event, however tempting it is to separate them. The one unique thing the second mention of the *expostulatio* on Face C does is conscientiously juxtapose the decurional consensus for the use of public funds with Lupus' offer to use his own money.

Whether or not a new *postulatio* occurred, Lupus' offer necessitated a new round of speeches. The decree of Face C summarises the speech of a current *duumvir*, Acilius Pompeianus, who was moving the *sententia* of a *flamen perpetuus*, M. Rufus. Pompeianus' speech (and likely Rufus' *sententia* as well) summarised Lupus' just made offer in glowing terms. Face C, in fact, reveals that Lupus' offer had not been matter-of-fact, as implied at the end of Face B. Rather, Lupus had explained in self-aggrandising terms that he respected the city, people, and decurions too much to burden the city with its cost (*ne oneraret urbem cuius pubes fid(em) studium in[- - -] decurionum adoraret*, C9-11). “While content with their resolution,” Lupus had continued, “if they permit” he would set the *biga* up himself (*co[n]tentumq(ue) auctoritate ip[s]orum de suo si permitt[er]ent positurum*, C12-14). The throw-away line, “if they permit,” sought to further demonstrate his humble submission to the authority of the *ordo* and the decurions themselves.

¹⁹⁷ In the previous section, it was noted that *modestia* was sometimes the virtue used to explain remittances. The praise of Lupus' “restraint” here could refer to Lupus' offer of remittance (cf. *v[ere]c[u]ndiam*, line C9), but that is far from certain.

But it also served to invite the second *decretum* recording his offer, thus giving the decurions the opportunity to show their own concern for public funds and to acknowledge his leadership as *optimus ordinis*. The “modesty” the *decretum* cites as the cause of Lupus' offer (*secundu[m] v[ere]c[u]ndiam suam*, lines C8-9) might be better understood as “false modesty.”¹⁹⁸

Unanimous petitions, a sense of timing, counter offers, and repetitions of glowing speeches, votes, and decrees all add up to a fluid yet managed scene of procedural theatre. Lupus was present to witness the mass demonstration of the decurions, to listen to the speeches in support of the motions, and to respond to their decrees in real time. One has to imagine the verbs in the first and second person, rather than the third demanded by the *oratio obliqua*. In addition, he likely reacted to the various *sententiae* and decrees with gestures and expressions of gratitude. The process, thus, was complex and personal – intimate almost – rather than routine and formulaic.

Five major players are noted in the surviving part of the inscription: the decurions as a whole, a *duumvir designatus*, a current *duumvir*, a *flamen perpetuus*, and Lupus himself. They were in an on-going dialogue together. The *biga* was not just a memorial for a relationship developed in the past and now static, but marked the close of one stage and the opening of another. Framing the honour too was the record of public service of Lupus' family, which would hopefully continue. The public honour then was a double opportunity: for each participant to more sharply define himself through gracious actions and words, and to strengthen the bonds that already existed between the institution and the honoree and his family and between specific decurions who orchestrated the honour and the honoree and his family.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. *remisit Caesar adroganti moderatione*, Tac. Ann. 1.8.5; *honoresque memoriae eius ab senatu large decretos quasi per modestiam imminuit*, Tac. Ann. 5.2.1.

3.7 CONCLUSION

The foregoing discussion allows three basic points to be established. First, the procedures, practices, and ideals that conditioned the honorific statues decurions, *curiae*, and *populi* awarded to their fellow citizens resemble those found in Rome, Italy, and in the other western provinces. Time and again, direct or near direct parallels can be found in these other regions. While the stakes were higher and the rhetoric and practices more elaborate, even the responses of the emperor in the Senate at Rome would not have been foreign to the decurions and other citizens of the cities of Africa Proconsularis.

Second, the institutional procedures for honouring belonged to a broader milieu of expectations and practices. The procedures were flexible by design, so that the dedicators and honoree alike could manipulate them in order to strike desired notes. Cities did not merely set up statues and honorees did not simply count their honours. One goal of the process was interaction; the honour was a means by which the dedicators and their local honoree could engage in an idealised dialogue. This is best exemplified by the expectation that the honoree be present for the authorisation of the honour and for its dedication. The result of their interaction was bonds stronger than the honour alone could have achieved.

This point can be nuanced. The honouring process provided a stage for self-display, for the dedicators but especially for the honoree. Whether in a meeting of the decurions or at a public assembly, large groups (relative to governing boards today) authorised the honours and potentially even larger groups witnessed their dedication. It would have been a wasted opportunity not to utilise these meetings to hone one's public image. The attempt at self-display could be direct with a speech or distribution, but it could be subtler. Remittance, for example, underlined messages of generosity, modesty, and self-restraint, while insistence on dedicating an

honour despite remittance implied the dedicators' sincerity. The procedures themselves were a tool of communication.

The third basic point is that honouring was work. Statues in public were the result of a heavy investment from all involved of time, money, and often emotion. Most must have required a persuasive reason to legitimate the expense, effort, use of public land, and the honour itself. This suggests that, even if the ostensible reason for the honour was not wholly genuine, the dedicators still needed to be able to point to some benefaction, service, or generous relative to rationalise their action.

An implication of this investment is that we cannot take the verbosity of an inscription nor the lack thereof as sure proof of the elaborateness of the praise or its sincerity; and we certainly cannot understand the laudatory terms on the inscription to be the *elogium* itself.¹⁹⁹ While some today may complain that the succinct phrases found on inscriptions explaining the honour, like *ob merita*, are vague or merely afterthoughts,²⁰⁰ they were not so to the dedicators of the honour and to their fellow *cives*. They had experienced first hand the qualities and benefactions of the honoree, and knew the details behind those stock phrases. In addition, it is possible that many of the statues, whose succinct inscriptions do not contain any motivating clause, still stemmed from *elogia* and other forms of interaction, which served to rationalise the honour, to strengthen the bonds between the dedicators and honoree, as well as to underline key messages.

This is a major reason why statistical analyses of databases are not enough. Such studies alone cannot reflect the diversity of procedures, nor the intent, effort, and often emotion invested

¹⁹⁹ This is the impression Lefebvre gives in her dissertation, for she consistently calls the laudatory terms on the inscriptions *elogia* and distinguishes between inscriptions based on the number of laudatory terms used. As will be seen in Chapter 4.4, I give equal weight to all inscriptions containing laudatory terms, whether they contain one term or ten.

²⁰⁰ Lucas 1940: 65; Bossu 1982: 161; Cr  t   2010: 197, 210, 212.

in individual honours. They must be combined with sensitive readings of specific inscriptions.

IV

Dedicators and Honorees

The Intimacy of Civic Life in Africa Proconsularis

The previous three chapters studied the two political institutions of Roman cities and the procedures and customs surrounding honorific statues. One conclusion is that public honours did not just commemorate static relationships, but strengthened them. Public honours were a process, with the statue being but the final and lasting manifestation of public goodwill towards the honoree. They provided a stage for acting out socially valued ideals and roles and, thus, stimulated dialogue between the honourees and their honourers. This last point can be extended. It is plausible that events like the promotion of the honour, its negotiation and dedication, and, if they occurred, the collection of money, banqueting, and other extras stimulated interaction among the honourers themselves. Public statues fostered civic intimacy. This chapter further explores the intimacy of civic life in Africa Proconsularis by returning to the catalogue of 1080 inscriptions of honorific statues.

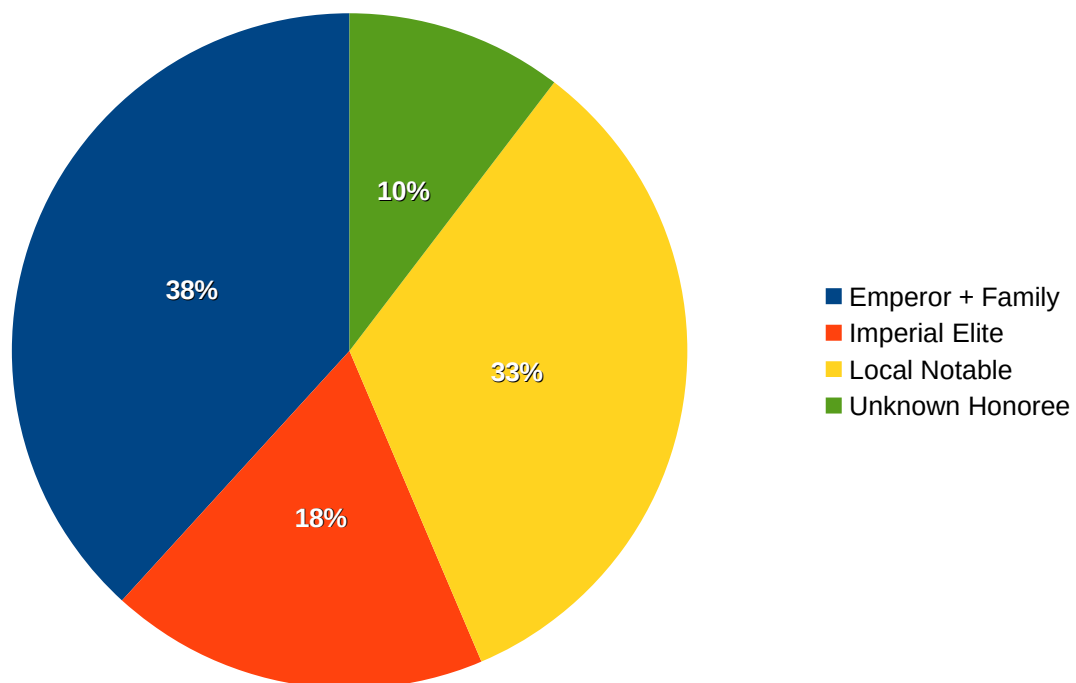
4.1 PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

When the evidence allows, each honoree in the epigraphic catalogue has been assigned to one of three categories: emperors and their relatives, members of the imperial elite, and civic notables. 413 of the inscriptions commemorate honours to emperors or members of their family.¹

¹ Included in these 413 inscriptions are three statue bases to C. Fulvius Plautianus, who became praetorian prefect in 197. He was a constant at Septimius Severus' side and three of the inscriptions call him *necessarius* ("intimate") of Severus and his sons (*CIL* VIII 25526; *AE* 1967, 537=*AE* 1973, 572=*AE* 1976, 696=*AE* 1988, 1099; *ILAfr*: 564=Dougga 12). One adds that he was *socer et consocer Augustorum, pater Fulviae Plautillae*

196 commemorate honours to members of the imperial elite: senators, those equestrians in the procuratorial service, and other high-ranking equestrians active at the imperial level, such as praetorian prefects. And 359 inscriptions commemorate honours to civic notables: those who had held civic offices and priesthoods – the so-called *domi nobiles*. The status of the honorees in the 112 remaining inscriptions could not be established, most often because of the fragmentary nature of the inscription. Overall, the smallest political group in the empire – the imperial family – makes up 38% of known honorees. It should be noted, however, that identifying emperors is easier than distinguishing between civic notables and members of the imperial elite, because of the titles, names, and formulae unique to the *domus divina*.

Chart 4.1 - Percentage of Honoree Types



Augustae (“the father-in-law of emperors and [future grand]father-in-law of their children, the father of Fulvia Plautilla Augusta,” *ILAfr*: 564=Dougga 12). Cf. *IRT* 524.

There is some overlap between civic notables and members of the imperial elite. For example, how should one categorise L. Caecilius Athenaeus, who had been aedile and *duumvir* at Sufetula, became *flamen perpetuus* at some point, left to pursue an equestrian career in the military, subsequently a procuratorial career, then returned to Sufetula to celebrate the perpetual flamine of his son and to be rewarded with a statue partly for the administration of his duumvirate years earlier (*CIL* VIII 11340=*Sbeitla* 48)? The distinction between the two categories is taken to be the sphere in which the honoree interacted with the honouring community. Priority was given to any office the honoree (or relative of the honoree) might have held that brought him or her into professional contact with the community. Thus, Athenaeus has been classed as a civic notable. In general, equestrians whose only stated offices and priesthoods were civic are categorised as civic notables. These are equestrians engaged in a military career (*militiae equestres*: *praefecti cohortis*, *praefecti alae*, *tribuni militum*, etc), those simply called *e(gregius) v(ir)*,² and those given the public horse and/or adlected into the five *decuriae* as a *iudex* (“juror”) by the emperor. These men held civic offices before or after their military career (often depending on when they obtained equestrian rank) and tended not to obtain civil offices outside of their city,³ except sometimes the provincial priesthood which again flowed from a civic career.⁴ For many, the acquisition of equestrian status was a capstone to a successful civic career; for others it was preparation for their sons to enter the imperial service.⁵ Similarly, individuals

² On the problem of using the title *egregius vir* for identifying the social rank and career of equestrians, see Duncan-Jones 1967: 185-186. It seems connected to the procuratorship, but also used as a generic marker of equestrian status. See, for example, the honorific statue heirs – with a *primus pilarius* curating – set up to another *primus pilarius* at Carthage in the fourth quarter of the second century (*CIL* VIII 12579). In the end, only a few inscriptions in the epigraphic catalogue of honorific statues depend solely on *egregius vir* to identify status.

³ For *militiae equestres*: Demougin 1988: 312-318; Devijver 1991: 133, 175; cf. Saddington 1996 (esp. p.168), whose starting point is the connection between local offices and military equestrian positions; for equestrians not engaged in a military career: Jarrett 1958: 35-36; Duncan-Jones 1967: 153; cf. Saller 1982: 171-172; For the jurors: Jarrett 1958: 31; Pflaum 1968: 153, 184, 187-191.

⁴ Fishwick 2002: 191-194.

⁵ Duncan-Jones 1967: 153; Devijver 1991: 133, 175. It is improbable that those proud of having been adlected into

honoured as the father of a senator were placed among the civic notables, if it could not be shown that they held more than local office.

In Chapter 1.1, it was noted that the chronological distribution of the inscriptions follows the trend known as the “epigraphic habit.” The main features of this trend are a gradual rise in the number of inscriptions over the second century, a sudden spike under the Severi, followed by sharp decline in the third century. The following is a table of progressively overlapping year ranges of the dated inscriptions subdivided according to the three categories of honorees:

Table 4.1: Temporal Distribution of Inscriptions in the Epigraphic Catalogue of Honorific Statues

Date ranges	All inscriptions	To emperors + their relatives	To members of the imperial elite	To civic notables
BCE	5	3	2	-
1-49 CE	11	10	1	-
1-99	5	-	1	3
1-199	2	-	-	1
25-74	3	2	1	-
50-99	8	3	2	3
75-124	12	5	2	4
100-149	62	30	12	19
100-199	42	2	5	28
100-299	42	-	4	33
125-174	48	26	9	12
150-199	134	63	26	41
175-224	212	150	29	28
200-249	99	34	30	31
200-299	43	7	9	19
225-274	37	12	16	8
250-299	66	38	14	12
275-324	5	-	3	1

the *decuriae* or of having received the *equus publicus* from the emperor had met the emperor conferring the honour; rather, it was probably obtained through an influential middle-man, like a local senator (Duncan-Jones 1967: 153-154).

Unsurprisingly, it is civic notables who make up the majority of inscriptions which fall into 100 or 200 year spans.⁶ This is due to the fact that many can be dated solely on the basis of the style of lettering on the inscription or other broad criteria, like civic juridical status or markers of social status. Precise dates of tenure were only sometimes provided for the provincial priesthood and the priesthood of Ceres at Carthage.⁷ Those in the second century recording that they had received from a certain emperor(s) the public horse or membership into the five *decuriae* also permit fairly narrow dating. On the other hand, the various offices held by the imperial elite changed somewhat more frequently and their titles sometimes named an emperor, allowing for narrower date ranges. On average too, individual members of the imperial elite received more honours in Proconsularis and around the empire, again increasing the chances for a narrow date range. The titulature of emperors, of course, regularly allowed dating to a single year.

The earliest dated inscription in the catalogue commemorates a statue to Q. Numerius Rufus, quaestor of Proconsularis around 60 BCE (*IL Afr.* 422=*Bardo* 440=*ILS* 9482). Other statues to M. Lepidus as proconsul and to Augustus and members of his family were erected later that century. In contrast, a securely dated statue of a local civic notable is not known until 86 CE, when C. Sulpicius Ampeius, a *sacerdos Cererum* at Carthage, was honoured in a small community outside of Bisica Lucana (*CIL* VIII 12318+p.2412=*ILS* 6814).⁸ Statues and their

⁶ Mrozek admits that this issue creates a “déformation” in his figures (1998: 15).

⁷ On the dating system of the provincial priesthood of Africa, see Fishwick 1964; 2002: 198-204. The date of the founding of the cult of Ceres at Carthage can only be established within a six year window. There is unresolved debate about whether the dating system found on the inscriptions refers to the same year as the founding of the colony of Carthage in 44 BCE (advanced by Gasco 1987: 123-128) or to 38 BCE (advanced by Fishwick 1964: 344-348). I take the middle road and translate the date as referring to the founding “of the priesthood.” If the priesthood was indeed founded at the same time as the colony, as Gasco asserts, that still does not render the translation inaccurate.

⁸ At Thugga, a *pontifex* and *duumvir* and members of his family were honoured with the *ornamenta suffectatus* by the senate and *plebs* in 48 CE (*CIL* VIII 26517=*Bardo* 224=*ILS* 6797=*Dougga* 46). Sometime between 50 and 99 CE at Thugga, the son of a *flamen perpetuus* of Augustus was honoured with a statue (*AE* 1997, 1650). For other potentially marginally older statues, see *AE* 1994, 1842, *CIL* VIII 58=11114, *CIL* VIII 1888=*IL Alg.* 1.3068=*ILS* 683. The following are dated to the first century CE generally: *Dougga* 48=*AE* 1966, 510; *IRT* 615; *IRT* 600 (dated up to 109).

accompanying inscriptions, then, seem to have only become a reward to civic notables a century after Roman generals and emperors had received them in Proconsularis. Noticeable too is that the numbers of honorific statues to members of the imperial elite increased in the third century, while those for emperors and civic notables decreased.⁹ The third century numbers jumped by 33% for members of the imperial elite, but plunge by 25% for emperors and 30% for civic notables.¹⁰ To an extent, these numbers back up Barbara Borg and Christian Witschel's unquantified observations of the Lepcis Magna evidence. They observe that after the Severan era the circle of honorees at Lepcis Magna shrank to contain mostly emperors and, "above all," governors and other imperial officials.¹¹ As for civic notables, they were now "hardly" honoured, except those from families which had only recently achieved local prominence.¹²

Borg and Witschel explain this post-Severan drop in the number of honorific statues, particularly those of local notables, as a slow "mentalities change" ("Mentalitätswandel" or "Mentalitätsveränderung"), which led notables to "shift" their forms of self-display away (but not completely) from durable monuments designed to preserve their name and deeds for eternity towards "ephemeral," "performative" forms of public self-display, such as games, festivals, banquets, processions, other ceremonies, and luxurious cloths, houses, and lifestyle.¹³ They hypothesise that this slow shift started in the second century and that the quick succession of emperors and disasters and the increasing re-use of old statues accelerated a loss of faith in the eternity of costly monuments.¹⁴ The benefit of their thesis, as Borg and Witschel themselves point

⁹ Mrozek (1998: 14-15) finds for the whole empire that the numbers for civic notables and members of the imperial elite remained stable in the third century, while those for emperors fell (in comparison to the second century).

¹⁰ To calculate these percentages, I omitted the periods which straddle centuries (e.g. 175-224).

¹¹ Borg and Witschel 2001: 62-63. Overall, Borg and Witschel (2001: 48-49) follow the numbers of Mrozek.

¹² Borg and Witschel 2001: 63-64.

¹³ Borg and Witschel 2001: 92-93, 116-118.

¹⁴ Borg and Witschel 2001: 117-118.

out, is that it avoids out-dated theories of late-antique decline, decadence, and, contradictorily, renewed modesty.¹⁵ As observed in Chapter 2.4, such ideas informed Kotula's thesis on the retreat from public life by the *curiae*, which denied their continued vibrancy as public institutions throughout the third century. In contrast, Borg and Witschel maintain that the ambition and need for self-display of local notables continued, as did the skills and material necessary to construct monuments. They just came to be employed differently.

That said, Borg and Witschel's discussion focuses on the fourth and fifth centuries. Their observations of Lepcis Magna, for example, pertain mostly to the period after Diocletian made the city the capital of the newly created province of Tripolitania, a situation, they argue, which caused the governor and his staff to become much more pronounced epigraphically in the city relative to the local notables.¹⁶ They do point out that every region experienced the shift at a different pace and in differing ways, but, nonetheless, still date the North African shift to immediately after the Severan era.¹⁷ Such a dating is symptomatic of the broad brush with which they are painting; it is only true for the overall numbers of known public honours, cited above. It does not take into account the changes in relative numbers between dedications to emperors, members of the imperial elite, and civic notables. One would expect from their theory an even steeper decline in honours to civic notables after the Severan era. Moreover, it does not explain the apparent decline in statues to emperors. Surely, one cause was the desire of the citizens of Lepcis Magna and other cities to honour Septimius Severus and members of his family, a desire which diminished for subsequent emperors (see below). This is not to deny the value of Borg and Witschel's arguments for Proconsularis, but, for the third century at least, the still developing

¹⁵ Borg and Witschel 2001: 90-91; for their detailed refutation of the earlier theories, see: 78-90.

¹⁶ Borg and Witschel 2001: 60-64.

¹⁷ Borg and Witschel 2001: 60.

“mentalities change” was likely only a contributing factor to the drop in honorary statue numbers, not the main factor. What the reported numbers most directly indicate is that, while the trends of honouring the emperor, members of the imperial elite, and civic notables were obviously related, they were not one and the same.

4.2 CIVIC TERMS

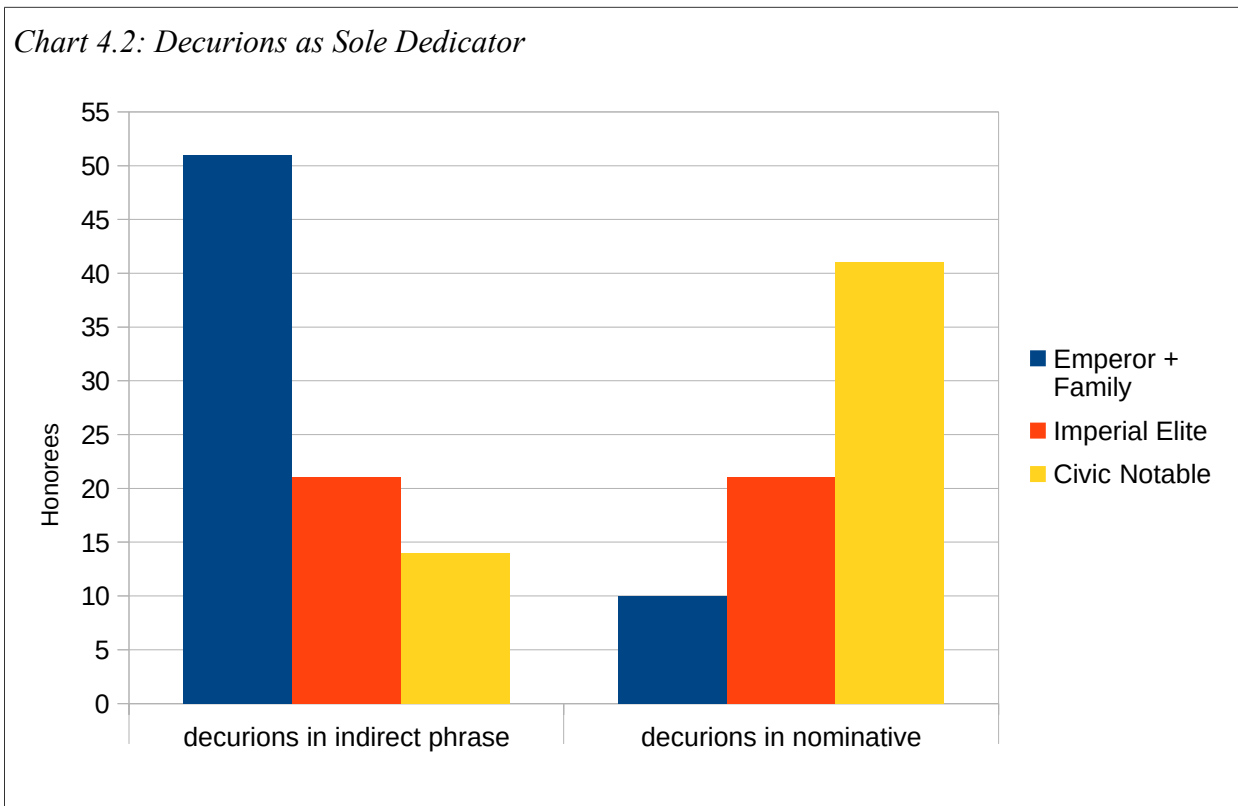
A) INTRODUCTION

To a large extent, this section is a philological study, for it seeks patterns in word usage. 874 of the 1080 inscriptions in the catalogue give at least an indication of the dedicator of the honour.¹⁸ There were two main types of dedicators: individuals and civic. This dissertation focuses on the latter group. Civic dedicators identified themselves in five ways: (1) by means of the community’s official juridical status, that is its Roman legal title: *colonia*, *municipium*, *civitas*, and *pagus* (*vicus* and *castellum* are not found in the nominative); (2) by means of juridical denominatives, that is the juridical status of the community expressed as the people who constituted its members: *coloni*, *municipes*, *pagani*, *vicani*, and – most often – *cives*; (3) with *res publica*, which – as discussed below – seems to have been treated differently than a juridical status; (4) by means of institutional and constituency terms: *ordo* and *curia/e*, and the *decuriones*, *curiales*, and *populus* (*incolae* is only found three times at Gigthis in prepositional phrases; e.g. *ordo populusque cum incolis*, CIL VIII 11040);¹⁹ (5) finally by means of demonyms, that is the name of the community expressed as the people who constituted its members: e.g. *Lepcitani* from Lepcis Magna and *Gigthisenses* from Gigthis.

¹⁸ This number includes inscriptions which note just *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* and fragmentary inscriptions of which enough survive to indicate that the dedicator was not a civic institution and to indicate the gender of the dedicator.

¹⁹ CIL VIII 11039, 11040, 30+p.921=11044.

That these terms held meaning for the dedicators or, at least, the drafters of the epigraphic texts is indicated by Chart 4.2. In both cases, decurions are the sole stated dedicator of the statues. The difference is that in the first category, which includes 88 inscriptions, the decurions' agency is only indicated by an indirect phrase, such as *ex permissu ordinis* or, most commonly, *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*. There is no stated dedicator in the nominative case, which forces the reader to assume that the decurions were the dedicator. On this inscription type, more will be said in section 4.3.A. The second category, however, includes the 72 inscriptions which state in the nominative either *ordo* or *decuriones* as the sole dedicator (without other civic groups or remitters involved in the honour). This simple change in dedicatory formula has the major effect of inverting the number of honours to emperors relative to local notables. This, and other comparable results, calls for further investigation of dedicatory terms.



Mrozek despairs, however, that it is “impossible” to discover the various significances of these terms.²⁰ Dupuis maintains that the terms were “not at all banal nor stereotyped,”²¹ while Højte similarly observes that the terms “were evidently not interchangeable.”²² Nonetheless, neither one takes the issue any further, Højte in particular being content to say that it was “unclear what made cities choose one in preference to the others.”²³ On the other hand, various authors either state or imply that the terms did not have much significance, which leads to a loss of detail when differences are not tracked.²⁴ Saastamoinen indicates functional differences between some of the terms, but his division of them into just two broad categories (“personified towns” and “groups of people”) precludes close analysis.²⁵ One result is that he treats *res publica* as a direct “alternative” to *colonia*, *municipium*, and *civitas*,²⁶ which is to smooth over nuances between it and the latter terms. Emmanuel Lyasse's study of c.450 inscriptions from cities across the empire using the term *res publica* is more nuanced, but it is limited by its narrow focus. Lyasse does not situate it within broader epigraphic studies of civic terms nor within those on the

²⁰ Mrozek 1993: 114-115; similarly if less strongly: Lyasse 2008: 200.

²¹ Dupuis 1992: 261, cf. 246.

²² Højte 2005: 169.

²³ Højte 2005: 169. Dupuis further remarks that the “formulae suggest . . . , at the very least, that the homage was not the sole deed of the notables, but also the ensemble of the civic community, whose political importance was always recognised” (1992: 261).

²⁴ Alföldy (1984: 54) asserts that only the terms differed in the regions of Histria and Venetia in Italy, not the dedicators. He further characterises the term *ordo* as a “stand-in” for the whole community, when it is the stated dedicator of statues. Regarding North Africa, Claude Lepelley is confident that the phrase *ordo et populus* “did not have great significance” (“Certes, l'expression *ordo et populus* sur les dedicaces de statues n'a pas grande signification,” Lepelley 1979: 148; similarly Berrendonner 2005: 520). Carlos Noreña does acknowledge the various dedicators whenever he cites an example, but he does not explore the functional differences between the various dedicatory terms. In his discussion of *indulgentia*, he remarks that “a range of dedicators” set up “markedly diverse inscriptions” throughout the West during Caracalla's Principate. But he must explain this diversity with the vague claim that “the emperor's *indulgentia* was very much “in the air” during these years.” In general, Noreña prefers to talk about the civic notables as the dedicators of imperial statues, even when it was an institution that did the organisation, authorisation, and paying.

²⁵ Saastamoinen 2010: 126-134.

²⁶ Saastamoinen 2010: 129. Moreover, he states that citing the decurions as the builder puts the emphasis on the decision makers (2010: 133). This is not wrong, but it does suggest that the rest of the *populus* was still involved in the building project, but left unacknowledged.

“epigraphic habit,”²⁷ which leads him to equate usage with frequency of appearance on inscriptions²⁸ and to believe that the usage was largely unconscious.²⁹

Mrozek, in fact, has done the most in identifying differences between the terms. In a paper published in 1998, but which originated in a 1990 conference – three years prior to his above-cited despair –, he categorised public dedications in Italy and Africa according to dedicatory terms. He accordingly contrasted the term *decuriones* to *ordo* and found that *coloni* and *municipes* made dedications “in very different conditions” than did a *colonia* or a *municipium*.³⁰ Yet civic terms were but one component of this short paper focusing on Italy and the Danubian provinces; the evidence from North Africa is discussed only for the sake of comparison. In addition, his attention was on the third century and the question of when the various dedicatory terms stopped being used. Mrozek, thus, could only pursue the African evidence so far. He did not investigate to any great extent the various terms over the whole course of their usage nor consistently distinguish between their use as dedicators and as beneficiaries of distributions – different situations which could affect the meaning of the term.³¹ But even these points do not explain why he finds that public dedications in the third century using seemingly any civic term became restricted to the emperor alone.³² As has already been shown, this was just not the case in Africa Proconsularis.

There is, thus, much work left to be done on the subject. Statue inscriptions are the optimal vehicle for such a study, because many groups could and did erect them, which is not the

²⁷ The previous studies he cites deal solely with the term *res publica* (2008: 197 n.1-2). Further on in the article, Lyasse does not cite even these, although he clearly alludes to their findings (cf. “Deux hypothèses sont parfois avancées,” 2008: 199).

²⁸ Lyasse 2008: 198-199.

²⁹ Lyasse 2008: 199.

³⁰ Mrozek 1998: 15.

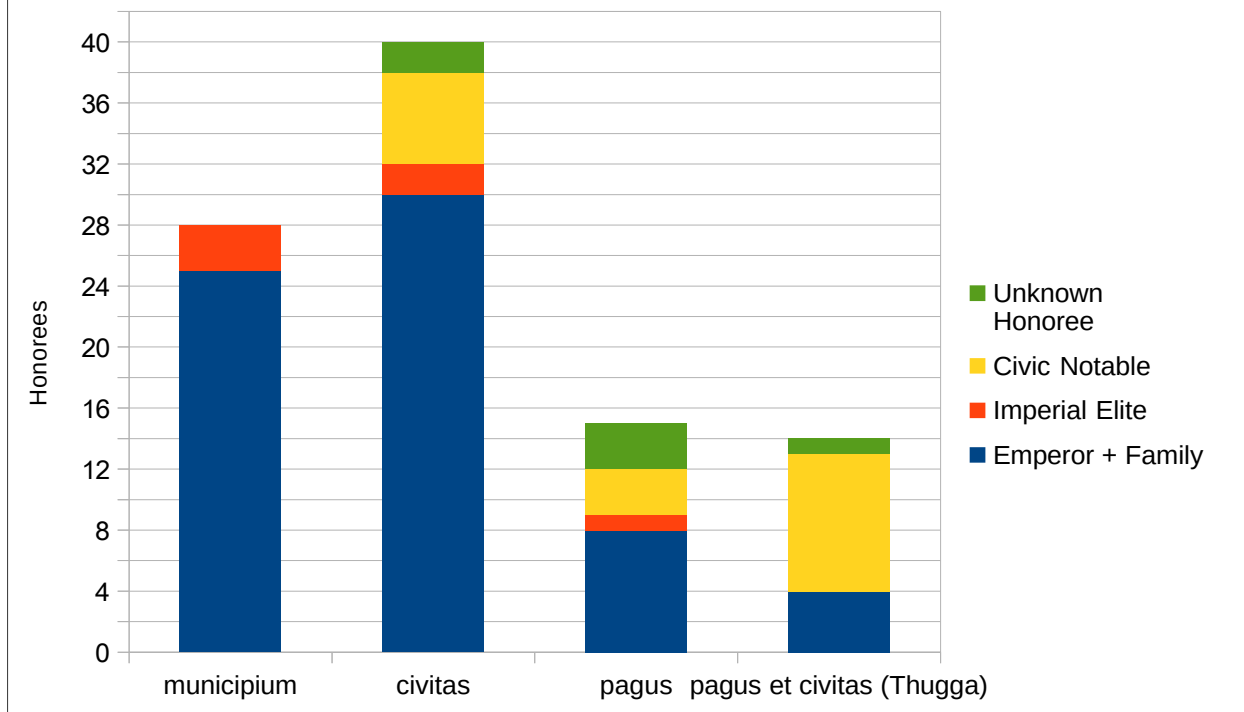
³¹ Similarly Briand-Ponsart 2013: 239-240.

³² Mrozek 1998: 15, 17-20.

case for expensive buildings – the subject of Saastamoinen's book.³³ Dupuis and Højte, meanwhile, only address the questions with regard to dedications to emperors, which is too narrow a basis for testing the individual meanings of the terms. Højte in particular brings up the question just long enough to acknowledge it, before moving on. Lyasse similarly concentrates on the honours *res publicae* dedicated to emperors, governors, and other members of the imperial elite, ignoring those to local notables.³⁴ The starting point for the study below is the argument that some of the significance of the terms can be recovered by detecting which dedicatory terms tended to be used for which type of honoree.

B) ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF CIVIC TERMS AS DEDICATORS

Chart 4.3: Dedicators Described by the Juridical Status of their City



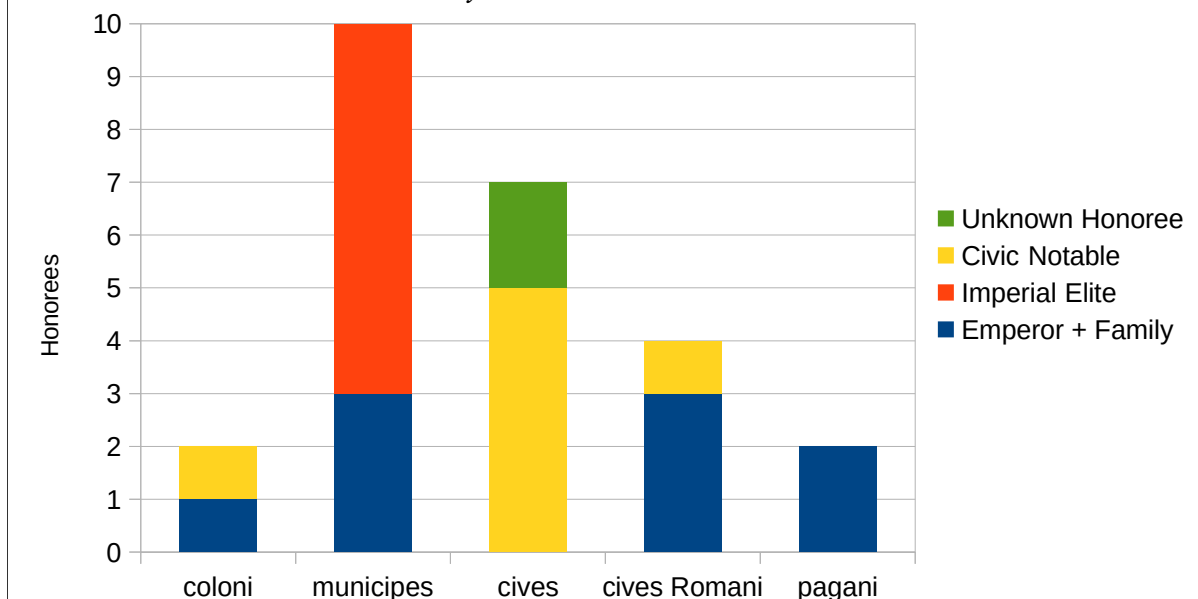
³³ Compare the three known instances of buildings erected by a *curia* (Saastamoinen 2010: 134 n.694) to the 74 instances of statues erected by one or more *curiae*.

³⁴ Lyasse 2008: 195.

Immediately striking is the contrast between the usages of civic juridical status terms (Category 1; Chart 4.3) and juridical denominatives (Category 2; Chart 4.4). The low number of times the civic dedicators identified themselves with juridical denominatives (28 in total) renders this comparison of only marginal value. Nonetheless, it is still useful to pursue the analysis for it sets a pattern that continues.

Although juridical denominatives (e.g. *coloni*) are grammatically derived from the juridical status terms (e.g. *colonia*), their honoree profiles differ considerably. Out of the 107 occasions dedicators used the juridical status of the community to identify themselves (when status of honoree is known), 74% (79/107) of the honorific statues were to emperors or their relatives. In contrast, out of the 23 times they employed a juridical denominative to represent the dedicators (when honoree known), only 9 (39%) of the honorees were the emperor or a relative. Rather, 30% (7/23) were members of the imperial elite and 30% (7/23) were civic notables. On the other hand, when they used juridical status terms, just 6% (6/107) of their honorees were members of the imperial elite and 18% (19/107) were civic notables. The ratios change even more, if the 13 cases the combination *pagus et civitas* appears on the inscriptions as the ostensible dedicators are omitted. They all arise from the unique situation at Thugga in the second century before Septimius Severus unified the two halves of the city into a *municipium*. As argued below, a local honoree was often required to motivate the cooperation between local Roman citizens and peregrines. Thus, the situation at Thugga is not completely applicable to the rest of Proconsularis. When civic dedicators identified themselves with a juridical status term other than *pagus et civitas*, 81% (63/78) of the honorees were the emperor, 8% (6/78) were members of the imperial elite, and 12% (9/78) were civic notables.

Chart 4.4: Dedicators Described by a Juridical Denominative



The one denominative dedicators used disproportionately for statues to the emperor is *cives Romani*. The word *cives* is found in the nominative case as a stated dedicator 11 times. Dedicators used the term in two main ways: to distinguish the Roman citizens from the many non-Roman citizens at a location and to denote the local citizens of a city, whether or not they had Roman citizenship. 4 inscriptions comprise the former usage, 2 of which note that *cives Romani* are “staying” (*morantes*) in a peregrine community.³⁵ Like the phrase *pagus et civitas* at Thugga, *cives Romani* also found themselves in a unique situation, which limits their applicability to the rest of the evidence. These inscriptions are relatively early; 2 are dedicated to

³⁵ *cives Romani qui Suo morantur*, *ILTun.* 682=*Bardo* 382; *cives Romani qui vico Hateriano morantur*, *CIL VIII* 23125=*ILS* 6777=*ILTun.* 686. Pflaum and Beschtaouch judge Vicus Haterianus to be a temporary Roman community in largely peregrine territory (respectively 1970: 84-85; 1974: 233-234). *Morantes* here likely means an unofficial group of Roman citizens temporarily or permanently resident in an indigenous area (Beschtaouch 1974: 231-232). But it could also be used for soldiers posted to a location (Lassère 1997: 117-118). The *decur(iones) Sic(censes) Ucubi morantes* is an example of the former meaning (*CIL VIII* 15669=*ILS* 6807=*ILTun.* 1580). Evidently, Ucubi was in the *pertica* of Sicca Veneria and some of the colony's decurions lived near the peregrine *castellum* (Aounallah 2010: 88-89). Cf. also an altar to *Augustus Deus* dedicated by the *cives Romani qui Thinissut negotiantur*, meaning the Roman citizens who conduct business at Thinissut, a Berber community (*IL Afr.* 306=*ILS* 949=*AE* 1978, 836=*Bardo* 190). Benzina Ben Abdallah calls it one of the oldest Latin inscriptions from North Africa and dates it to when Augustus was still living (*ad Bardo* 190 pp.73-74; *pace* Fishwick 1978b).

Hadrian, 1 to Germanicus, and 1 (date unknown) to a civic notable in the *civitas* of Suas with the *Afri* as co-dedicator (possibly the provincial council).³⁶ Regarding the latter usage, found 7 times, the bare term *cives* could refer to the citizens of a *colonia*,³⁷ *municipium*,³⁸ Roman *pagus* or *vicus*,³⁹ or peregrine *civitas*.⁴⁰ In contrast to the *cives Romani*, *cives* is used 5 times as the stated dedicator of statues to civic notables (and twice to an unidentifiable honoree).

Public honours the inscriptions attribute to a public institution or constituency group (Category 3; e.g. *ordo*, *populus*) follow the trend indicated by juridical denominatives. Of the 211 honours whose recipient is known, only 11% (23/218) are to the emperor. It is, in fact, the *curiae* who show the greatest zeal for honouring the emperor (13 out of 70 cases where the honoree is known in comparison to 10 out of 90 cases when the *ordo* named itself explicitly). This does not come as a surprise, given the participation of the *curiae* in the imperial cult. As discussed in Chapter 2.3, they were increasingly named after emperors in the second and third centuries, several times even going as far as to use their own funds to construct temples or altars to emperors.

Easily the most numerous type of honoree when dedicators identified themselves with institutional and constituency terms are civic notables. When the honoree is known, 63% of the time (137/218) he or she is a civic notable. Members of the imperial elite, moreover, make up 17% (37/218) of the known honorees. As with juridical denominatives these numbers are contrary to the juridical status terms, which civic dedicators tended to use for honours to the

³⁶ Germanicus: *ILTun.* 682=*Bardo* 382 (Suo); Hadrian: *CIL* VIII 17143=*ILAlg.* 1.1985=*ILS* 6778 (Tipasa); *CIL* VIII 23125=*ILS* 6777=*ILTun.* 686 (Vicus Haterianus). Local notable at Suas: *CIL* VIII 25850=*ILS* 6776. Pflaum (1970: 99) and Rives (1995: 89) interpret *Afri* to mean the city delegates to the provincial council.

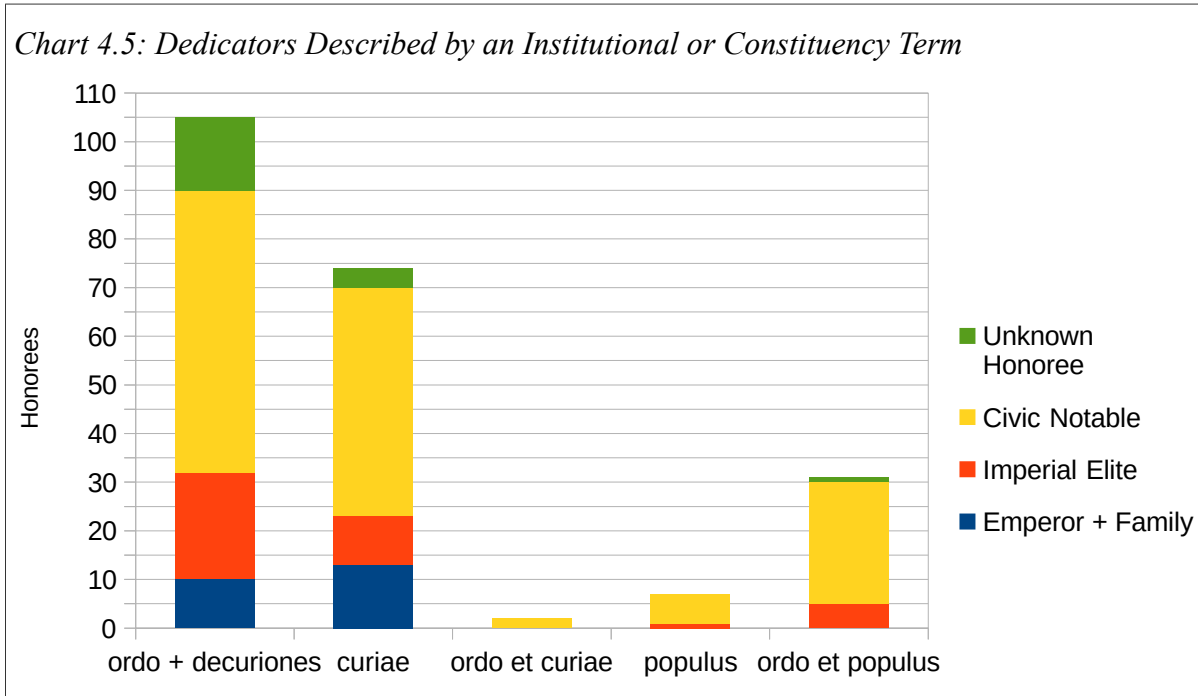
³⁷ Madauros, *ILAlg.* 1.2115=*ILAlg.* 1.4010; Sabratha, *IRT* 112.

³⁸ Calama and Vina were *municipia* at the time of (respectively) *CIL* VIII 5365=17495=*ILAlg.* 1.286 and *AE* 1961, 200. What is today known as Chaouat might have been a *civitas* or a *municipium* (*CIL* VIII 25373).

³⁹ Vicus Maracitanus: *AE* 1949, 107-108.

⁴⁰ Neferis: *AE* 1973, 576; what is now known as Bent el Bey: *CIL* VIII 23842.

emperor. They are even contrary to the overall numbers of the epigraphic catalogue, which again favoured dedications to the emperor (38% to emperors, 33% to civic notables, and 18% to civic notables).

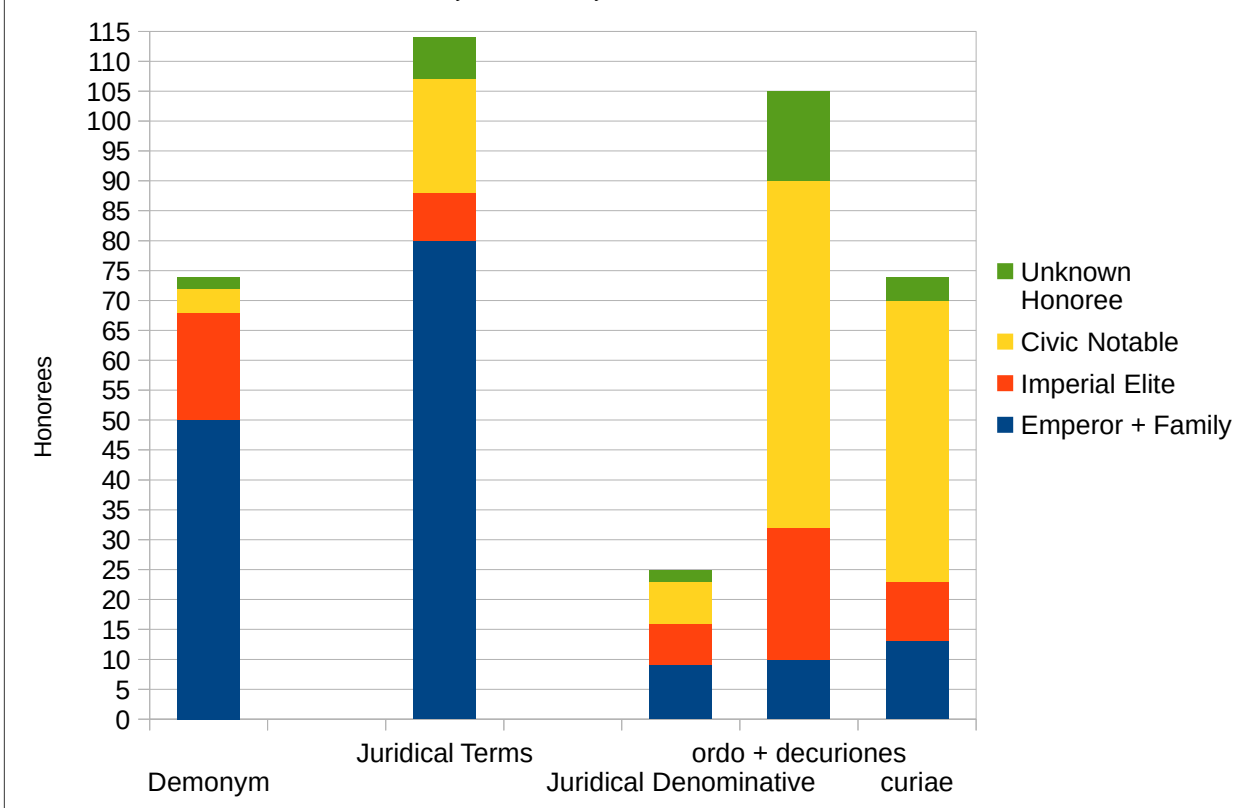


The differences in how civic dedicators used dedicatory terms is further brought out when their use of demonyms (Category 5; e.g. *Gigthenses*) is compared to their use of the other terms. For the sake of comparison, I have added together the various terms in Chart 4.6. Dedicators' use of demonyms as a dedicatory term predominates in Tripolitania, particularly at Leptis Magna. There, several different versions are found, most commonly *Leptitani* (19 times), followed by *Leptitani Septimiani* (15 times) under the Severans through the mid-250s,⁴¹ then *Leptitani Septimiani Saloniniani* (3 times) in the 260s. *Saloniniani* appears to be a reference to Gallienus' wife Cornelia Salonina. Dedicators, however, used demonyms across Proconsularis, such as

⁴¹ IRT 460 is dated to 253-255.

Thuggenses near the centre of the province at Thugga and *Calamenses* on the western edge at Calama.⁴² Alföldy dates a similar usage of demonyms in Venetia and Histria, Italy, to the second century,⁴³ but in Proconsularis the tradition goes back at least as far as the mid-first century BCE, when Caesar is said to have fined the *Leptitani*.⁴⁴ A little over a generation later, the Fulvii of Lepcis Magna set up a statue to Gaius Caesar in 3 BCE (*IRT* 328) and another to Augustus in 2 BCE (*IRT* 320) using the term *Fulvii Lepcitani*.⁴⁵ The *Siccenses* of Sicca Veneria similarly dedicated a statue to the Divine Augustus about 14 CE (*CIL* VIII 27568).

Chart 4.6: Dedicators Described by a Demonym



⁴² Thugga: *CIL* VIII 1495+p.938=26590; *CIL* VIII 26580=*ILS* 8966=*ILTun.* 1422; Calama: *CIL* VIII 5325+p.1658=*ILAlg.* 1.236; *CIL* VIII 5363+p.1658=*ILAlg.* 1.284.

⁴³ Alföldy 1984: 54.

⁴⁴ Caes. *BA* 97.3. There is debate over who these *Leptitani* were, the citizens of Lepcis Magna or Lepti Minor? I am inclined to agree with Gascou (1972: 79 n.3) that it is the former, because of its location and its greater importance. Even if it is the latter, the passage of the *Bellum Africum* (which also includes the *Thapsitani*, *Hadrumetini*, and *Thysdritani*) nonetheless shows that the name could be used in this manner.

⁴⁵ The Fulvii were probably Roman merchants based at Lepcis Magna, forming part of the *conventus Romanorum* of the city (Romanelli 1958: 358-361).

Like *Fulvii*, *Septimiani* and *Saloniniani* might be referring to a sub-group of the population, perhaps *cultores* devoted to those imperial households. Thus, they would be similar to the *Venerii* of Sicca Veneria, who honoured the city's *curator rei publicae* for restoring a toppled statue of Venus in their sanctuary (*CIL* VIII 15881+p.2707=*ILS* 5505=*Bardo* 366).⁴⁶ But here corroborating evidence ends. Rather, these additional adjectival terms at Lepcis Magna appear to be a development upon *Lepcitani*. They are honorifics meant to display the devotion of the whole community to the imperial family, much how three civic *curiae* at Lepcis Magna added *severa* to their traditional names under Septimius Severus (*curiae tres Severae Pia et Ulpia et Augusta*, *IRT* 414, 420). Besides, any other meaning would be at odds with rather than a magnification of the same trend in other cities.

The usage of demonyms, thus, could be a linguistic alternative to *coloni*, *municipes*, and *cives*. Functionally, however, this is not case. Of the 72 inscriptions (when the honoree is known) containing a demonym to identify the dedicator, 50 of the honorees are an emperor or relative (69%), 18 are a member of the imperial elite (25%), and 4 are a civic notable (6%). This honoree profile resembles much more closely the honours to which dedicators applied their city's juridical status to identify the dedicator than those to which they applied an institutional, constituency, or juridical denominative dedicatory term.

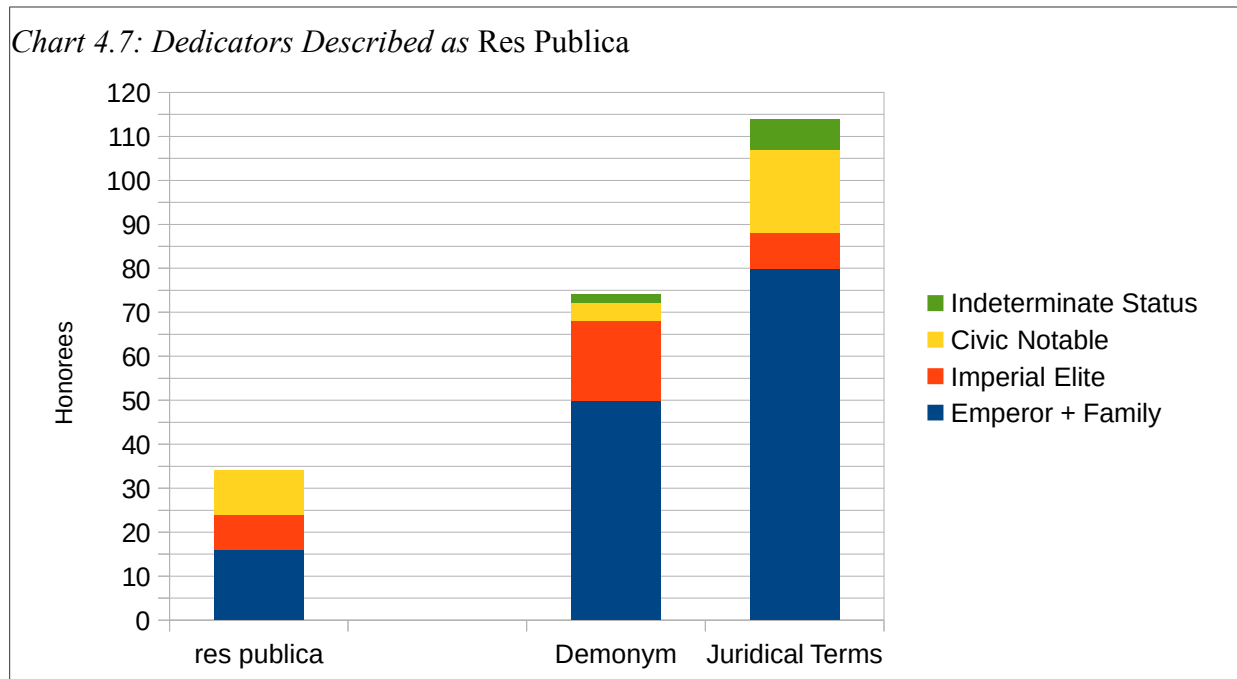
Civic dedicators, thus, tended to use different terms in different situations, although without complete consistency. For example, the linguistic difference between *municipium* and *municipes* is just one of focus: the status of the community versus the resultant status of the citizens who made up that community. There is nothing intrinsic to either term to lead one to

⁴⁶ Lepelley 1981: 157-158. It is possible that the *venerii* referred to are the general citizenry of Sicca Veneria rather than specific *cultores*. But a much earlier inscription (14 CE) uses the term *Siccenses* (*CIL* VIII 27568); cf. *Siccensibus* in (possibly false) *SHA Tyr. Trig.* 29.4.

believe automatically that an honour said to be set up by the *municipium* differed in purpose, process, or people than one said to be set up by the *municipes*. Yet there does appear to be a difference in usage between the two types of terms. Civic dedicators are known to have used *municipia* when erecting statues to emperors or their relatives 25 times and members of the imperial elite 3 times, while they used *municipes* when erecting statues to emperors 3 times and members of the imperial elite 7 times (neither are said to have honoured civic notables).

C) RES PUBLICA

If the various terms signal substantive differences in the purpose, process, and/or people behind the honours, as they appear to do, what were these differences? The term *res publica* provides important clues (Category 3). One might expect the same overwhelming preference for the emperor in the 34 appearances of *res publica* as a dedicatory term, since it is normally followed either by the juridical status of the community in the genitive or a demonym in the genitive: e.g. *res p(ublica) col(oniae) Liciniae Sept(imiae) Aurel(iae) Alex(andrianae) Thugg(ae)* (CIL VIII 1487+p.2616=15506=Dougga 16=ILTun. 1378=ILS 541); *res publica Uchitanorum Maiorum* (Uchi 2.40=AE 2000, 1733). Sometimes too all three terms are combined: e.g. *res p(ublica) col(oniae) Uchitanor(um) Maiorum* (CIL VIII 26272=Uchi 2.73). As seen, civic dedicators tended to identify themselves with their city's juridical status or demonym when honouring the emperor. This tendency is weak, however, when they identified themselves with *res publica*. Out of the 34 cases dedicators employed *res publica*, 16 of the statues are to the emperor (47%), 8 to members of the imperial elite (24%), and 10 to civic notables (29%). This breakdown of honorees resembles the overall breakdown of the epigraphic catalogue of honorific statues: the largest minority going to the emperor and second largest to the civic notables.



The reason would seem to be that *res publica* is much more a concept than an official designation. The one criterion required for a city to use the term seems to have been possessing and controlling a public treasury.⁴⁷ Multiple neighbouring communities acting in unison could be one *res publica*, like the *respublica IIII coloniarum* of the Cirta Confederation, as much as a single *colonia*, a peregrine *civitas*, or even a Roman *pagus* could each be a *res publica*.⁴⁸ A specific juridical status was not required. The term further implies a central body of responsible men to administer the public treasury: an *ordo*.⁴⁹ Hence, 22 of these 34 uses of *res publica* include a reference to a decree of the decurions (normally *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*) and another 2 of the inscriptions record the use of public money, which only the decurions could have authorised (two more used *sua pecunia*, one *aes conlatum*).

These findings dovetail with Cicero's definition of *res publica* in his work the *De re*

⁴⁷ Gascou 1972: 62; 1979: 384; followed by Lyasse 2007: 593, 2008: 189-191.

⁴⁸ Gascou 1979: 384-387; Lyasse 2008: 194, 199.

⁴⁹ Gascou 1979: 395-396. e.g. . . . *patronae discernente ordine r(es) p(ublica) Thibaritanor(um) p(ecunia) p(ublica) p(osuit)*, *ILAfr*: 511.

publica, which he delivers through the character of Scipio Africanus: the common property of the people (*est igitur . . . res publica res populi*, *Rep.* 1.25.39). Indeed, it even seems to have been possible to use *res publica* synecdochically to refer to one specific, concrete, aspect of the *res publica*: the public treasury.⁵⁰ It is to the *res publica* that office holders are sometimes said to have paid their *summa honoraria* (e.g. *rei publicae summam du(u)mviratus legitimam intulit*, *AE* 2004, 1875). Several inscriptions even record monetary gifts to the *res publica* of the city, which would have been deposited in the public treasury.⁵¹ When the gifts are more general benefactions and services, there is still a hint that the public treasury was involved. Several of these instances, in fact, distinguish the *res publica* from the *patria*, *ordo*, or *cives*, further isolating the phrase from other components of the city.⁵² At Abthugni, for example, the *ordo* honoured C. Iulius Maximus for his “marked affection and simplicity towards the *res publica*, *ordo*, and all citizens” (*ob insignem eius erga rem publicam et ordinem et universos cives adfectionem et simplicitatem*, *CIL* VIII 23085=*ILS* 6815). In this case, the material interests of the community would seem to be distinguished from those of the *ordo* and citizens.

But how could Maximus have “affection” for the *res publica*, if all it refers to is the material interests of the community? It similarly does not make much sense for *res publica* to be referring to the material interests of a city alone, when stated in the nominative case as dedicator.

⁵⁰ Lyasse 2007: 599-600; 2008: 189-191, who, however, observes that ‘public treasury’ is the narrowest and rarest meaning of *res publica*.

⁵¹ E.g. *inlatis HS L mil(ibus) rei pub(licae) col(oniae) suae*, *CIL* VIII 11813+p.2372=*ILS* 1410 with Magioncalda 1992: 274.

⁵² Bulla Regia: *praeter alia in rem publ(icam) et erga cives beneficia*, *AE* 2004, 1874; Calama: *ob insignem iustitiam et integritatem eius erga rem publicam pariter et cives*, *CIL* VIII 5356=17494=*ILAlg.* 1.283; Civitas Saraditana: *[ob] insignem erga rem p(ublicam) [et] p[l]ebem in fisci AINNA instantiam et in univers[os] cive[s] singularem ius[t]i[t]iam* (*CIL* VIII 23822=*IL Afr.* 210); Curubis: *ob insignes liberalitates in rem publ(icam) et cives amorem*, *CIL* VIII 980+p.1282=*ILTun.* 838=*ILS* 6817+p.188; Gigthis: *ob merita in rem [p(ublicam) et] singularem in singulos universosque munificentiam*, *CIL* VIII 11040; Thugga: *[ob] lu[dorum] magnifi[cent]iam et multiform[es] libera[li]tates quibus h[on]estam in re[m] publ[icam] et patriam c[ui]m [sui]s exegit*, *CIL* VIII 26618=26626=*IL Afr.* 539=Dougga 88. For examples outside of Proconsularis, see Lyasse 2008: 195-197.

An inscription from Thugga dated to the late third century records that the *res publica splendidissimae coloniae* honoured [...] Titisenius Felicissimus Cornelianus for his “uprightness towards the *res publica* and *patria*” in regards to games he put on and other benefactions.⁵³ The dedicators distinguish between *res publica* and *patria* as if they are two unrelated entities, but then use only *res publica* in the nominative to represent themselves. This latter dedicatory usage of *res publica* was likely considered sufficient to cover the sense of *patria*, which civic dedicators in Proconsularis did not use as a dedicatory term.

This indicates that the above usage of *res publica* – as the beneficiary of Cornelianus’ uprightness – was a stylistic technique, similar to the tendency Lyasse observed in Cicero to list *res publica* in quick succession with *civitas*, *urbs*, and other civic terms.⁵⁴ According to Lyasse, Cicero was not contrasting them, but rather relating them in a continuum, often as near-synonyms. The orator himself signalled this in the speech on behalf of Sestius, when he defined *res publicae* as the “common interest,” “then” *civitates* as “assemblages of men,” “then” *urbes* as “joined domiciles” protected by walls and laws.⁵⁵ When dedicators praised someone for benefactions to the *res publica* as well as to the *cives* or *ordo*, they did not necessarily consider the terms to be mutually exclusive. Rather, the difference is conceptual. They used *res publica* to refer to the resources and interests that bound the diverse inhabitants of a city together.⁵⁶

So what about when the dedicators of a statue identified themselves as the *res publica* of

⁵³ [ob lu]dorum magnifi[cent]iam et multiform[es libera]li[tates quibus h]onestatem in re[m pub]l[icam] et patriam c[u]m [sui]s exegit [res] publica splendi[dis]simae col[on]iae Thugg[ensis], CIL VIII 26618=26626=ILAfr. 539=Dougga 88.

⁵⁴ Lyasse 2007: 581-586. E.g. *quaero, Vatini, utrum tandem putes huic civitati, huic rei publicae, huic urbi, his templis, aerario, curiae, viris his quos vides, horum bonis fortunis liberis, civibus ceteris, denique deorum immortalium delubris auspiciis religionibus melius fuisse et praestabilius me civem in hac civitate nasci an te?*, Cic. In Vat. 10.

⁵⁵ *tum res ad communem utilitatem, quas publicas appellamus, tum conventicula hominum, quae postea civitates nominatae sunt, tum domicilia coniuncta, quas urbis dicimus, invento et divino iure et humano moenibus saepserunt*, Cic. Sest. 91, with Lyasse 2007: 583.

⁵⁶ Lyasse 2007: 583-584, 591, 601.

the community? When honouring the memory of a senatorial *patrona* at Thibaris, the dedicators identified themselves with *res publica*, but they abbreviated the term to the greatest possible extent: *r.p.* (*ILAfr.* 511). The dedicatory clause reads: *di/cernente ordine r(es) p(ublica) / Thibaritanor(um) / p(ecunia) p(ublica) p(osuit)*. “-cernente ordine” occupies the same line as *r.p.*; “*Thibaritanor(um)*” is alone on the following line. The dedicators of the just mentioned statue to Cornelianus, a *flamen perpetuus* at Thugga, did not abbreviate *res publica*. Nonetheless, they go on to explain that it was authorised [*ex s*]uffragiis populi [*et d*]ecreto decurio[*nu*]m (*CIL* VIII 26618=26626=*ILAfr.* 539=*Dougga* 88). In a little-known rural community, the civic dedicators of a statue to Caracalla listed *res publica* in the nominative singular, yet they conjugated the verbs in the plural: *fecerunt idemque dedicaverunt* (*CIL* VIII 17259=*ILAlg.* 1.952=*ILS* 449+p.171). The term *res publica*, thus, is merely a figurehead. The action is being performed by people, in this case the decurions who appear immediately afterward: *res publica ex decreto et collatione [decu]r(ionum)*. In these cases, the emphasis is on the *ordo* especially and, sometimes, on the *populus*, the actual groups involved in the honour. The purpose of *res publica* would seem to have been to add *gravitas* to the endeavour.

Two statues erected in 205/206 at Thugga provide supporting evidence. While the *uterque ordo* of Thugga authorised them, meaning the *ordo* of the *pagus* of Roman citizens and the *ordo* of the peregrine *civitas*, the *res publica municipii* is said to have dedicated them, e.g.:

[- - - P]apir(ia) [- - - f]l(amini) p(erpetuo) civi et patro[no exemp]lario et
h(onestae) m(emoriae) v(iro) [ob exi]mium amorem [in ci]ves et in patriam
[bon]itatem uterque ordo [rem]uneratus boni civis et [p]atroni merita qua decreti
s[ui] auctoritate honoraverant [s]tatuam equestrem res publ(ica) mun(icipii)
Sep(timi) Aur(eli) lib(eri) Thugg(ensium) posuit ob amoris mutui memoriam
sempiternam⁵⁷

⁵⁷ *CIL* VIII 26622= *ILTun.* 1437=*Dougga* 56; cf. *CIL* VIII 26591=*ILTun.* 1427=*Dougga* 73.

To [- -] of the Papiria tribe, *flamen perpetuus*, citizen and exemplary patron and a man of honoured memory, because of his exceptional love towards the citizens and goodness towards his native city, both *ordines*, to repay the merits of a good citizen and patron, by the authority of their own decree awarded the honour of an equestrian statue; the *res publica* of the free Septimian Aurelian *municipium* of the Thuggenses set it up as an eternal memory of their mutual love.

Between decree and dedication, Septimius Severus had merged the *pagus* and *civitas* into a *municipium*.⁵⁸ The decurions of the now merged *ordines*, then, celebrated their first act as a single community by employing the term *res publica*. The term presents the whole community in a proud manner, as is appropriate for loved honorees said to have benefited the entire city.⁵⁹ As just discussed, the above-mentioned Cornelianus – one of the two honorees – is lauded for his magnificence and various donations to the *res publica*, as well as to the *patria*.⁶⁰

The dedicators of these 34 honours, thus, seem to have deliberately chose *res publica* as a prestige term. They could have easily used in its place *ordo*, *ordo et populus*, the juridical status of the city, or its demonym. What *res publica* did was underline that this honour was the independent act of the community (particularly the *ordo*), meaning that they erected the statue by their own choice and not at the direction or expense of the honoree.⁶¹ Hence, the term is never found representing the civic honourers on the inscription when the honoree had remitted the cost of the statue and set it up him or herself. The dedicators sometimes added to the inscription unusually detailed notes to clarify the process of the honour, because a specific one is not inherent in the term *res publica*, just the idea of independence and prestige. Pride as the main

⁵⁸ Aounallah and Maurin *ad Dougga* 56 p.155.

⁵⁹ The *res publica* of Thibaris similarly praised a *patrona* “because of her marked and innumerable [acts of] liberality, by which she boosted *ordo* and native city with her giving” (*ob insignem eius et innumerabile(m) liberalitatem qua ordine(m) et patriam donatione sua amplificavit*, *ILAfr.* 511).

⁶⁰ [- - - ob lu]dorum magnifi[cent]iam et multiform[es libera]li[tates quibus h]onestam in re[m pub]l[icam] et patriam c[u]m [sui]s exegit, *CIL* VIII 26618=26626=*ILAfr.* 539=*Dougga* 88.

⁶¹ Lyasse rightly rejects his own suggestion that the usage of *res publica* allowed communities to avoid mentioning their non-prestigious juridical status (2008: 201). Communities often listed their juridical status in the genitive case dependent on *res publica* in the nominative.

driver of the usage of *res publica* explains why people tended to refer only to their own community as a *res publica*, and not another.⁶² As argued below in section 4.2.E, to outsiders a community was usually represented by terms that readily identified it, such as its demonym.

The usage of *res publica* indicated that at least the drafters of the inscriptions carefully selected the dedicatory term according to qualitative criteria, as well as technical. Attempts at prestige may be detected in other terms as well, most notably in the rare usage of *senatus* over *ordo*. Although decurions across Proconsularis overwhelmingly preferred to use *ordo* in the second and third centuries, those at Gigthis and Lepcis Magna were still using *senatus* in the latter half of the second century. It is likely that these decurions were attempting to tap into the prestige of the Senate at Rome. The decurions at Gigthis, for instance, employed it in the traditional Roman manner: *senatus populusque* (*CIL* VIII 11039, 11040, 22739=*ILTun.* 42; cf. *IRT* 615 dated 1-99 CE). At Lepcis Magna, the decurions who composed the inscription for Plautius Lupus' *biga* abbreviated *o(rdo)* three times on Face B of the inscription in formulaic phrases, but spell out *senatus* when praising Lupus' obedience to the institution.⁶³ It is as if they believed that the *gravitas* of the term *senatus* would convey clearly the object of Lupus' humble respect.

⁶² Lyasse 2007: 593. One possible exception in the epigraphic catalogue comes with an honour two men at Lepcis Minor erected to M. Nonius Capito, who they say was “decorated with all honours in his own *res publica*” (*omnibus honoribus [in] re publica sua e[uxor]nato*, *CIL* VIII 22903=*ILTun.* 140). His wife is said to be from Caesarea in Mauretania Caesariensis but also a *flaminica perpetua* at Lepcis Minor (*CIL* VIII 22902=*ILTun.* 138). The *sua* in *[in] re publica sua* may mean that Capito as well originated from Caesarea. But it is uncertain, since only the wife is specified as a Caesarean and there is no evident reason why they were staying in Lepcis Minor and were honoured there (Aounallah et al 2006: 1885). On the other hand, this tendency to use *res publica* for one's own community may lay behind the phrasing a client at Hippo Regius used, when honouring his patron in the mid-third century: *[cu]r(atori) rei p(ublicae) Hip[po]nens(ium) Reg(iorum) item municipior(um) Thubursicens(ium) Kalam(ensium) Tipas(ensium)* (*AE* 1955, 149). Here *rei publicae* seems to refer less to the title of his patron, than to Hippo Regius (i.e. not *curator rei publicae* of the *Hipponenses Reges*, but *curator* of the *res publica* of the *Hipponenses Reges*). The other three cities his patron curated are identified by their juridical status.

⁶³ *o(rdinis)*: Appendix A lines B2, 5, 25; *observata amplissimi senatus voluntate*, Appendix A line B20. Note that the heavily damaged Face A, which seems to record the general dedication of the *biga*, does spell out *[univers]us ordo* (Appendix A line A2).

D) POPULUS

Africa Proconsularis stands out for the number of statues erected by the *populus*. In his survey of civic terms, Mrozek observes that inscriptions in the Latin West list *plebs* as dedicator more frequently than *populus*.⁶⁴ Yet in Proconsularis 7 statues the *populus* set up alone and 30 some combination of the *ordo* and *populus* set up. This combination is often the *ordo et populus* as co-dedicators, but it could also be the *ordo* and *populus* involved in separate stages of the honour, such as the *ordo* responding to a *postulatio populi* or a *decretum publicum*.

In contrast, *plebs* may appear once as a dedicatory term for an honorific statue in Proconsularis. Its reading is not secure.⁶⁵ It dates to the mid-second century and comes from Uchi Maius, a community at the time made up of a *pagus* of Roman citizens and a *castellum* of peregrines. The honoree seems to have suffered *damnatio memoriae* at a later date, making the text difficult to understand. In the dedicatory clause, the editors read PVPS, which they interpret to mean *plebs*.⁶⁶ If so, the inscription would be saying that the *plebs* followed the example of the *pagus* and “decreed” a statue to a decurion of Carthage and patron of the *pagus*. The contrast to *pagus* suggests that *plebs* denotes the peregrine inhabitants who lived in the neighbouring *castellum*.⁶⁷ This might explain the *decrevit* which precedes the stamp of the decurions of the *pagus* (lddd), for the *castellum* would have had its own *seniores/decuriones*. *Plebs* here (if it is *p^rleb^s*) seems to be used as an umbrella term, encompassing all non-Roman inhabitants. This

⁶⁴ Mrozek 1993: 127.

⁶⁵ [[P(ublio) Mario C(ai) f(ilio) Arn(ensi) Extricato dec(urioni) c(oloniae) C(oncordiae) I(uliae) K(arthaginis) patrono pagi cui cum pagus ob merita eius statuam decrevisset p^rleb^s memor abstinentiae quam rei p(ublicae) suae praestitit decrev[i]t et [- - - loc]o [d(ato) d(ecreto)] d(ecurionum) [- - -]X[- - -]], CIL VIII 26276=Uchi 2.83.

⁶⁶ See Uchi 2.83 (p. 233). The editors admit that PVPS could be an acronym for *populus Uchitanus pecunia sua*, but, as they say, one would expect *populus Uchitanorum Maiorum*.

⁶⁷ ad Uchi 2.83, p. 233.

usage, then, would be broader than its more typical one outside of Africa as a signifier of the non-decurional members of a population.⁶⁸

The only other time that *plebs* appears as a dedicator of a public honour is on an inscription from an altar, which records that the *senatus* and *plebs* of the *civitas* of Thugga awarded the *ornamenta sufetatus* in 48 CE to their patron and his family members. The voting mechanism for the plebs' was the *portae* – a Punic institution (*senatus et plebs ob merita patris omnium portarum sententi(i)s ornam(enta) sufetis gratis decrevit*, CIL VIII 26517=Bardo 224=ILS 6797=Dougga 46). The usage of *plebs* here is more narrowly describing the non-decurional members of the peregrine population at Thugga.

Saastamoinen reports that, in his catalogue of 1002 building inscriptions from Roman North Africa, none securely list the *populus* as the builder.⁶⁹ For public honours, this is not the case. The *populus* is even listed before the *ordo* as co-dedicator of one honour at Bulla Regia (*universus populus sinceris suffragiis suis et ordo splendidissimus gravissimo iudicio*, AE 1962, 184b), an “exceptional honour” Saastamoinen says the *populus* “never” enjoyed in building dedications.⁷⁰ This and the civic dedicators' preference in Proconsularis of using the term *populus* over *plebs* – perhaps because of the prestige attached to the phrase *populus Romanus* – contradict a tendency to see these terms as mere formulae, employed by rote.⁷¹ These points further suggest that the presence of *populus* on inscriptions was more than ornamental, that is that it does not just symbolise that the decurions dedicated the statue in the name of the *populus*. Rather, its presence seems to be stating that the *populus* or a body representing the *populus* was involved in the

⁶⁸ Mrozek 1993: 118-122.

⁶⁹ Saastamoinen 2010a: 1636.

⁷⁰ Saastamoinen 2010a: 1637; cf. Berrendoner 2005: 522, who, for imperial Italy, reports no instances of the terms *populus* or *cives* in front of the terms *ordo* or *decuriones*.

⁷¹ Pace Lepelley (1979: 148), who is of the opinion that *ordo et populus* on dedications was of “no great significance.”

honour.

But to whom is *populus* referring and how could the *populus* have dedicated public honours? Civic dedicators of statues also identified themselves as *cives*, *coloni*, *municipes*, and *pagani*; it is feasible that people treated these terms as synonymous with *populus*. The difference, however, is that the terms are rarely if ever found on inscriptions paired with *ordo* as co-dedicator. Even the stamp *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* is rare when the dedicators identified themselves as *cives* or *municipes*. A possible exception is found at Calama and dated to 161/169 or 198/217 (*CIL* VIII 5365=17495=*ILAlg.* 1.286):⁷²

Anniae Aeliae Restitutae flam(inicae) perp(etuae) ob insignem liberalitatem pollicitationis eius HS CCCC(milium) n(ummum) at theatrum faciendum cui cum ordo ob eam causam statuas quinque de publico pon[i] censuisset etiam ob merita L(uci) Anni Aeli Clementis flam(inis) Aug(usti) p(er)p(etui) patris eius cui aere conlato universi cives statuam posuissent [- - -] unive[rsus(?) - - -] d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)

To Annia Aelia Restituta, *flaminica perpetua*, because of the marked liberality of her promise of 400,000HS to build a theatre, to whom, although the *ordo* had decreed for this reason that five statues be set up at public expense, also because of the merits of L. Annius Aelius Clemens, *flamen perpetuus* of the Augustus, her father, to whom all citizens had set up a statue with collected money, [- - -] the whole [- - -] by decree of the decurions.

The *cum* clause relates that the *ordo* had decreed five statues at public expense to Annia Aelia Restituta, a *flaminica perpetua*, of which this may be a part. It next adds that the *cives* had set up another statue to her father using collected money. Cooperation between the two groups is implied, which recalls the term *ordo et populus*. But the *cives* here are separated from the decurions. Not only is the manner of payment different, but the subject is too. Restituta is the

⁷² The concluding lines are lacunose, but the dedicatory language from another surviving inscription of the five statues is similar enough to make the *ordo* the dedicating institution (*CIL* VIII 5366=*ILAlg.* 1.287). The dating is account of the “gg” in Restituta's title in this other inscription: *flam(inicae) Augg(ustorum) [p(er)]p(etuae)*, *CIL* VIII 5366=*ILAlg.* 1.287.

principal honoree. It is she who had just given an enormous sum for the construction of a theatre (*ob insignem liberalitatem pollicitationis eius HS CCCC(milium) n(ummum) at theatrum faciendum*). As a *flamen perpetuus* of the Augustus who had also performed unspecified services for the city (*ob merita*), the father too was an important local figure. Still his honour seems secondary. The *cives* might have been making do with honouring their current benefactor through her father, while leaving the grander honour to the decurions. The *ordo* and *cives* are not acting like the *ordo et populus* who honour together.

Another possible exception concerns a statue of Hadrianic date at Thisiduo in honour of a *procurator Augusti*. The dedicators identify themselves as the *decuriones c(ivium) R(omanorum) et [mun]icipes [T]hisiduenses* (CIL VIII 1269=14763=ILTun. 1278=ILS 6781). The phraseology does resemble *ordo et populus*. Yet the dedicators seem to have chosen it to underline the juridical divisions in the *municipium* created by a grant of the *ius Latinum maius*: the decurions who are all Roman citizens and the rest of the populace who are of the less prestigious Latin status.⁷³ Thus, here too *municipes* does not seem to have been used as equivalent to *populus*. Rather, juridical denominatives like *municipes* generally include the decurions and mean the entire adult male citizens resident at that city (excluding *incolae*).⁷⁴

The one true exception comes from Vina, where the *ordo* and *cives* are said to have dedicated a statue to a most loved fellow citizen (*ordo Vinensiu[m] et universi cives civi ama[n]tissimo posueru[nt]*, AE 1961, 200).⁷⁵ The phrase recalls the similarly unique inscription from Ureu discussed in Chapter 2.1, which distinguishes between the *decuriones*, the *curiales*,

⁷³ Gascou 1972: 200; Zahrt 1989: 179-180.

⁷⁴ Mrozek (1993: 119) suggests similarly for the Latin West.

⁷⁵ Cf. from Italy: CIL IX 2237=ILS 5060 at Telesia, Samnium, dated from the late first to second centuries (EAOR 3.28, p.53-54), and CIL XIV 2080=ILS 6186 at Lavinium in Campania, dated to the fourth or fifth century (EAOR 4.35, p.74).

and the *cives* in a distribution *ob dedicationem* (AE 1975, 877). There, *populus* was expected rather than *cives* and that is probably the case here too.⁷⁶ For dedicators, the adjective *universus* is most often applied to the *curiae*, the *ordo*, and then *populus* (see below in section 4.3.B). The word *civi* immediately follows *cives* on the following line and it could be that it attracted the dedicators' choice of *cives* over *populus*.

The only other time *populus* and *cives* resemble each other in usage is when *populus* is the sole stated dedicator. At Ammaedara (probably from the second half of the second century), the *populus* is said to have offered to a local benefactor a *biga* from public funds (AE 2010, 1796):

*C(aio) Mario Sex(ti) fil(io) Quir(ina) Fido quaest(ori) praef(ecto) i(ure) d(icundo)
d(uum)v(iro) flam(ini) perp(etuo) populus emeritensis ex p(ecunia) pu[bl(ica)]
statuam in bigam eius contulerat ob merita et liberalitatem quam annuam
perpetuam epulativam promisit ex voluntate eius equestres fili(i)s et pedestrem
ipsi posuit*

To C. Marius Fidus, the son of Sextus, of the Quirina tribe, *quaestor*, *praefectus iure dicundo*, *duumvir*, *flamen perpetuus*, the *populus emeritensis* had conferred from public funds a statue in a two-horse chariot because of his merits and liberality [by] which he promised an annual banquet in perpetuity; in accordance with his wishes, it set up equestrian statues to his sons and a pedestrian statue to him.

Only the decurions could have offered the public money. *Populus* here, thus, appears to mean *ordo et populus* or *cives*. Even here, however, another meaning of *populus* might have been intended. As argued in Chapter 3.4, public honours were fluid and subject to multiple proposals, counter-offers, and amendments. The inscription might be dutifully acknowledging that the *populus* was the primary force behind the honour, with the *ordo* but responding to the popular desire. Fidus eventually negotiated to set up three statues instead (two to his sons), so the offer

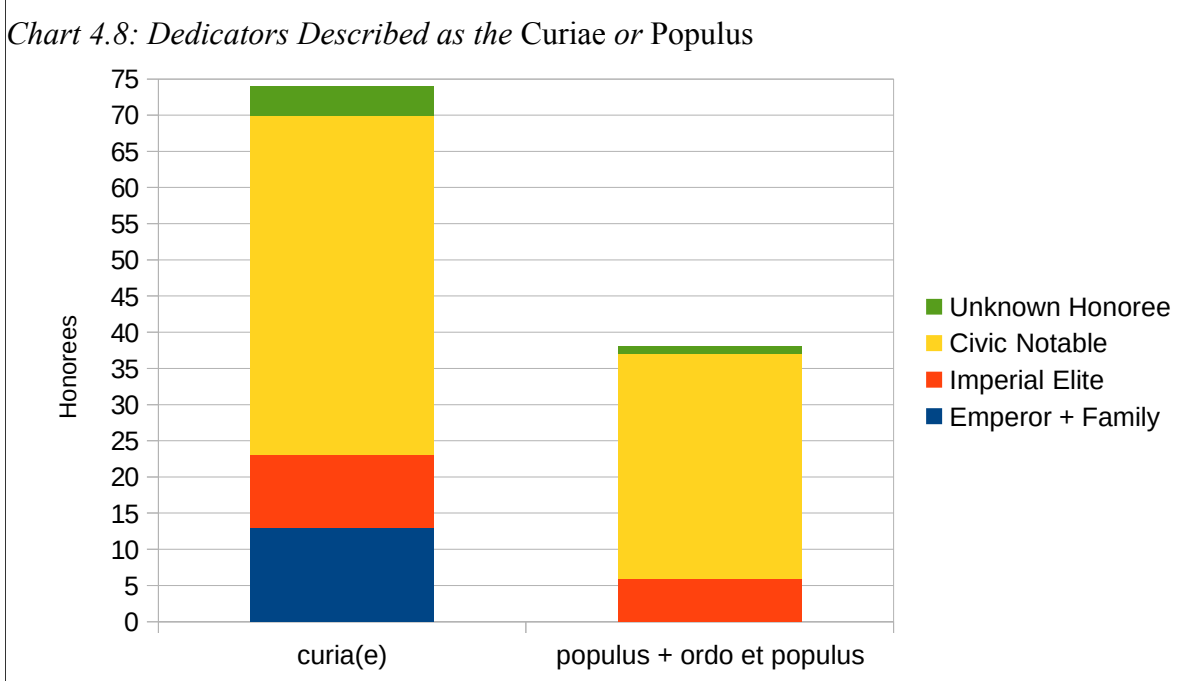
⁷⁶ Veyne, the original editor of the inscription, simply assumes that “la plèbe” is meant (1958: 116-117).

soon became moot – if it ever was expected that the honoree would accept it.

So who were the people behind the term *populus*? Functionally, it seems that *populus* referred to the adult male citizens of the city who were not decurions. As such, it was the natural counterpart to the *ordo*, with which the term is often paired. The inscription of M. Servilius Draco Albucianus' statue at Gigthis brings this distinction out in sharp relief. It records that, upon Albucianus' announcement of the success of the petition for the *ius Latinum maius* from Antoninus Pius, the *ordo* decreed the statue, Albucianus remitted the public money, yet the *populus* erected it.⁷⁷ The interpretation of this sequence given in Chapter 3.4 is that the *populus* was particularly devoted to the honoree for the rendered services and wished to display genuine respect by seeing the honour through to the end.

Albucianus' honour raises the question: just how did a supposedly large, ill-defined, disorganised group of people use their own money to erect a statue? The term *populus* is not directly tied to any political institution or powers, unlike the terms *ordo* and *decuriones*. This question pertains to every time dedicators identified themselves as the *populus*, especially when they used private money to pay for the statue (*sua pecunia* or *aes conlatum*). At Thabarbusis, for example, the *populus* is said to have “offered a statue costing 6,661HS” to a *flamen perpetuus* at Carthage, who graciously remitted the money (*populus Thabarbusitanus statuam ex HS VI mil(ibus) DCLXI n(ummum) constantem obtulit*, *AE* 1960, 214). Such an exact number suggests that the *populus* had the money in hand. What was the organisational mechanism by which it obtained the money and by which it returned it?

⁷⁷ *quod . . . legationem urbicam gratuitam ad Lati[um] Maius petendum duplicem susceperit tandemq(ue) feliciter renuntiaverit*, *CIL* VIII 22737=*ILS* 6780=*ILTun.* 41); cf. *CIL* VIII 22737; *IL Afr.* 21.



Three other inscriptions from Gigthis provide a clue, for they reveal that the term *populus* did not necessarily cover the *incolae* (e.g. *ordo populusq(ue) cum incolis sua p(ecunia) p(onendam) curaverunt*, CIL VIII 11039, 11040, 11044).⁷⁸ This situation recalls the *Lex Malacitana*, which makes it clear that the *incolae* did not belong to the *curiae* (LM 53).⁷⁹ Gigthis is one of the forty communities in Proconsularis known to have had the *curiae*. As seen in Chart 4.8, the dedicators of honorific statues used *curia(e)* more frequently than *populus* to identify themselves. This probably does not suggest that the general populace of cities rarely dedicated statues, but, rather, this suggests that the *curiae* were an effective way to dedicate honorific statues. As the institutional representative of the *populus*, the *curiae* might have provided the

⁷⁸ Mrozek 1993: 115-116, 120. This does not have to mean, however, that the *incolae* were always uninvolved in a dedication of the *populus* unless stated.

⁷⁹ What is interesting is that the civic statutes do not use the term *populus* when describing the *curiae* in an electoral context. They describe the members of the *curiae* as *municipes* or *coloni*, a combination not found in the North African inscriptions. The difference is probably situational; inscriptions commemorating honours are highlighting the different players, giving pride of place to the decurions who monopolised the honour and political powers in their community. Elections were the one time in which the *curiae* were paramount and perhaps the one time when all decurions actively participated in their *curia*.

organisational infrastructure for actions said to have been performed by the *populus*.⁸⁰ This may be why several epigraphic expressions equate the *curiae* with the *populus* when dedicating honours: *[popul]us in cu[ri]as cont[ributus]* (ILAlg. 1.1295), *populus curiatim* (AE 1999, 1796), and *populus curiarum* (CIL VIII 1828, 11349, 11340; ILAfr. 138, cf. AE 1949, 61).

It was argued in Chapter 2.4-2.5 that the *curiae* might have been summoned to participate in non-electoral votes, such as votes to honour individuals. One notable set of evidence was the five inscriptions recording *decreta publica* in the cities of Roman North Africa, which were argued to have likely resulted from votes of the *curiae*.⁸¹ This is not to say that every honour from the *populus* was the result of votes by the *curiae*. It remains possible that the decurions only included the *populus* in the final stage of the process as a passive audience for the dedication. In other cases, the *ordo* might have simply been speaking in the name of the *populus*, although one would expect it to have used the civic juridical status, a juridical denominative, or a demonym.⁸² The decurions are also said to have set up 6 honours after a *postulatio populi* (see Table 1.1). Such petitions may also lie behind some usages of the term *ordo et populus*. Moreover, if the *curiae* were involved in some of the statues said to have been set up by the *populus*, it might have only been in a supportive role, such as the vehicle by which private funds were gathered. Essentially, it seems too much to assume a public vote of the *curiae* behind every citation of the

⁸⁰ Jacques 1984: 419.

⁸¹ Two inscriptions from the mid to late third century record “votes” of the *populus* (*suffragia*; CIL VIII 26618=26626=ILAfr. 539=Dougga 88; AE 1962, 184b). It is unclear how to interpret these. Kotula (1968: 95-98) and Lepelley (1979: 140 n.94, 145) present them as mere acclamations akin to cheers. These references to popular *suffragia*, however, are in the same case as the references to the decrees of the decurions authorising the honours, as if the two groups were partners in the endeavour. This presentation of dedicators more closely resembles dedications by the *ordo et populus*. In contrast, inscriptions recording *postulationes populi* have the *ordo* (nominative case) in the active role of decreeing the statue and the *populus* (ablative case) in the more passive role of requesting it (see Table 1.2.6-11). This observation, however, brings us little closer to understanding these *suffragia*. The most that one can say is that the drafters of the inscriptions were presenting them as “votes” and not just as unofficial demonstrations (i.e. *postulationes*).

⁸² Jacques 1984: 419.

populus.

Nonetheless, the admittedly circumstantial evidence does suggest that the *curiae* could be behind some statues set up by the *populus* or by the *ordo et populus*. There just was no other institution through which the *populus* could organise outside of the *ordo*.⁸³ If an individual or small group undertook to act on behalf of the *populus*, one would expect more *curatores* of statues to be named, for, as a rule, people did not assume voluntary expenses and responsibilities without seeking recognition. When the *ordo* acted alone, it acted in its own name. When it was acting on behalf of all citizens, then *cives*, *coloni*, *municipes*, *pagani*, or a demonym was the word of choice.

These points only pertain to the *populus* as dedicator. As discussed in Chapter 2.1, benefactors sometimes contrasted the *populus* (or *plebs*, or even *cives*) to the *curiae* when making distributions. In Thuraria at the dedication of a Temple of the Victories for the well-being of the Divine Gordian, the generous builder gave *sportulae* to the decurions and an *epulum* to the *curiae* and *populus* (*sportulas decurionibus et epulum curiis et universo populo dedit*, *CIL VIII 25371=ILS 5472+p.185*). The explanation for this distinction proposed in Chapter 2.1 was two fold. There was the argument of Kotula and others that *populus* was being used broadly to include wives, children, slaves, etc.⁸⁴ More to the point I argued, these situations were organised by the donor; whom to invite and how to distinguish them depended on his or her relationships and political needs (cf. Chapter 3.3). Q. Crepereius Germanus Rufinus, an augur and *duumviralis*, gave *sportulae* to the decurions and two gold coins (200HS, probably per group) to the imperial

⁸³ Similar Jacques (1984: 419), although it is hard to imagine what other organisation he could have in mind, except an informal group of *amici*: “Le paiement des frais par le *populus* implique l'existence d'une structure institutionnelle, les curies ou une organisation comparable: seule une association, assimilée à une personne morale, peut prendre des frais à sa charge.”

⁸⁴ Kotula 1968: 58-59; Gasco 1976: 47; Jacques 1990: 399-400.

freedmen, the association of advocates, his *amici*, the *curiae*, and the *Augustales*. Finally, he gave wine to the whole *populus* and put on *ludi*.⁸⁵ This does not mean that the *populus* was made up of only those inhabitants not belonging to the other mentioned groups. Rather, he was acknowledging people in order of importance to him.

The terminology used, thus, depended on perspective. From a wide variety of options, dedicators chose the dedicatory term they believed best suited the situation at hand. Officially, the city consisted of two main constituent groups: the *ordo et populus*. These are the civic groups that actually dedicated the honorific statues. Together, they made up the *cives*, or the *coloni*, *municipes*, *pagani*, *Lepcitani*, etc. If the situation called for it, other groups were acknowledged, like the *incolae*, *curiae*, and *Augustales*. As important as the *curiae* were in the cities of Proconsularis, they did not replace *populus* as the official term, partly because the word *curia* was less prestigious, but, more importantly, because the *curiae* – plural – was not a concept that held meaning for people beyond the logistics of voting. Curial life and identity was limited to each semi-independent *curia*. Therefore, even though the heirs of M. Cornelius Fronto Gabinianus gave *sportulae* to the decurions and *curiae* at the dedication of his statue, implying that the *curiae* were involved in the honour (*ILAlg.* 1.2145), the official dedicators are said to have been the *ordo et populus*.

E) CONCLUSION

This discussion brings us back to the honorees. Despite differences in meaning, civic dedicators tended to refer to themselves directly on inscriptions as the *ordo*, *decuriones*, *populus*,

⁸⁵ *cuius honoris remunerandi causa idem Rufinus sportul(as) decurionib(us) et lib(ertis) Caes(aris) n(ostri) itemq(ue) forensibus et amicis curiis quoque et Augustalibus aureos binos et populo vinum dedit et ludos edidit, (CIL VIII 16556).*

and/or *curiae* when honouring civic notables but not when honouring the emperor or his relatives. Rather, when honouring the emperor or his relatives, they tended to employ the city's juridical status (e.g. *colonia*) or demonym (e.g. Lepcitani), broad terms that represented the entire community. An obvious reason is that juridical status came from without as a gift from the emperor. The Romans were keenly aware of legal status, whether personal or civic.⁸⁶ For emperors and governors it was something to be respected, even if they possessed the power to ignore it.⁸⁷ To do otherwise was uncivilised behaviour, let alone cause for official complaint.⁸⁸ Using juridical status to represent the dedicator signalled up front the nature of the relationship of the community with the emperor, Roman administrators, and neighbouring communities, for juridical status implied the degree of Roman culture, institutions, laws adopted, and how deeply into the population Roman citizenship penetrated (cf. Chapter 1.1). Moreover, it implied whether the community was dependent on another larger one if it was a *pagus*, *vicus*, *castellum*, or *civitas*, or an administrative centre and/or regional hub if it was a *colony* or *municipium*.⁸⁹ It makes sense that communities put their juridical status in the nominative – leading with it in a sense –, when honouring outsiders, especially those who were responsible for the status: emperors.

Similarly, using a demonym was a standard short-hand form of identification in international correspondence. It is how Caesar frequently identified the various cities of Africa

⁸⁶ Tacitus, for example, clearly felt that it was important to record in his account of the Boudiccan revolt that Camulodunnum was a *colonia*, that Verulamium was a *municipium*, and that Londinium did not have the status of either (*Ann.* 14.31-33).

⁸⁷ Note Pliny's hesitancy to inspect the debts, revues, and expenditures of Apamea, because of its privilege of internal independence, as well as Trajan's respect for it (*Ep.* 10.47-48).

⁸⁸ Plin. *Ep.* 8.24.2. For further discussion, see Introduction 0.3; Chapter 1.1.

⁸⁹ Pride was certainly placed in the more prestigious juridical statuses, most notably colonial status (Aul. Gel. 16.13.8-9; Apul. *Apol.* 24-25). The quest for greater status was part of *municipalis aemulatio* – to borrow Tacitus' phrase (*Hist.* 3.57; cf. Dio Cass. 54.23.8; Gascou 1972: 64). But this cannot be the universal reason that communities advertised their juridical status, for those of low (peregrine) status still advertised theirs. I would suggest that the reason is the more utilitarian one given in the main body of the text.

and is one way that boundary stones marked two meeting territories.⁹⁰ Hence, *Oeenses* is the term used when Oea honoured members of the imperial elite at Lepcis Magna (*IRT* 542) and at Puteoli, Italy (*CIL* X 1684). At Theveste, they and the *Sabrathenses* are the declared honourers of a procurator responsible for imperial estates far away in Tripolitania (*CIL* VIII 16543+p.2731=*ILS* 1439=*ILAlg.* 1.3062; *CIL* VIII 16542+p.2731=*ILAlg.* 1.3063). Similarly, T. Flavius Macer was called *Ilvir flamen perpetuus Ammaedarensium* by the *municipes* of Calama (*CIL* VIII 5351=*ILS* 1435=*ILAlg.* 1.285) and again in Hippo Regius by the *collegium Larum Caesaris*, imperial freedmen and slaves, and the tenant farmers of nearby imperial domains (*ILAlg.* 1.3992). Demonyms were an efficient way for civic dedicators to identify their city among the many inscriptions of the host city, a desire perhaps seen in the added note at Puteoli that the *Oeenses* are *Oe(e)nses ex provinc(ia) Afr[ica]* (*CIL* X 1684). Cities dedicating a statue in another city could have used *civitas*, *colonia*, *municipes*, etc., but they would have needed to add qualifiers in order to distinguish themselves from the dedications of the host city.⁹¹

The impression is that, when communities honoured emperors (and, to a lesser extent, members of the imperial elite), they tended to honour them as outsiders. The question is: why did they do so in their own city? First, there is limited evidence of emperors ordering provincial cities to erect statues.⁹² The author of the *Life of Aelius Verus* in the *Historia Augusta* states that Hadrian “ordered colossal statues to be set up to Aelius Verus throughout the whole world [and]

⁹⁰ E.g. Caes. *BA* 97.3. The various boundary stones between the *Musulami* and the *Madaurenses* and the *Siccenses*, and *Bul[la]menses* (respectively *CIL* VIII 4676=28073a=*ILAlg.* 1.2828; *AE* 2004, 1878; *AE* 1999, 1815; cf. *AE* 1979, 648-649). Once between the *Musulami* and *coloni* (*AE* 2008, 1682).

⁹¹ The *coloni coloniae Iuliae Cirtae Novae* of Cirta are the stated dedicators of a statue to Q. Cassius Capito at Sicca Veneria, although it is not clear that Sicca Veneria was its original standing place, since a great-great granddaughter later moved it (*CIL* VIII 1648+p.1523). See also *[mu]nicipes municip[i(i) Althiburitani]* at Mactar (*CIL* VIII 11811+p.2372=*Bardo* 103); *dec(urio) et aed(ilis) coloniae Siccensis* at Thubursicu Numidarum, *CIL* VIII 17164=*ILAlg.* 1.1294.

⁹² Højte raises this possibility (2005: 167-168), but limits the brief discussion to Rome and does not mention the pieces of evidence that follow in the above discussion.

that temples be built in several cities too” (*statuas sane Aelio Vero per totum orbem colossas poni iussit, templa etiam in nonnullis urbibus fieri, Ael. Ver. 7.1*). The statues of the deified Hadrian and Aelius Verus, then, which Germanus of Sutunurca erected on account of the perpetual flamine of his son, might have been in fulfilment of the order on behalf of his city (*IL Afr. 300=Bardo 160*).

Moreover, the *Life of M. Aurelius* maintains that, when his son M. Annius Verus died, M. Aurelius “ordered that statues be decreed only to his dead son alone” (*iussitque, ut statuae tantum modo filio mortuo decernerentur, SHA M. Ant. 21.5*). This order might explain the statues erected to the young Caesar at Sufetula and Belalis Maior. Both were accompanied by succinct inscriptions that do not bother to state a dedicator in the nominative: e.g. *M(arco) Annio Vero Caesari Imp(eratoris) Caesaris M(arci) Aureli Antonini Aug(usti) Armeniaci Medici Parthici maximi et Faustinae Aug(ustae) filio d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*, *CIL VIII 11323=ILS 386+p.170=Sbeitla 19; AE 1978, 839*. More will be said on this style of inscription in the next section. Right now, it must be admitted that, while Hadrian's order is purported to have pertained to the whole empire, the scope of Aurelius' order cannot be recovered from the *Life* (limited to Rome?). The decurions of Sufetula and Belalis Maior could have erected the statues as spontaneous demonstrations of grief.

Herodian, a more reliable source, provides another example. He writes that Caracalla “ordered images and statues set up in all cities” after donning the persona of Alexander (εἰκόνας τε καὶ ἀνδριάντας ἐν πάσαις πόλεσιν ἀναστῆναι ἐκέλευσε, *Herod. 4.8.1*). Again the scope of the order could have been limited to Macedonia, where he was at the time. But Herodian next relates that he likewise filled Rome with the images and statues (τὴν τε Ῥώμην ἐπλήρωσεν ἀνδριάντων καὶ εἰκόνων), which increases the possibility that he directed his order to the whole empire. There

were, however, evident reasons why he might have included Rome into a regional order. Yet even if cities in Proconsularis were not directly ordered to erect statues to an emperor or relative, these three passages still evince the outside pressure that from time to time could be placed on cities to erect them. Such pressure is recorded in Pliny's account of Regulus' request to the *ordines* of the cities of Italy to select their most articulate member to read out the *Life* of his deceased son, which Regulus had composed and personally distributed.⁹³ Pliny mocks the exercise,⁹⁴ but also assumes the compliance of the *ordines* and, indeed, sympathises with the position in which they were put.⁹⁵ In such cases, it would be understandable to find the resultant statues treated as foreign.

In the end, the evidence for emperors ordering the erection of statues is too meagre to assume it occurred regularly. A consistent reason for communities treating emperors and non-local members of the imperial elite as foreign is that, unlike civic notables and local members of the imperial elite, these honorees could only go through a few of the stages of the honouring process, and then remotely. They were not present when the honour was proposed; they did not magnanimously offer to set up the statue themselves or otherwise negotiate details of the honour; they were not present at the dedication ceremony to give a speech of thanks, nor did they give *sportulae* to the decurions and put on banquets, games, or shows for the *populus*. Statues were just one, largely assumed, option on a long and sometimes creative list of possible honours to

⁹³ Plin. Ep. 4.7.2. Sherwin-White proposes that Regulus made the request just to the cities of which he was patron (1966: 271), but this ignores Pliny's statement that Regulus had made a "thousand copies" of the *Life* and sent them "throughout the whole of Italy" (*eundem in exemplaria mille transcriptum per totam Italiam provinciasque dimisit*).

⁹⁴ *saepe tibi dico inesse vim Regulo. mirum est quam efficiat in quod incubuit. placuit ei lugere filium: luget ut nemo*, Plin. Ep. 4.7.1; *de vita pueri, recitavit tamen*, Ep. 4.7.2; and see the next footnote.

⁹⁵ *scripsit publice, ut a decurionibus eligeretur vocalissimus aliquis ex ipsis, qui legeret eum populo: factum est*, Plin. Ep. 4.7.2; *habesne quo tali epistulae parem gratiam referas? habes, si scripseris num aliquis in municipio vestro ex sodalibus meis, num etiam ipse tu hunc luctuosum Reguli librum ut circulator in foro legeris*, "ἐπάρας" scilicet, *ut ait Demosthenes, "τὴν φωνὴν καὶ γεγηθῶς καὶ λαρυγγίζων."* *est enim tam ineptus ut risum magis possit exprimere quam gemitum: credas non de puero scriptum sed a puero*, Ep. 4.7.6-7.

emperors.⁹⁶ While embassies and, more often, letters must have informed non-local honorees,⁹⁷ in the case of emperors at least, it is unclear if they were informed in every instance and if they always responded (via letter), on account of the volume of their honours.⁹⁸ Even if the best situation is assumed, the various opportunities civic notables had to strengthen bonds and promote themselves could only have been partially taken advantage of by emperors and non-local members of the imperial elite.

4.3 SENTIMENT

A) 'SUCCINCT' INSCRIPTIONS

The question about the meaning of the various dedicatory terms can be addressed from another perspective: investment. How much time, effort, and emotion the participants invested in an honour would seem to indicate the character of the relationship between dedicator and honoree. Claims of a *postulatio populi*, unanimity, and devotion of space in the inscription to the honoree's virtues and family all seem indicative of greater than normal effort and/or emotional investment in the honour. The process to honour could be straightforward, as explained in Chapter 1.3. The decurions, for example, need not have voted separately for the honour, location, and payment method. Nor did the speeches need to be long or detailed, if everyone already agreed. The decurions just needed to indicate agreement with the lead opinion.

Such a streamlined process is certainly the impression given by the inscriptions of some

⁹⁶ E.g. honorary decrees and speeches of ambassadors, civic names, *aura coronaria*, arches, shrines, *vota*, and *templa*. Millar 1977: 410-420; Ando 2000: 175-190.

⁹⁷ *P.Lond.* 6.1912 lines 20-22; Suet. *Vesp.* 23.3; cf. Plin. *Ep.* 10.8-9. The lacunose *CIL* VIII 5374=ILAlg. 1.292, found on a pedestal, appears to be a letter (perhaps from a proconsul) in response to a decree expressing a desire to honour (*decreti vestri qua de [- - -] honestate cumulari S[- - -]OSEVS splendoris essen[t - - - [- - -]] - - -] desiderastis effici*).

⁹⁸ Stewart (2003: 161), citing the same sources, is confident that correspondence did occur between the dedicator and emperor or an official in his name, but this seems uncertain, especially in the second and third centuries.

honours that provide only essential information, such as the name of the honoree, any offices and titles, then the name of the dedicator and, perhaps, a verb. Compare, for instance, the two following inscriptions from Sufetula:

<i>CIL VIII 11346=Sbeitla 57</i>	<i>ILAfr. 127=Sbeitla 15</i>
M(arco) Magnio Severo fl(amini) p(er)p(etuo) civi incom- parabili ob merita splendidissimus ordo Sufetulensis d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)	Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) divi Antonini fil(io) divi Hadriani nep(oti) divi Traiani pronep(oti) divi Nervae abnep(oti) M(arco) Aurelio An- tonino Aug(usto) Armeniaco Medico Part(hico) m[ax(imo) p(ontifici) m(aximo) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) XXI im]p(eratori) III co(n)s(uli) III p[roco(n)s(uli) fratri L(uci) Au]reli Veri Aug(usti) Armen[iaci Me]dici Parthici max(imi) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) VII imp(eratoris) III co(n)s(ulis) III proco(n)s(ulis) divi An- tonini fil(ii) divi Hadriani nep(otis) divi Tra- iani pronep(otis) divi Nervae abnep(otis) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)

The undated honour to the civic notable, M. Magnus Severus, and the honour to the emperor M. Aurelius in 167 CE share many features. They both list the name of the honoree in the dative case, state his offices and conclude with the formula *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*. The bases of the two statues are also comparable in size, despite the impression of the texts. The base for M. Aurelius' statue measures 103/67/60cm (height/width/depth), while Severus' measures 120/60/?cm. Most importantly, both honours likely shared the same authorisation process, for in both cases just the *ordo* is mentioned.

There are key differences, however, the most obvious being the dense accumulation of titles, offices, and the claimed line of descent stated for M. Aurelius. This style of imperial inscription would soon become popular under Commodus and the Severi.⁹⁹ The emperor's inscription consequently records more career information and makes a greater visual impact than

⁹⁹ Saastamoinen 2010: 140-141; cf. Hammond 1957: 19-20; 1959: 58, 63, 90.

that of the civic notable. Yet it communicates the identity of the dedicators only indirectly, through the use of a tersely abbreviated formula in the ablative case *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*. The reader (if anyone bothered) had to infer that the *d(ecuriones)* were the initiators and dedicators of the monument. Grammatically, a direct connection is not created between dedicator and honoree. The honoree stands almost alone.

The inscription of Severus' statue, in contrast, does state the dedicator in the nominative case, even though it too concludes with *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*. In addition, the reader is told that the local *ordo* is “most splendid.” The decurions, thus, wanted their identity and connection with the honoree to be front and centre. The reason for the differences between the two inscriptions may lie in the explanation of each honour. The *ordo* honoured the civic notable “because of his merits” and because he was “an incomparable citizen.” The explanation for M. Aurelius' honour again comes indirectly through his long list of offices, titles, and claimed line of descent. The message is that he is the most powerful and prestigious person in the empire.

The impression of each honour differs considerably. The one to Severus feels gracious and more familiar. M. Aurelius' honour feels cool and aloof, with a hint of intimidation. This latter quality is especially reflected in Cassius Dio's mordant mockery of the long list of titles which headed Commodus' letters to the Senate (73.15.4-16.1). The disinterest in the dedicator displayed by Aurelius' inscription implies that the decurions were not emotionally invested in the honour. The impression of a lack of emotional investment is not limited to this one inscription. The curtness of the inscriptions for M. Aurelius's young son, Annius Verus (*CIL* VIII 11323=*ILS* 386+p.170=*Sbeittla* 19), and for Gordian III (*CIL* VIII 11325=*Sbeittla* 28) is all the more apparent, for not only does a bare *dd pp* serve to signal their dedicator, but they do not have the density of titles, offices, and claimed ancestors to distract from the succinctness.

Indicating the dedicators of an honour with a bare *d(ecreto)* *d(ecurionum)* or *d(ecreto)* *d(ecurionum)* *p(ecunia)* *p(ublica)* is not a convention limited to emperors. Nor can one conclude that any one statue was lacking in sentiment and, therefore, perfunctory solely because the decurions chose to indicate their actions with a bare *d(ecreto)* *d(ecurionum)*.¹⁰⁰ The above remarks are “feelings” and “impressions” only. A second but now lost inscription could have provided more detail. Moreover, it was argued in Chapter 3.2-3.4 that a communal gathering and speeches could accompany dedications (although it is not clear if they always did), which would have helped to contextualise the honour. It was further observed in Section 3.2 that the meagre evidence for dedication ceremonies is limited to the statues of emperors, which implies that their ceremonies were more elaborate and might mean that they conveyed details to the crowd unacknowledged in the inscription.

This type of inscription, however, does tend to accompany honours to people of certain statuses. In the epigraphic catalogue of honorific statues, 110 complete or near complete inscriptions¹⁰¹ contain either no indication whatsoever about the dedicator or only an indirect reference to the dedicator, such as through an abbreviated formula. As shown in Chart 4.9, 64% of the 110 inscriptions (N=70) commemorate honours to emperors, which is a significantly higher percentage than the rest of honours (with a known honoree) in the epigraphic catalogue (412/966=43%).¹⁰² Honours to members of the imperial elite maintained about the same percentage: 22% (24/110) of public honours in comparison to their average in the rest of the epigraphic catalogue (173/858=20%). Only 15% (16/110) of these inscriptions, however, were

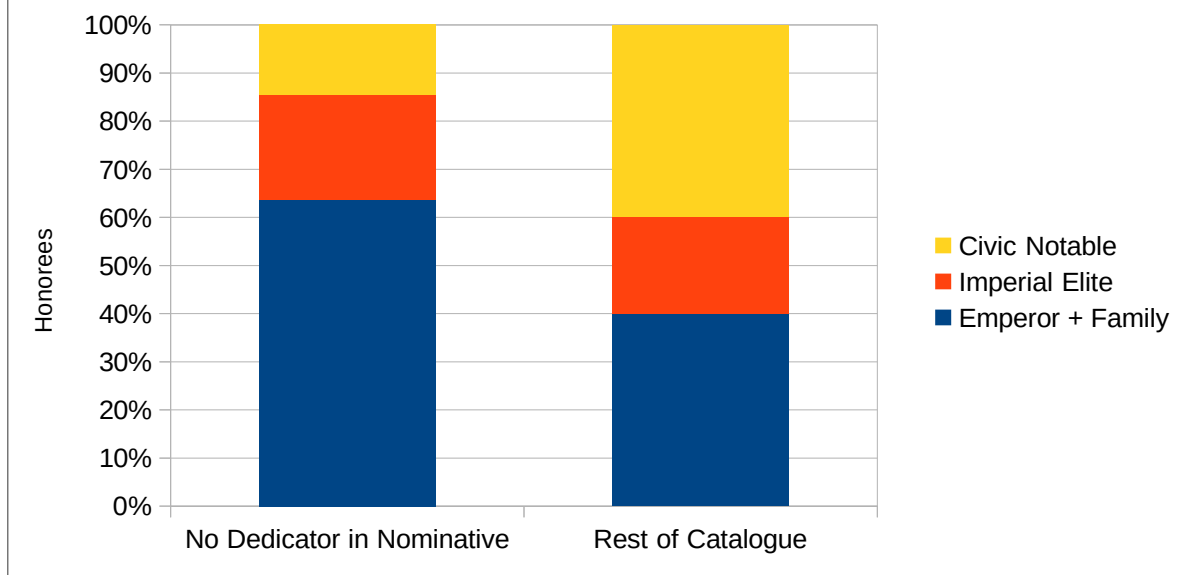
¹⁰⁰ Alföldy 1984: 61.

¹⁰¹ An additional inscription of a succinct nature is complete, but it cannot be ascertained whether or not the recipient was a civic notable or a member of the imperial elite (*CIL* VIII 11538).

¹⁰² It did not make sense to compare the “succinct” inscription numbers to the overall epigraphic catalogue, for that would have counted the “succinct” inscriptions twice.

accompanying honours to civic notables, which is significantly lower than the rest of the epigraphic catalogue: 40% (342/858). The style of inscription that did not state a dedicator in the nominative case, thus, tended to be used for statues to members of the imperial family.

Chart 4.9: Comparison of Averages



The members of the imperial elite whose statues received such inscriptions also tended to be of the highest order. They consisted of M. Lepidus the *triumvir* (*AE* 1959, 77), 5 proconsuls of Africa,¹⁰³ other imperial officials on the proconsul's staff,¹⁰⁴ the son of a proconsul who also happened to be the brother-in-law of L. Verus (*CIL* VIII 12291=*ILS* 1085), a consul (*CIL* VIII 23800), two praetorian prefects (*ILTun.* 127=*Bardo* 487; *IL Afr.* 421=*Bardo* 439), a *quaestor urbanus* (*CIL* VIII 5179+p.1639=*ILAlg.* 1.536), a *praetor* at Rome (*IL Afr.* 297), the daughter of a senatorial *curator rei publicae*, and others of senatorial rank.¹⁰⁵ 15 of these men are patrons of the

¹⁰³ *CIL* VIII 1639+p.2707=16016; *CIL* VIII 84+p.925, 2347=11226; *IL Afr.* 43=*ILTun.* 109=*Bardo* 79; *AE* 1950, 66; *CIL* VIII 24094=*Bardo* 417.

¹⁰⁴ *Legatus pro praetore*: *CIL* VIII 25367=*Bardo* 204=*ILTun.* 1168; *IL Afr.* 418; cf. wife of a *legatus pro praetore*: *ILTun.* 1259.

¹⁰⁵ *IL Afr.* 305; *ILTun.* 722; *CIL* VIII 971+p.1282; *CIL* VIII 14559; *CIL* VIII 23416.

honouring cities,¹⁰⁶ of whom only three can be shown to have been of local origin.¹⁰⁷ Saller argues that short-term patronage of cities in Proconsularis by the current governor and high-ranking members of his staff was common.¹⁰⁸

The 16 civic notables represent a broader spectrum of their respective status. 4 were former magistrates and/or flamens¹⁰⁹ and 1 wife of a *flamen perpetuus* (*CIL* VIII 24018=*Uthina* 1.28). 3 held civic offices at Carthage, yet were honoured by smaller peregrine communities in the *pertica* of the colony.¹¹⁰ These three might have either lived locally but held Carthaginian citizenship or served as patrons of the community in the Carthaginian *ordo*. Another had been a military tribune of a legion (*CIL* VIII 1175+p.1386), and an additional notable is described as a stoic philosopher (*BCTH* 1954, 188=*AE* 1957, 90). For 6 more of the 16, offices and titles are not provided. One is simply cited as wife, another as brother.¹¹¹ The other 4 only provide names, e.g. from the second to early-third century at Hippo Regius: *Cn. Sentio L(uci) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Pudenti d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*.¹¹² Marec asserts that Pudens must have been fairly important just by virtue of having been honoured with a statue,¹¹³ but that is only necessarily true from the point of view of the bulk of the population. It does not mean that he was a leader among the civic

¹⁰⁶ *CIL* VIII 84+p.925, 2347=11226, 14559, 23800; *CIL* VIII 12291=*ILS* 1085; *CIL* VIII 25367=*Bardo* 204=*ILTun.* 1168; *ILTun.* 722; *ILTun.* 1259; *AE* 1950, 66; *CIL* VIII 24094=*Bardo* 417=*ILS* 8973=*ILTun.* 797; *IL Afr.* 305; *IL Afr.* 418; including M. Lepidus: *AE* 1959, 77.

¹⁰⁷ *civi et patrono*, *CIL* VIII 971+1282; *CIL* VIII 1174=*ILS* 1451; *AE* 1979, 657; cf. daughter of a consular patron: *ILTun.* 1162.

¹⁰⁸ Saller 1980: 175.

¹⁰⁹ *Duumvir* at Segermes: *CIL* VIII 11173=*ILTun.* 258=*Segermes* 19; *flamen divi Nervae* and *duumvir quinquennalis* at Carthage: *IL Afr.* 390=*ILS* 9406; aedile and *flamen perpetuus* at Hippo Diarrhytus: *CIL* VIII 14334=25428=*ILTun.* 1190; *flamen perpetuus* and *duumvir* at Vina: *IL Afr.* 323.

¹¹⁰ Henchir Brik: *CIL* VIII 12318+p.2412=*ILS* 6814; Furnos Maius: *Afr. Rom.* 2, p.180; Thuburbo Maius: *IL Afr.* 280.

¹¹¹ Wife: *Lartidiae L(uci) fil(iae) Praenestinae coniugi T(iti) Caeserni Concessi Severi d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*, *CIL* VIII 17217=*ILAlg.* 1.881. Brother: *ILTun.* 724.

¹¹² *AE* 1958, 136. Mactaris: *Liciniae Q(uinti) fil(iae) Antullae M(arci) Minthoni Tertulli ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*, *CIL* VIII 23420; Mactaris (dated 100-199): *Cocceiae Bassulae Numisiae Proculae M(arci) Munati Popiliani d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*, *CIL* VIII 626+p.1219, 2372; Lepcis Magna (dated to 1-299): *Q(uinto) Pomp[e]io Cereali ex decreto ordinis*, *CIL* VIII 22674=*IRT* 648.

¹¹³ Marec 1956: 293.

notables. C. Caesennius Auctus, another of the 6, was honoured at Thuburbo Maius “because of the munificence of his brother Caesennius Secundio.”¹¹⁴ Secundio's son, in fact, was made an equestrian by M. Aurelius, which doubtlessly had much to do with Secundio's wealth and connections (*ILTun.* 725). Secundio would later commemorate this achievement by ordering in his will that two statues be erected to his son (*ILTun.* 725-726). So in Auctus' case, it was likely his brother that was important. For Pudens, then, one cannot assume that the *ordo* of Hippo Regius believed him to be particularly important. Certainly, the decurions drafted more elaborate inscriptions in the same time frame.¹¹⁵

Again, one cannot use the lack of a dedicatory term in the nominative case to argue in any one particular case that the decurions felt little affection for the honoree. Several inscriptions, for example, do contain a note on the benefactions or qualities of the individual that stimulated the honour.¹¹⁶ But when the large majority of these statues are to emperors and members of the imperial elite, with whom the city had only a limited professional relationship, and when a significant minority of the local honorees has no stated personal significance, then it does seem that the decurions tended to use this succinct form of inscription for honours with minimal emotional investment.

B) EFFORT AND EMOTIONAL INVESTMENT

The opposite to succinct inscriptions are those indicating a greater degree of effort and/or

¹¹⁴ *C(aio) Caesennio P(ubli) fil(io) Aucto ob munificentiam Caesenni Secundionis fratris eius d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*, *ILTun.* 724.

¹¹⁵ *Libyca* 2.1, 1954, #9, 393-5; *AE* 1958, 144=*Libyca* 4, 1956, p.314-5.

¹¹⁶ E.g. *qui ob honorem cum HS CC mil(ia) promississet inla[tis] aerar(io) HS XXXVIII mil(ibus) leg(itimis) am[pliata] pec(unia) spectaculum in amphi[theatro] gladiatorum et Africanaru[m] quadriduo dedit d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*, *ILAfr.* 390=*ILS* 9406. [*Divo*] *Hadriano condito[ri] municipi d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*, *CIL* VIII 83+p.2347. *ob adsidua in rem publicam merita d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*, *CIL* VIII 1175+p.1386.

emotional investment. *Decreta publica*, for instance, required much organisation, if they indeed resulted from votes of the *curiae* as argued in Chapter 2.4. Not only would the decurions have had to authorise the vote, but the *duumvir* would have had to call the *curiales* to the *comitia*, the results of which would have gone back to the decurions for final approval. Of the 3 known *decreta publica* authorizing honours, 2 were to civic notables and one to a member of the imperial elite of local origin.¹¹⁷

Postulationes populi are another possible indicator of emotional commitment to the honour. It was argued in Chapter 1.3 that they were demonstrations of the people, which pressured the decurions to honour an individual. Games, shows, and other large gatherings of the populace were the likely venue. The decurions could make similar demonstrations at their own meetings. Whether or not they were planned, the claim of such mass demonstrations was meant to suggest spontaneity, which served to indicate that the honoree had not given in order to be honoured. They, thus, underscore the sincerity of the desire to honour, if not insistence. In all 6 instances that the *populus* petitioned for a statue, a civic notable was the honoree. In the one confirmed case where the decurions similarly demonstrated (Appendix A), the recipient was again a civic notable.¹¹⁸ Another inscription simply says *expostulantibus universis* and commemorates an honour to a local man of either imperial elite or civic notable status (*IRT* 633).

Unanimity also seems to signal extra effort and emotional investment. It is normally indicated with the adjective *universus*, although *omnis* and *singuli* (as in *singulae curiae*) are also found.¹¹⁹ In addition, I have taken the three certain expressions of the total number of the

¹¹⁷ *CIL* VIII 1282=14785, 14786; *BCTH* 1946/49, 306=*AE* 1949, 38; cf. from Caesarea in Mauretania Caesariensis: *AE* 1925, 44. See also the statue the *ordo* and *populus* of Madauros decreed to a deceased *flamen perpetuus* (*ILAlg.* 1.2145).

¹¹⁸ Furthermore, a lacunose inscription seems to state that both the decurions and *populus* demanded an honour to a *duumvir* (*ILAlg.* 1.1300).

¹¹⁹ These terms are not limited to Proconsularis. With the exception of *singulis*, Berrendonner produces a similar list

dedicating *curiae* as indicative of unanimity, as stated expressly in an inscription from Thuburbo Maius: *curiales universi curiarum undecim*.¹²⁰ Of the 57 inscriptions attesting or very likely attesting to unanimity, 13 are to members of the imperial elite (23%) and 39 to civic notables (68%). The remaining 5 recipients cannot be identified with certainty, although one is almost certainly local since he is described as a *munerarius* (CIL VIII 22852). A possible fifty-eighth inscription at Ammaedara commemorates a statue to Furia Sabinia Tranquillina, the wife of Gordian III, which might have been set up by the *X [curiae col(oniae)]*.¹²¹

The breakdown of the 57 unanimous dedicators is interesting, for the *curiae* dominate: 31 times the *curiae*, 9 times the *ordo* alone, 3 times the *populus* alone, 6 times the *ordo* and *populus* together (once as *cives* for *populus*), once the *ordo et curiae*, and twice *cives*. The *curiae* not only dominate in unanimous dedications to civic notables (23 cases), but also to members of the imperial elite: 6 cases in comparison to the *ordo* twice, the *ordo* and *populus* once, and the *populus* alone once. An oddity is that 12 of the 57 inscriptions cite co-dedicators, but each state that only one was unanimous, e.g.: *ordo Vinensiu[m] et universi cives* and *universae curiae et Augustales*. An explanation could be that the adjective *universus* acted at times more as an epithet than as a statement of fact, perhaps as a rhetorical counter-weight to an adjective describing the co-dedicator (e.g. *splendidissimus ordo*).¹²² But this does not explain *universae curiae et Augustales*, which is found 4 times.¹²³ Moreover, it does not explain why the adjective appears so

of terms on inscriptions expressing the unanimity of the *ordo* and *plebs* of the cities of Etruria and Umbria (2005: 533).

¹²⁰ *ILTun.* 728. *populus curiar(um) X*, CIL VIII 1828+p.2722=*ILTun.* 1645=*ILS* 5783; *curiales curiarum X*, CIL VIII 1827+p.2722=16472=*ILTun.* 1647.

¹²¹ *Furiae Sabiniae Tranquillinae Aug(ustae) [coniugi do]mini X [curiae col(oniae) Fl(aviae) Aug(ustae) Emeritae Ammaedarensium(?) - -]*, *AE* 1999, 1792. I have excluded it, because the restoration is too speculative.

¹²² This is not out of the question, since many inscriptions do show signs of careful crafting and physical positioning on the stone. E.g.: . . . / *universus populus sin/ceris suffragiis suis et / ordo splendidissimus / gravissimo iudicio decernente Burrenio Felice c(larissimo) v(iro) / . . .*, *AE* 1962, 184b.

¹²³ Theveste: CIL VIII 1880-1885+p.1576=16509=*ILAlg.* 1.3075-3080; CIL VIII 1888=*ILAlg.* 1.3068=*ILS* 683; CIL VIII 16556=*ILAlg.* 1.3064=*ILS* 6839; CIL VIII 16558=*ILAlg.* 1.3067.

often when there is just one dedicator and why it is found augmenting so many different nouns: *curiae*, *cives*, *populus*, *sacerdotales*, and even *decuriones* and *ordo*. There must have been an appealing connotation to the adjective.

One inscription from Bulla Regia seeks to support the claim of unanimity by explaining that it was achieved “with sincere votes” (*universus populus sinceris suffragiis suis*, *AE* 1962, 184b). It is unclear whether these “votes” resulted from some form of acclamation or an organised, counted vote.¹²⁴ More generally, it is unlikely that the unanimity attested on inscriptions was confirmed in every case, particularly in the two instances that the claim of unanimity arose from a mass demonstration of the people (e.g. *expostulante universo populo ordo posuit*, *CIL* VIII 22728=22733=*ILTun.* 37). The claimed unanimity could be subjective rather than technical. Consensus was not necessary to honour. Such claims were less about reporting a result and more about demonstrating the breadth of the honoree's appeal and the subsequent profundity of the desire to honour.

One reason why the phrase *universae curiae* appears so often must have been that *curiae* was a plural noun covering ten or more distinct *curiae*. One or a few together could have separately honoured the individual. The adjective *universae* served to confirm that the honour came from all *curiae* in the city. This is unlikely to have been the only reason for the usage of the adjective, however. *Universae* also underlined the fact that not a single *curia* disagreed. In Chapter 2.5, the possibility was raised that the adjective might indicate that the vote continued until all of the *curiae* reported the results of their internal vote, rather than stopping as soon as a majority was reached, which was the electoral rule. If true, then the unanimity might have been expected. It is not out of the question that the main supporters of the honour worked behind the

¹²⁴ See the discussion in n.80 of Chapter 4.2.D.

scenes (perhaps at individual meetings of the *curiae* beforehand) to ensure that the unanimity would occur and that the presiding *duumvir* would continue the vote for it to happen. The adjective *universae* might just have been commemorating that not a single vote or opinion (in the case of the decurions) was registered in the negative.

Further demonstrating the investment of the 57 honours citing unanimity is that 9 were paid with *aes conlatum*: 1 to a member of the imperial elite of local origin (*CIL* VIII 14769) and 8 to civic notables.¹²⁵ Honours claiming unanimity, then, constitute over a quarter of the 31 known honours paid through collection. As argued in Chapter 1.5.C, *aes conlatum* was an expression of *consensus*, because the money seems to have been gathered from many small donations and because the donations were ostensibly voluntary. Collected in public spaces in front of crowds likely by friends, relatives, or other supporters of the honoree, perhaps even in competitive situations, the pressure to give must have been intense at times.

Such collections did three things important for the current discussion: they added to the work of the organisers of the honour; they gave each donor a stake in the honour creating a stronger connection between the donors and honoree than other forms of payment; and the giving of money transformed a possibly indifferent donor into an advocate. To give but not support would have made the donor look weak for having caved into pressure contrary to his conscience. *Aes conlatum*, therefore, is more demonstrative of the effort and emotion invested in the honour than the other forms of payment, for an institution could not quickly authorise and pay it like the decurions could with *publica pecunia* or individual *curiae* from their own accounts. Accordingly, it is unsurprising that the overall breakdown of honours paid with collected money is not too

¹²⁵ *AE* 1996, 1700; *ILAlg.* 1.1301; *CIL* VIII 25808c=*AE* 1909, 163; *CIL* VIII 25808b=*ILS* 9403=*AE* 1909, 162; *CIL* VIII 25376=*ILTun.* 1169; *CIL* VIII 5365=17495=*ILAlg.* 1.286; *CIL* VIII 1261+p.980=10594=14612=*ILS* 6823; *CIL* VIII 23226=*ILTun.* 363=*Sbeitla* 62.

dissimilar to those claiming unanimity. 4 are to emperors or a relative, all in small seemingly underdeveloped communities that perhaps did not have sufficient public funds.¹²⁶ The rest (when known) are to members of the imperial elite (3) and, particularly, to civic notables (20).

Finally, it was normal for different groups to collaborate on an honour. This occurs in 72 cases and the partners include the *ordo* and *populus*, the *curiae* and *Augustales*, and individuals offering part of the cost of the statue. Excluded from this number are *curatores* setting up the statue on behalf of a civic group and instances where someone remitted the money offered by the civic group in order to set up the statue him or herself. Ostensibly at least, these individuals did not become involved until after the decision to honour was made. The results are that, 7 out of the 72 times groups collaborated, the honoree is an emperor or relative (10%), 6 times a member of the imperial elite (8%), and 54 times a civic notable (75%; 5 honorees of unknown status).

The 4 honours jointly set up by the two *ordines* at Thugga, when the city was still split between a *pagus* and a *civitas*, are all to civic notables.¹²⁷ Likewise, when the *ordines* of Carthage and Mustis collaborated, it was to honour a decurion of Mustis (*AE* 1968, 606=*IMustis* 11). Individual *ordines* did dedicate statues to emperors, but again never in the 30 cases it is said to have collaborated with the *populus*, in the 2 cases with the *curiae*, and in the 1 case with the *cives*. The 7 definite or likely times the *Augustales* collaborated with the *curiae* (at Theveste and Ammaedara) in order to honour,¹²⁸ the honorees were again civic notables.¹²⁹ But the one time the

¹²⁶ *CIL* VIII 15666 and 15667 were set up in Ucubi, a *castellum*, the *aes* being collected by the *seniores* of the *castellum*. *CIL* VIII 15669 is also from Ucubi, the *aes* being collected by the *seniores* and by decurions of Sicca Veneria (probably) who lived in the area. *CIL* VIII 17259=*ILAlg.* 1.952=*ILS* 449+p.171 attests to a collection by the decurions (probably) at a *civitas* or *castellum*, whose name is not known.

¹²⁷ To a *flaminica*: *CIL* VIII 1495+p.938=26590; to a *flaminica perpetua* and her mother: *CIL* VIII 26591=*ILTun.* 1427=*Dougga* 73; to a *flamen perpetuus* and patron: *CIL* VIII 26622=*ILTun.* 1437=*Dougga* 56; to the son of a patron originating from the *civitas*: *CIL* VIII 26597=*Dougga* 52.

¹²⁸ There is one possible exception at Ammaedara, but the presence of the *curiae* is conjectural and the role of the *Augustales* is unclear for they appear in the genitive case on another face of the monument (*AE* 1999, 1792).

¹²⁹ To a *duumvir/augur* and his wife at Theveste: *CIL* VIII 16556=*ILAlg.* 1.3064=*ILS* 6839; to an equestrian pontifex: *CIL* VIII 16558=*ILAlg.* 1.3067; to an equestrian *flamen perpetuus*: *AE* 1999, 1796; to a flamen: *CIL*

Augustales alone are known to have set up a statue, it was to the Divine M. Aurelius (*CIL* VIII 305+p.1198=*ILS* 378). Similarly, in the 2 other cases the *curiae* worked with others to honour, it was to a senator of local origin (*CIL* VIII 22721=*ILS* 8978=*ILTun.* 33) and a *flaminica perpetua* (*CIL* VIII 10523=12424=*ILS* 7260=*Uthina* 1.29).

Particularly interesting is when the dedicatory terms used to denote the collaborators are juridical statuses, for the situation is not clear-cut. As argued above, civic dedicators tended to use them when honouring an outsider, most often the emperor. Only rarely did they list two or more juridical statuses as co-dedicators. A city only had one juridical status at a time and that status affected every citizen of that city. Using it to represent the dedicator of a statue implied the participation of the whole community. Thus, having two juridical statuses as the stated dedicators would seem to require that the honoree be an important figure external to both of them. For instance, the sixty-four *civitates* of expansive rural Punic districts (called *pagi*) collaborated to honour Trajan with their Roman prefect curating (*AE* 1963, 96).

At Thugga this was not the case. Before Septimius Severus merged them into a *municipium* in 205-206, the *pagus* and *civitas* of Thugga are known to have dedicated 14 statues together: 4 to the emperor¹³⁰ and 9 to civic notables (one honoree unknown).¹³¹ These 14 usages of juridical status terms by the citizens of each half of the community must be partly related to the honouring of foreigners; even a notable of the *pagus* could have been an outsider to the citizens of the *civitas*. But even then, the 9/14 times the *pagus* and *civitas* of Thugga honoured a

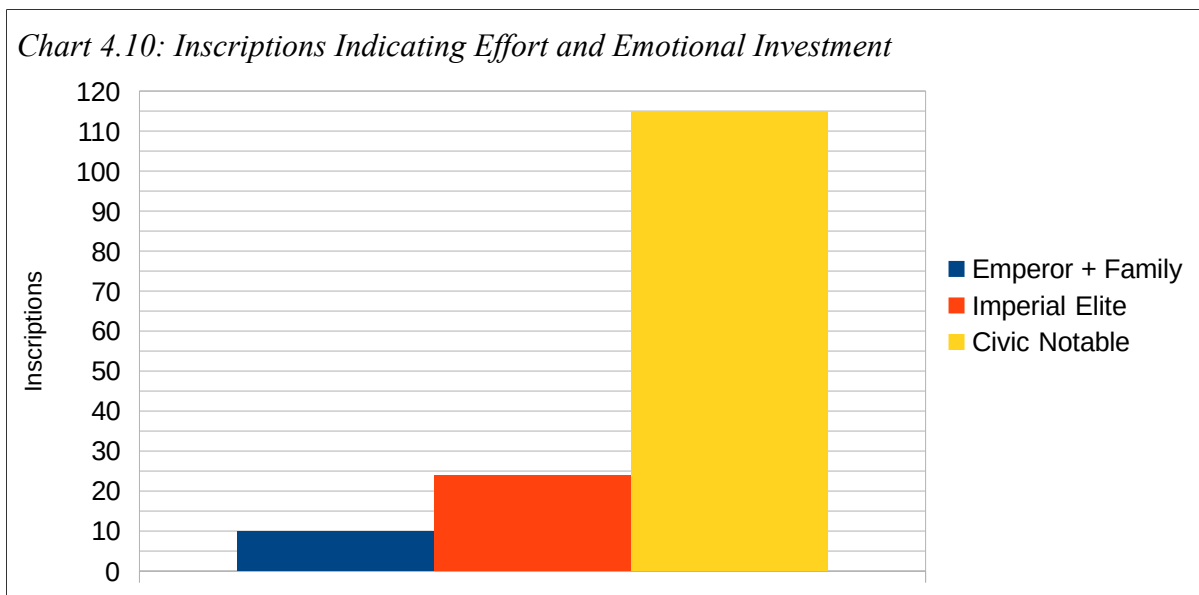
VIII 1888=*ILAlg.* 1.3068=*ILS* 683; to a *munerarius*: *CIL* VIII 16560=*ILAlg.* 1.3071; to a wife of an equestrian and daughter of a pontifex and *duumvir*: *CIL* VIII 16559=*ILAlg.* 1.3070; to a wife of a pontifex, *duumvir*, and *munerarius*: *CIL* VIII 16555=*ILAlg.* 1.3069. cf. *CIL* VIII 1880-1884+p.1576=*ILAlg.* 1.3075.

¹³⁰ *ILAfr.* 560=*Dougga* 5; *CIL* VIII 26526=*Dougga* 6; *CIL* VIII 26532=*Dougga* 8; *ILAfr.* 556.

¹³¹ *ILTun.* 1514; *ILAfr.* 517; *CIL* VIII 26615=*ILS* 9404; *CIL* VIII 26630=*ILTun.* 1441; *ILAfr.* 569=*Dougga* 77; *CIL* VIII 26605=*Dougga* 81; *CIL* VIII 26604=*Dougga* 82; *CIL* VIII 1494=26609=*Dougga* 83; *CIL* VIII 26625=*ILTun.* 1438=*Dougga* 128.

civic notable constitute a higher percentage (64%) than the number of times a *pagus* or a *civitas* alone (at Thugga or elsewhere) honoured a civic notable ($3/15=20\%$ *pagus*, $6/40=15\%$ *civitas*).¹³²

The civic dedicators at Thugga likely used juridical status terms as a convenient way to distinguish between the two communities in a single inscription (since they shared the same toponym) and to indicate their level of prestige relative to one another.



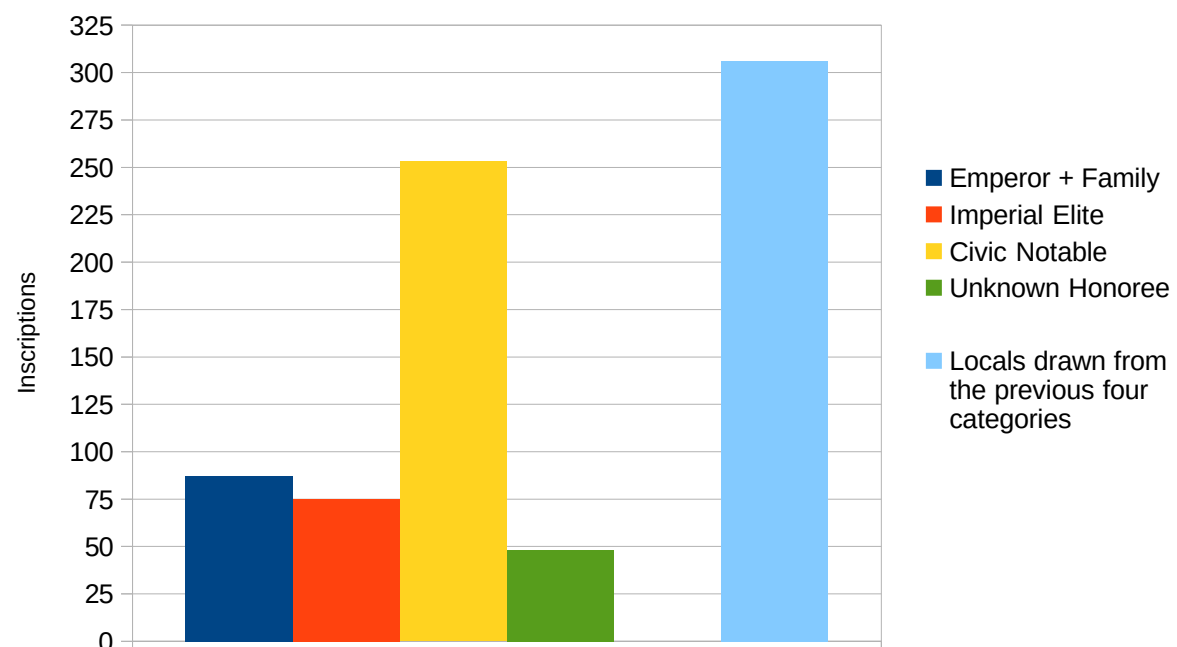
Collected from disparate sources, these numbers do not tell a definite story. Nonetheless, they indicate that honours to emperors tended to be the act of a single institution or group and, in contrast, that it was normally civic notables followed by members of the imperial elite of local origin who provided the motivation for organisers to invest the time and effort to demonstrate urgency or unanimity, or to bring two or more groups together in order to honour.

¹³² For Thugga, *civitas* appears alone in 5 cases: 3 when honouring the emperor and 2 when honouring a civic notable; *pagus* appears alone twice, once for a civic notable and once for a civic notable or member of the imperial elite.

4.4 'PRAISE' AND 'FAMILY'

461 of the 1080 inscriptions in the epigraphic catalogue of honorific statues comment on a familial aspect of the honoree beyond filiation or praise the honoree, either with laudatory language or by detailing the cause of the honour. Out of the 461, 87 of the honorees were emperors, 75 members of the imperial elite, and 253 civic notables. If one counts those who are likely to have originated from or lived in the city honouring them – whether or not they be civic notables, members of the imperial elite, or emperors –, the number climbs to 306 out of 461. In other words, 66% of the honorees, whose public honour includes details on his or her character, merits, benefactions, or family are known with a fair degree of certainty to have been locals. This includes the 24 inscriptions to the Severi at Lepcis Magna, where even the mother, sister, grandfather, and first wife of Septimius Severus (as well as the current wife) were honoured solely because of their connection to the city's favourite son.

Chart 4.11: Inscriptions Noting Benefactions, Qualities, or Family of Honoree



Explanation is required before proceeding with the analysis. Two categories have been created to track with whom civic dedicators demonstrated familiarity: 'Praise' and 'Family'. The aim is to explore the character of the motivation to honour, by testing to what extent inscriptions were tailored to the honoree and the specifics of his or her honour. The 'Praise' category includes inscriptions with laudatory language or detailed explanations for the honour. The three-part inscription accompanying Plautius Lupus' *biga* is an obvious candidate, because of its comments on Lupus' *integritas*, *modestia*, *verecundia*, *sollicitudo*, and *labor* towards his civic duties, and his generous *liberalitas*. Succinct phrases, however, like *ob merita* or *viro bono* were also sufficient for inclusion. It was argued in Chapters 1.3, 3.1, and 3.4 that they gloss actual speeches which would have detailed those merits. Moreover, honours whose inscription details the cause but without using laudatory language are also included. Every such instance concerns euergistic acts, which makes it clear that the honoree is being praised for his or her *liberalitas*, *munificentia*, and *largitio*. Doubtlessly, the explanatory speeches motivating the honour and any dedicatory speech did use laudatory language.

Whereas the 'Praise' category tracks the civic dedicators' assessment of the honoree, the 'Family' category tracks evidence for their interest in the personal lives of the honorees. The goal here was to track how often family was a contributing factor to honours set up in public. To be included in the 'Family' category, an inscription had to devote more than the usual amount of space to the family or familial life of the honoree. Listing the father (and sometimes grandfather) of the honoree or, if female, the husband and/or father did not suffice for inclusion in this list. Acknowledgements of filiation in particular were normally abbreviated and included as a matter of onomastic convention: e.g. *C(ai) f(i)lius*). It would be a long stretch to read particular interest on the part of the dedicator(s) in the honoree's family through such phrasing. For an inscription to

be included in the 'Family' category according to these criteria it had to contain further indications of interest. Honouring someone *because* of a relative, for instance, suffices. Another reason for inclusion was mention of several family members. For example, not only did the *res publica* of Thugga dedicate an honour to a consular, but to his wife and children too (*Dougga* 67=AE 2006, 1773).

The 'Family' and 'Praise' categories are complementary, with much overlap between them. Many of the epigraphic statements contain elements appropriate to both categories. Many of the inscriptions in the 'Family' category do not just record the relationship between the honoree and dedicator, but add at least one encomiastic word, such as *bonus*, *pius*, *felix*, *casta*, *carus*, or their superlative versions. For example, although the *ordo* of Lepcis Magna had originally decreed the statue to her husband, Silia Pompeia paid for it herself and added to the inscription: *maritus optimus* (IRT 602). It seemed potentially confusing, if not misleading, to separate the adjective from the noun it was qualifying. Thus, the entire phrase has been placed in the 'Family' category, since such adjectives – most often found in a funerary context – were chosen because of the familial context of the honour. In the following numbers, then, no distinction is made between the two categories. Each inscription is only counted once, whether one category is filled or both.

The category of 'Local' is another category for honorees, which can include all three status categories (emperor, imperial elite, and civic notable). It marks whether or not the person was of local origin (but perhaps spends most of his or her time abroad) or, if born elsewhere, now resided in the honouring community. It is meant to mark honorees who had a familiar relationship with the civic dedicators, in contrast to honorees who only visited the city for official reasons, if at all. Most civic notables honoured are, thus, included in the category automatically, except for civic notables from mother colonies honoured by stipendiary communities. Honorees honoured in

their home towns by foreign communities are excluded too. M. Aemilius Claudianus, for example, is not listed as local even though he was twice honoured in Theveste, where he probably resided (*CIL* VIII 16543+p.2731=*ILS* 1439=*ILAlg.* 1.3062; *CIL* VIII16542+p.2731=*ILAlg.* 1.3063). The dedicators were the *Sabrathenses* and *Oeenses* in Tripolitania, where Claudianus was *procurator Augustorum patrimonii regionis Leptiminensis*. The idea is to test whether or not honorees tended to receive inscriptions with more personal notes, if they shared the same *patria* as the decurions and other members of the *populus* honouring them.

Finally, emperors and other members of the *domus divina* must be discussed, for epigraphic conventions concerning them differ greatly. The same rules for inclusion into the 'Family' and 'Praise' categories could not be applied to them, for just about every one would be included. If an inscription does not contain a long lists of claimed ancestors,¹³³ then it likely contains titles and official epithets of a laudatory nature like *Invictus*, *Pius*, *Felix*, and *Magnus*, or superlatives like *maximus*, *felicissimus*, and *fortissimus*. It is true that the Senate decreed the titles and epithets,¹³⁴ but sometimes only to ratify what the praetorian guards, army, or Roman *populus* had already acclaimed.¹³⁵ In fact, the push for titles often came from the emperors themselves.¹³⁶ While it could be argued that civic notables similarly cultivated particular virtues, the emperor

¹³³ Septimius Severus, for example, is said to be *frater* of Commodus, *filius* of M. Aurelius, *nepos* of Antoninus Pius, *pronepos* of Hadrian, *abnepos* of Trajan, and *adnepos* of Nerva. Caracalla would have to say *divi Traiani Part(hici) et divi Nervae abnep(oti)*, for there were no more prefixes to attach to *nepos*. Cf. Hammond 1957: 57-58.

¹³⁴ Hammond 1957: *raro*; Talbert 1984: 354-355, 359-360; Peachin 1990: 2; Kienast 2011. Cf. Herod. 7.10.5.

¹³⁵ Talbert 1984: 354-355; Peachin 1990: 2-8. Cf. Herod. 7.5.8, 7.7.2.

¹³⁶ Cass. Dio 73.15.4, 79.16.2, 79.17.1, 80.2.2; cf. 73.15.3-4; Herod. 4.10.1. Julie Langford provides the most sensitive study of imperial titles that I have found. She presents the various titles of Julia Domna (particularly *mater castrorum*, *mater senatus*, and *mater patriae*) as tools employed by men in "ideological negotiations" (2013: 122), namely Severus, Caracalla, the "imperial administration," and sometimes the Senate. She acknowledges that the titles played to people's fears and hopes, even the fear of "civilian populations" for civil war (2013: 37, cf. 47, 105, 111-112, 113). But Langford argues that they were given to Julia Domna as immediate political circumstances dictated (often high politics) and dropped or undermined as soon as their usefulness ended. She refutes the claim that these men awarded them according to their assessment of her qualities or that they led to concrete benefits (2013: 116-123).

could use the threat of force to intimidate the Senate into voting them, whereas civic notables could not.¹³⁷ Furthermore, the emperors invented and advertised their ancestry in a bid to boost their legitimacy, as well as to signal the style of their Principate (in contrast to a more recent 'bad' emperor).¹³⁸ Although individual elements would change to match the current emperor, imperial titles, epithets, and ancestry were a feature of the office rather than the individual. The careful duplication and slow development of imperial names, titles, epithets, and honours, which Hammond, Kienast, and Peachin have traced in detail from Augustus to the late third-century and beyond,¹³⁹ leave no doubt that they formed a formula that served to designate the emperor.¹⁴⁰ The epithets and long list of ancestors found on inscriptions were part of the emperors' official titulature and did not result from an original assessment of the emperor by the communities erecting the statues. It would have been bad form and hence unwise for the dedicators to omit them, especially in a permanent medium like an inscription.

In general, it is doubtful that provincials were emotionally invested in the many laudatory titles and epithets attached to imperial statues in Proconsularis.¹⁴¹ Most likely, provincial dedicators included them out of a sense of formality, duty, and perhaps obedience.¹⁴² The policy

¹³⁷ Cf. Severus' destruction of the senators who had aided Albinus and the Senate's subsequent eagerness to vote honours to Severus (Herod. 3.8.1-8, 3.9.12; Cass. Dio 76.7.4-8.5, 74.9-5-6; *SHA Clod. Alb., Sev.* 16.2).

¹³⁸ Hammond 1957: 58; 1959: 62-63. On Severus' assumption of the name Pertinax: Herod. 2.10.1; on calling himself the son of Marcus and brother of Commodus: Cass. Dio. 76.7.4; on Macrinus styling himself 'Severus': Cass. Dio 79.37.5; on Elagabalus calling himself the son of Caracalla and the grandson of Severus: Cass. Dio 80.2.2. On the importance of the name Antoninus to later emperors: Cass. Dio 79.19.1-2; *SHA Carac.* 10.2; *Geta* 2.1-4; *Macr.* 3.8-9, 6.6-7, (negatively) 14.1-2; *Diad. Ant.* 1.3-2.10, 6.1-7.4; *Heliog* 2.4, 18.1-2, 34.6-7; cf. *Sev.* 10.3-6; *Geta* 1, 3.5-8, 5.3.

¹³⁹ Hammond 1957; 1959: 58-91.

¹⁴⁰ Hammond 1957: 19; 1959: 58, 61, 63, 89-91; Peachin 1990: 1-2, 7.

¹⁴¹ Compare, for example, Herodian's comment that provincials and inhabitants of cities generally did not care about Maximinus' crimes against individual senators and other members of the imperial elite. It is not until he turned his rapaciousness against them, that they cared (Herod. 7.2.4, 7.3.5-6). See also Herodian's comment that people in the east hear little of Italy (6.7.4).

¹⁴² The revolt against Maximinus, which originated in Thysdrus (Herod. 7.4.1-7.6.2, 7.9.1-11), is a good test case. The inhabitants of Proconsularis gave the title of *Africanus* to Gordian I (Herod. 7.5.8), an action which recalls the personal interest the army and *populus Romanus* took in imperial titles. Nonetheless, rather than suggesting that the provincials of Proconsularis believed in imperial titles naively, their application of *Africanus* to Gordian I

here is to count only sentiments and details beyond the official titulature of emperors. All titles and epithets of an official nature have not been counted, no matter how honorific. Thus, even irregularly appearing phrases like *matri Aug[[g(ustorum) . . .]] et castrorum et [senatus et patriae] totiusque divinae domus*,¹⁴³ which described some female relatives, *nobilissimus Caesar*, which denoted young sons of emperors, or sentiments like *fortissimi felicissimi patris patriae filius*, which appear in some lists of imperial ancestors, have not been counted. Only sentiments in addition to these titles and epithets have been included in the 'Praise' and 'Family' categories.

4.5 'PRAISE' AND 'FAMILY' RESULTS

It is unsurprising that the dedicators of 120 of the 461 inscriptions (26%) in the 'Family' and 'Praise' categories were individuals or small private groups.¹⁴⁴ That is, 120 out of all 247 dedications (49%) by individuals contain personal touches. 75 of the identifiable recipients of these 120 honours from individuals are civic notables (63%). In general, this group is more likely to be honoured by people who have a familiar relationship with them.¹⁴⁵ The number increases to 93 of 120 (78%) when all honorees of local origin are counted, whether they be emperors, members of the imperial elite, or civic notables. What is surprising, however, is that civic groups constitute over half of the honours whose inscriptions contain praise of virtues and/or family: 268/461 (58%). The two most numerous used dedicatory terms are the institutional and

indicates that they perceived quite clearly the point of titles: they were a political tool for suggesting the legitimacy of claims to the position.

¹⁴³ To give the most ornate example of this title in the epigraphic catalogue (*CIL* VIII 23750=*ILTun.* 607).

¹⁴⁴ This number excludes the individuals who participated after a civic group initiated the honour, like *curatores*, special dedicators, and the honoree or relative who decided to pay for the honour him or herself.

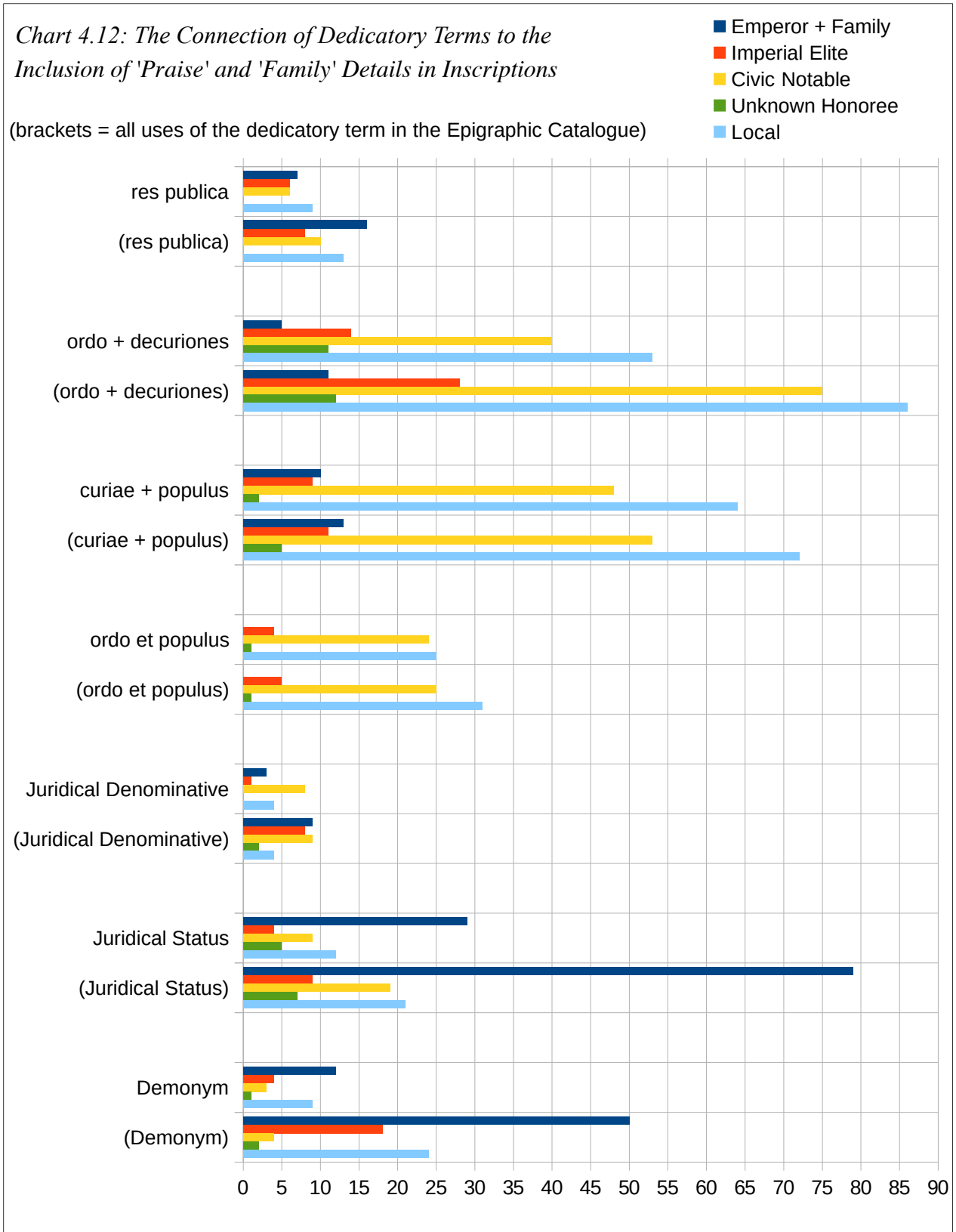
¹⁴⁵ Out of the 247 honours from private dedicators, 73 are known to be dedicated to the emperor, 43 to a member of the imperial elite, and 116 to a civic notable. Private dedicators tended to erect statues to emperors in connection to the pursuit of civic office, which they signalled on the inscription by stating that the statue was *ob honorem* of a magistracy or the result of a campaign promise (*pollicitatio*). Those to members of the imperial elite are characterised by a hierarchical nature, such as a freedman honouring his patron. It is with civic notables that more horizontal relationships are found, such as people honouring relatives or friends.

constituency terms: the *ordo/decuriones* (70/268) and one or more *curiae* (also 70/268). For comparison, 66 of the 247 individual dedicators were relatives of the honoree ('son' being the most numerous term at 19).

Chart 4.12 shows that the 'Praise' and 'Family' numbers follow the overall pattern for dedicatory terms discussed above. It tracks the number of times each type of dedicatory term was used in conjunction with extra details in the inscription about the character or family of the honoree (divided into his or her honoree category) and compares the results to the overall number of appearances of each dedicatory term in the Epigraphic Catalogue (following each term in brackets). Inscriptions citing institutional and/or constituency terms as the dedicator contain praise of the honoree or familial details: 56% of the time for *ordo* or *decuriones* (70/126), 84% of the time for *curia(e)* or *populus* (69/82), and 94% of the time when the *ordo* and the *populus* were both involved in the honour (29/31). The usage of juridical denominatives does follow this trend to a lesser extent, although it must be again noted that there are significantly fewer instances of their usage. On the other hand, 41% (47/114) of the statues whose stated dedicator is a juridical status contain praise or a familial note and just 27% (20/74) of statues whose stated dedicator is a demonym contain such extra information. In other words, civic dedicators tended to use inexact dedicatory terms and to include in the inscription less information, when they honoured people from outside of the community. The statues often simply honour. In contrast, when the civic dedicators honoured civic notables and local members of the imperial elite, they tended to name themselves explicitly on the inscription as the *ordo*, *populus*, and/or *curiae* and to devote space to the honoree's virtues, family, or other reasons for the honour. In short, they went beyond listing the honoree's titles and offices to demonstrate awareness of who he or she is as a person.

Chart 4.12: The Connection of Dedicatory Terms to the Inclusion of 'Praise' and 'Family' Details in Inscriptions

(brackets = all uses of the dedicatory term in the Epigraphic Catalogue)



There is then a correlation between the dedicatory term chosen and the content of the inscription. A two-fold question is why did the *ordo*, *curiae*, *decuriones* and *populus* tend to identify themselves directly when honouring locals and then add observations to the inscription of the honoree's virtues, benefactions, and/or family? The answer must be that these are the institutions and constituencies with which the honorees interacted regularly. The empire can be thought of consisting of two levels: the micro, that is inside a city, and the macro, that is anywhere outside of the city of reference. Within the city, one generally did not deal with juridical abstractions, but with the individuals and groups that made up a portion or all of the population of that city. It is by the *ordo*, *decuriones*, *populus*, and *curiae* that the honorees knew their city and this is reflected in the dedicatory terms they used in the inscriptions. The terms themselves are indicators of the dedicators' familiarity with the honoree.

The more important observation, however, is that honours to locals, who are overwhelmingly civic notables, are more customised to the individual. The inscriptions demonstrate civic dedicators' familiarity with the honorees, by recording the dedicators' praise of their honorees' virtues, benefactions, and/or family. This is not surprising when the dedicator is a relative, but it is when the dedicator is a civic institution or group. Other scholars have also observed that civic dedicators in North Africa and elsewhere demonstrate more familiarity with their civic notable honorees than with their imperial elite or emperor honorees, but with limited comment. Alföldy, for example, connected the phenomenon in the regions of Venetia and Histria, Italy, to status. He reasoned that civic dedicators considered it sufficient explanation for the honour to cite the career of senators and high-ranking equestrians, but felt it necessary to cite the exceptional acts of civic notables.¹⁴⁶ But status was just one element, as the above numbers for

¹⁴⁶ Alföldy 1984: 65; similarly Forbis 1996: 15.

locals show.

Michel Christol puts the question in a familial context. The families of the local honorees had been there for a long time and would likely continue to be. The family (not just the honoree) and the city alike had long-term interests invested in the honour that the emperor or an itinerant procurator did not.¹⁴⁷ Christol, however, is talking mainly about civic notables (rather than also local members of the imperial elite) and he undercuts his own argument by focusing on competition among civic notables. By implying that the leading families were largely responsible for the extra details found on the inscriptions, he does not fully bring out the interest the dedicators had in commemorating the virtues and family of their honorees. The article is simply too short for a balanced and detailed treatment of the subject.

His student, Sabine Lefebvre, picks up where he left off in her dissertation. She looks at the language of public honours in the provinces of Baetica, Lusitania, and Mauretania Tingitana much as I have for Africa Proconsularis.¹⁴⁸ She similarly finds: (1) that dedications to emperors and their relatives were conventional and impersonal; (2) that inscriptions of honours to imperial functionaries were tied to specific circumstances and could even be affectionate, especially for locally-based imperial functionaries; (3) that honours to local magistrates and other civic officials emphasised family lines.¹⁴⁹ But she then asserts that *origo* – that is being a native of the honouring city or region – was not a factor in the selection of laudatory terms in inscriptions, but

¹⁴⁷ Christol 2005b: 136: “On the other hand [in comparison to emperors and imperial functionaries], the [civic] notables and their families stay in the city. The honour received and the homage, which integrates it and accompanies it, interests them directly, because they stay in place. They constitute an element of civic memory, which must be constantly presented and which can be constantly invoked.”

¹⁴⁸ Lefebvre also studied honours to and from equestrians throughout North Africa. Her study is limited, however, to demonstrating the wide range of stated reasons for which they were honoured. Her analysis goes no further than observing that they were honoured for the stated reasons and not because they were equestrians, even though their status is always noted (1999: 558-559).

¹⁴⁹ Lefebvre 1994: 241-247, 345, 347.

solely the nature of the relationship between the dedicator(s) and the honoree.¹⁵⁰ Indeed, she asserts at various points that inscriptions to civic officials are poorer in laudatory terms than those to emperors and imperial functionaries.¹⁵¹ According to her findings, inscriptions praising the personal qualities of local notables the family alone set up, often only to deceased young relatives.¹⁵² She, thus, takes Christol's family thesis to an extreme, making only the "private dedications" of relatives personal, which overrides her own observations on the similarity of laudatory terms for the various statuses of honorees.¹⁵³ While regional differences between her three provinces and Africa Proconsularis partly account for the different results,¹⁵⁴ methodological problems also play a role.¹⁵⁵

The familial context is important, but so is civic pride. This can be seen when civic dedicators saluted the first senator from their city (*a Thubursici[tanis] primo lato c[lavo exor]nato*, *ILAlg.* 1.1290, cf. *Cic. Planc.* 19-21), the first person to hold a certain magistracy in their city (*Ilvir(o) quinq(uennali) primo ordo Calamensium*, *CIL VIII* 5368+p.1658=*ILAlg.* 1.289), the first person to put on a certain spectacle (*primus a condita civitate sua ob honorem flamoni annui munus [Idi]bus(?) [o]mnibus senis [par(ibus)] curiae suae [dedit]*, *CIL VIII* 1888=*ILAlg.* 1.3068), the first provincial priest from the city (e.g. *sacerdoti provinc(iae) Afric(ae) anni XXXVIII qui primus ex colonia sua hunc honorem gessit*, *CIL VIII* 14611=*ILS* 6811), or when they noted that the honoree is a fellow decurion (*condecurio*), a fellow *curialis*

¹⁵⁰ Lefebvre 1994: 240.

¹⁵¹ Lefebvre 1994: 249, 272, 297, 346.

¹⁵² Lefebvre 1994: 338-339 and Chapter Four in general, especially 345-347.

¹⁵³ Lefebvre 1994: 324, 338, cf. 347.

¹⁵⁴ For example, a greater variety of public honours, like *laudatio*, *impensa funeris*, and *locus sepulturae*, were commemorated in the Iberian paeninsula than in Proconsularis, mostly in funerary inscriptions (Lefebvre 1994: 263-272, 322-324). Lefebvre also makes use of these pieces of evidence.

¹⁵⁵ Lefebvre divides local honorees into two groups, which she analyses separately: (1) magistrates, priests, flamens, and others who took on civic responsibilities, like *munerarii* (Chapter Three), and (2) locals who seem to have held no public office (Chapter Four). This is despite her observation that they often came from the same families and civic milieu (1994: 338-398).

(*concuriales eius*, CIL VIII 1845=16501=ILAlg. 1.3017=ILS 6837), or that the honoree is a *civis* or *alumna/us* of the city.¹⁵⁶ They were also proud of people of senatorial rank being from their city. The *ordo* and *populus* of Ureu made sure to note that L. Octavius Aur[elianus] Didasius, *clarissimus vir*, was a “native citizen” (*civi genitali*, AE 1975, 880) and the *Aviocalenses* honoured their patron Seia Modesta [- - -] Cornelia Patruina Publana, *clarissima femina*, because “she adds lustre to the native city of her own origin” (*ob insig(na) eius merita quibus inlustrat originis suae patriam*, CIL VIII 23832).¹⁵⁷ Belonging mattered.

Lepcis Magna makes a good case study, because it easily boasts the greatest number of inscriptions to identifiable emperors containing extra details with 27 (The next nearest number is 9 from Thugga.). 24 of these 27 honours (89%) are to the Severi (not counting Severus Alexander). The two basic reasons for the high percentage are that the *Lepcitani* took pride in Septimius Severus being from their city and because he doted on his hometown,¹⁵⁸ his most notable gifts being the grant of *ius Italicum*, a new forum and basilica, a *nymphaeum*, a colonnaded street, and a new harbour. The citizens in response called themselves the *Lepcitani Septimiani* and three *curiae* added *severa* to their names, starting with Severus' visit over the winter of 202-203.¹⁵⁹ In 197, the *Lepcitani* were already praising Severus on a marble base at the Temple of Liber Pater not only as the “preserver of the world,” but “because of his dutifulness in a public capacity and in a private capacity” (*conservatori orbis ob publicam et in se privatam pietatem Lepcitani publice*, IRT 387). They were acknowledging his importance to the whole

¹⁵⁶ Corbier 1990: 846-853. More generally, see Le Roux 2002: 160-161 for the importance of local patriotism to communal stability and its basis on the leading families of each city.

¹⁵⁷ Peyras and Maurin (*ad IU* 6 p.41) date this inscription to the second-half of the third century. They note that this is the first known instance of such language, which would become common in late antiquity.

¹⁵⁸ Birley 1988: 148-151.

¹⁵⁹ For an overview of the numerous and lavish projects with which the Severi “remade” Lepcis Magna, see Di Vita 1995; Wilson 2007: 295-299. For a detailed discussion of the Severan forum, temple, basilica, colonnaded street, and *nymphaeum* at Lepcis Magna, see Ward-Perkins 1993.

empire and to themselves in particular.

In the year of Severus' arrival at Lepcis Magna, the now *Lepcitani Septimiani* set up a statue to him in the Hadrianic baths, “because of his exceptional and divine kindness towards them” (*ob eximiam ac divinam in se indulgentiam*, IRT 393). They similarly honoured Caracalla with a marble statue in the yet to be finished Severan forum (*[ob eximiam ac divinam in se indulgentiam]*, IRT 423), probably again in 209 (*[ob] eximiam ac divinam in s[e indulgentiam]*, IRT 441), then once more five years later at the just completed Severan basilica “[for his] continual kindness” (*[pro cont]inua indulgentia eius*, IRT 429). Andrew Wilson highlights the planning and coordination undertaken between the various dedicators: private individuals, the *curiae*, and the *Lepcitani* (*Septimiani*) generally. The various statues were first concentrated in the old forum, starting in 196-197, then the theatre and its environs in 201-202 after the old forum filled up, followed again by the Severan forum and basilica.¹⁶⁰

These stated reasons the *Lepcitani* give for their honours to the Severi more closely resemble the reasons private individuals give for honouring emperors, not other cities. People sometimes honoured emperors for their kindness in appointing them to a post (e.g. *optimo principi ob singularem eius in se indulgentiam . . . quae[t(or)] eius desig(natus)*, CIL VIII 27776). One procurator may have even travelled to Lepcis Magna to honour Severus twice for “his heavenly kindness towards him” (*ob caelestem in se indulgentiam eius*, IRT 395, 424). Moreover, the attention that the *Lepcitani* and *curiae* gave to Severus' family is also closer to dedications by individuals than by civic groups. Not only did they set up a statue to living relatives, but to his grandfather, mother, sister, and first wife.¹⁶¹ The list is almost too similar to

¹⁶⁰ Wilson 2007: 305-306.

¹⁶¹ IRT 391, 405, 406, 411, 413, 414, 416, 417, 420, 421, 436, 541.

the statues to his father, mother, grandfather, and first wife the *Historia Augusta* reports Severus set up in Rome at his own expense for there not to have been a connection.¹⁶² Perhaps, the *Lepcitani* kept up to date on Severus' actions and wished to duplicate them.¹⁶³ 14 of the inscriptions even state that the statues were set up *ex voto*, which suggests a public vow.¹⁶⁴ The inscription for the grandfather's statue is particularly detailed, explaining that he was “sufet, publicly made prefect when Roman citizenship was first introduced [i.e. when Lepcis Magna became a colony],¹⁶⁵ [then] *duumvir*, *flamen perpetuus*, and he judged in the *decuriae*, even among selected men at Rome.”¹⁶⁶ Two *curiae* also honoured the grandfather in completion of a vow (*IRT* 413).

Reverence and limited familiarity characterise the Lepcis Magna dedications. Other cities match the reverence, but give more professional reasons for the honours. Four cities address emperors as *conditor*, “founder.” Muzuca calls the Divine Caracalla *conditor municipii*, as does Turris Tamalleni the Divine Hadrian and Gigthis Antoninus Pius (*CIL* VIII 22707=*ILTun.* 17=*ILS* 6779).¹⁶⁷ They are referring to grants of greater juridical status. A smattering of cities honoured emperors with a martial tone, like *restitutor orbis* (*IRT* 51) and *pacator deus* (*AE* 1999, 1844).¹⁶⁸ Both the foundational and martial claims are fairly standard, found throughout the empire on inscriptions and coins.¹⁶⁹ The two most unique honours to emperors outside of Lepcis Magna are

¹⁶² *patri matri avo et uxori priori per se statuas conlocavit*, *SHA Sev.* 14.2; cf. Cass. Dio 77.2.4 (for his brother).

¹⁶³ I do not, however, subscribe to the idea of close, conscientious, almost formal echoing of messaging from the imperial “centre” by civic notables for which Carlos Noreña argues (2011: 264-265).

¹⁶⁴ *IRT* 391, 410, 413, 414, 416, 420, 421, 435, 436, 438, 439, 541; *IRT* 291=*AE* 1926, 159=*AE* 1951, 230=*AE* 1954, 201b=*AE* 2005, +1662; *IRT* 415=*AE* 1947, 49=*AE* 1950, +158.

¹⁶⁵ Gasco 1972: 76-80.

¹⁶⁶ *L(ucio) Septimio Severo sufeti praef(ecto) publ(ice) creato cum primum civitas Romana adacta est du(u)mvir(o) fl(amini) p(er)p(etuo) in decuriis et inter selectos Romae iudicavit Lepc(i)t(ani) publ(ice)*, *IRT* 412.

¹⁶⁷ Sicca Veneria: Divine Augustus (*CIL* VIII 27568); Turris Tamalleni: Divine Hadrian (*CIL* VIII 83+p.2347); Gigthis: Antoninus Pius (*CIL* VIII 22707=*ILTun.* 17=*ILS* 6779); Muzuca: Divine Caracalla (*CIL* VIII 12060).

¹⁶⁸ Also: [coniugi] *pacis publicae restitutoris* (*CIL* VIII 17214=*ILAlg.* 1.869=*ILS* 443); *conservatori (orbis)* (*IRT* 320, 387, 452).

¹⁶⁹ Gasco 1972: 68 n.7, 123, 133-134, 138, 179; Chastagnol 1988: 20-26.

in thanks for benefactions. The Roman citizens of the self-governing Pagus Fortunalis erected a statue to Septimius Severus, explaining that their “parents received their fields [from] Sutunurca [a peregrine *civitas*] as a benefaction of the Divine Augustus.”¹⁷⁰ Meanwhile, the *pagus* of Thugga honoured M. Aurelius, because “it was augmented by their [M. Aurelius and L. Verus] heavenly benefaction with the right to receive embassies” (*caelesti beneficio eo[rum] auctus iure capiendorum legat[oru]m*, CIL VIII 26528b=Dougga 51=ILS 9399). So again, the results are unsurprising. Civic dedicators are more likely to add details, when they have a personal connection to the honoree – whether an emperor, a member of the imperial elite, or a civic notable. Typically, they honoured their own citizens differently than outsiders.¹⁷¹

But even then, *divina* and *caelestis* – adjectives used at Lepcis Magna as well as at other cities – signal the great social distance between honoree and honourer.¹⁷² *Indulgentia* too is characteristically found when stark differences in status are involved. Fathers, for instance, are often praised for being kindly to their children.¹⁷³ Pliny made the hard juxtaposition of *domine*, *indulgentia vestra* in a letter to Trajan (*Ep.* 10.3a.1), which he soon softened to *Indulgentia tua*, *imperator optime* (*Ep.* 10.4.1). The term signals that dedicators had no real leverage with which they could have forced the gifts for which they are honouring.¹⁷⁴ *Indulgentia* was a long-standing

¹⁷⁰ *cives Romani pagani veter(ani) pagi Fortunalis quorum parentes beneficio divi Augusti [[- -]] Sutunurca agros acceperunt*, ILAfr. 301=ILS 9400.

¹⁷¹ Noreña misses this point, when he cites the *Lepcitanis*’s 197 dedication to Septimius Severus for his “dutifulness in a public capacity and in a private capacity” (*ob publicam et in se privatam pietate*, IRT 387) as an empire-wide example of civic notables’ response to Severus’ emphasis on his *pietas* (2011: 255-256). He gives little attention to the fact that Severus hailed from Lepcis Magna. Hence, the *pietas* that they are celebrating is likely more personal than that of Antoninus Pius, who is the only emperor Noreña shows surpassed Severus in the number of known dedications connected to *pietas* (2011: 256).

¹⁷² Wilson argues similarly (2007: 306, 325-326), but exaggerates the control the Severi themselves had over the epigraphic language of these honorary dedications (cf. “Previous emperors had been content with a simple expression of *indulgentia*, but for the Severans it had to be divine or celestial.”).

¹⁷³ Cotton 1984: 261-262; Lefebvre 1994: 114; Noreña 2011: 280-282. Cf. *quod quidem nomen qua benignitate, qua indulgentia exerces! ut cum civibus tuis quasi cum liberis parens, vivis!*, Plin. *Pan.* 21.4.

¹⁷⁴ Cotton (1984: 265-266) and particularly Lefebvre (1994: 114) approach this significance of *indulgentia*, but without the hard edge.

virtue of emperors, found on all types of inscriptions.¹⁷⁵ Carthage issued a coin sometime between 202-209 stating *indulgentia Augg(ustorum) in Carth(aginem)*.¹⁷⁶ Reynolds and Ward-Perkins suggest that this usage of *indulgentia* refers to Severus' grant of the *ius Italicum*, which Carthage and Lepcis Magna received in 202 (*ad IRT* 393). The remarks by the *Lepcitani*, then, are differential, respectful, and formal, which limits the familiarity of their sentiments.

In fact, the sentiment civic dedicators in Proconsularis most often expressed to emperors is *devota numini (maiestatique) eius*. This expression of devotion, which first appeared in 197,¹⁷⁷ accompanies 49 statues in the province, 8 at Lepcis Magna (*IRT* 388, 390, 405, 406, 419, 433, 444, 506). It is further found on building inscriptions, as well as dedications of other kinds.¹⁷⁸ Consequently, it has formulaic and impersonal qualities that are increased – like *d(ecreto)* *d(ecurionum)* – by “the absence of nominative [form].”¹⁷⁹

Therefore, not only do the inscriptions of statues to emperors and members of their families tend to be more succinct and seemingly devoid of sentimentality, but, when they do contain extra touches, those tend to be repetitive and based on empire-wide formulations. The few unique laudatory phrases are differential and betray great social distance between the dedicators and the honoree. It is when honouring locals, most frequently civic notables, that civic dedicators showed the most familiarity. They tended to identify themselves clearly as the *ordo*, *decuriones*, *populus*, and/or *curiae*, rather than with the more abstract terms like *Lepcitani* and

¹⁷⁵ Chastagnol 1988: 26-27; Lefebvre 1994: 112-115.

¹⁷⁶ *RIC* 4.266-267, cf. 268: *indulgentia Augg. in Italiam*.

¹⁷⁷ Chastagnol 1988: 35-36; Grundel claims 210 as the earliest confirmed date (1953: 130, cf. 132-133). Saastamoinen similarly finds “early third century” for building inscriptions (2010: 128).

¹⁷⁸ Saastamoinen 2010: 128. Cf. *Saturno [Au]g(usto) sacr(um) pro salute Imp(eratoris) [Caes(aris) M(arci)] Antoni [Gordiani Pii Fe]llicis Aug(usti) totiusque divi[nae] domus eius municipium Chidibb[iense] devotum numini [maiestatique eius]*, *CIL* VIII 1330=1336=14876.

¹⁷⁹ Turcan 1978: 1018; French: “l’absence de désignation nominative.” Smadja comes to a similar if grander conclusion after a study of dedications to the *numen* of living emperors and of *divi*, but her argument unfortunately is not developed enough to support it (2006: 346).

colonia that they tended to use for statues to emperors, members of the imperial family, and members of the imperial elite from outside of the community. In addition, the inscriptions of the statues civic dedicators set up to local honorees record sentiments, practices, and other actions rarely if ever recorded on the inscriptions of statues to non-locals. Therefore, the inscriptions of honorific statues to locals – primarily civic notables – seem to reflect the intimacy of civic life, meaning that they reflect the fact that the statues stem from relationships consciously pursued and developed over years and even generations through frequent personal contact. It is on the inscriptions of the statues to locals that the next chapter focuses.

V

Virtues and Civic Political Rhetoric in Africa Proconsularis

In Sufetula at an unknown date, but which must have been sometime in the second or third century, the *curiae* set up and dedicated a statue to L. Rasinius Saturninus Maximianus, a local notable who had been aedile and later *duumvir quinquennalis* (App. H.105). To be precise, the decision to honour came from “the whole *populus* of the *curiae*,” a note of unanimity paralleled by their declaration that the honour is an “eternal testimony of their thanks” (*testimonium gratiarum suarum perpetuum*). They were, thus, eager to honour Maximianus and wished others to know it.

The complexity of the motivational clause, that is the clause introduced by *ob* that outlines the reasons for the honour, further reflects this eagerness. It begins broadly by declaring the example Maximianus sets through his morals (*ob singulare{m} morum eius exemplum*), narrows to the specific virtue he exemplified while holding office (*in utroque honoris gradu fidam clementiam*), next changes topic to highlight the single set of games he put on in celebration of the priesthoods of his sons (*filiorumque eius sacerdotii editionem ludorum*), and then returns to generality while staying on the same theme: Maximianus' constant liberality towards his fellow citizens (*adsiduam erga singulos cives suos liberalitatem*). The statements in the middle exemplify the corresponding general statements heading and footing the clause. One message is that, when one begins with morality, it is acceptable to end with liberality.

The carefully balanced motivational clause suggests the thought that the drafters put not

only into the honour, but also into their presentation of it. These drafters were likely *curiales* writing from the perspective of *curiales*, since the inscription contains no mention of the decurions who presumably also enjoyed Maximianus' virtues and benefactions and who must have approved the honour. It seems improbable that the drafters selected the stated reasons at random. Although more succinct, the inscription of a statue to another local notable the *curiales* erected at Sufetula contains similar language and structure, suggesting that the concerns behind Maximianus' statue were not limited to it.¹ The games Maximianus put on for his sons are likely to have been the trigger for the honour, as well as his established reputation for liberality, given that they are said to have been directed at the *cives*, that is those who made up the *curiae*. Yet his virtues and overall character seem to play an important conditioning role in the text. Would the *curiales* have so publicly and permanently honoured Maximianus' liberality, if they had been unable to mention other virtues? The question of how civic groups addressed acts of euergetism comes up many times and in many ways in the study of the inscriptions of honorific statues in Proconsularis. The observation is made below that civic dedicators rarely praised an honoree's *liberalitas* alone on inscriptions. It will be argued that public benefactions were not only sources of utility and enjoyment for the community, but also anxiety.

¹ The *curiae* state that they are honouring P. Aelius Satorius, a former *duumvir*, first “on account of the marked mildness of his morals” (*propter insignem morum clementiam*) and, second, on account of his “honourable liberality regarding each and everyone” (*circa singulos universosque plenam et honestam liberalitatem*, App. H.104). They again indicate their eagerness to honour by implying that their decision was unanimous (*universae curiae*) and by declaring that the statue is an “immortality of memory” (*de suo titulum memoriae hac aeternitate signarunt*). The similarity of the two inscriptions, however, should not be taken as an indication that citing virtues in order to condition honours resulting from benefactions was a practice limited to Sufetula. The decurions of Sicca Veneria set up a statue to the deceased daughter of Licinius Paternus, partly because of his “moderate lifestyle and the very great and effective testimony of his morals in fostering the resources of our *res publica*” (*vitae moderatio et morum maximum ac practi[c]um testimonium in fovendis etiam rei p[ub]licae nostrae opibus*, App. H.37). This time the examples cited to prove the broad statement are practical: town walls and an alimentary foundation for fellow citizens. Yet they too condition less practical acts of “liberality” (*atq[ue] eximia liberalita[s] eniteat*).

5.1 VIRTUES

Judging from the surviving inscriptions, virtues occupied just as prominent a place in the political rhetoric of the cities of Africa Proconsularis as they did in the political rhetoric of Rome.² Appendix B tracks one-hundred and twenty terms of praise civic dedicators in the province applied to local honorees. These terms are nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and even a few verbs and phrases, all of which were value-laden and evoked particular ideas. They are not neutral descriptors. Some, like *pietas*, denote virtues. Others proclaim the honoree's skill or importance to the community, such as *eloquens* and *exemplum*. Still others serve to modify concepts, by noting the number, grandeur, fame, or care of the honoree's virtues and actions. In Chapter 4.3-4, these virtues were analysed quantitatively. Each term of praise was counted without distinction between them. The only terms of praise subsequently analysed for meaning and cultural significance were those applied to emperors, who are not the subject here. This chapter offers a cultural, discourse analysis of the laudatory terms applied to local honorees, both civic notables and members of the imperial elite. For the sake of space, the focus is on just a few of the terms that will outline the use of praise in the inscriptions of honorific statues.

The large number of laudatory terms and their apparent earnestness do not mean that citizens took them at face value.³ This is especially clear at the senatorial level of imperial society, whose writings provide room for such commentary. Pliny's outrage at the display of modesty and moderation by Claudius' freedman Pallas when he refused the Senate's gift of 15,000,000HS (*Ep.* 7.29, 8.6) – discussed in Chapter 3.4-3.5 – is surpassed by Tacitus' ridicule of

² For Rome, see Edwards 1993: 2 and *passim*.

³ Regarding *clementia*: Cic. *Att.* 8.16.2, 10.4.8; *Brut.* 1.2a; cf. 1.15.1a; *Phil.* 2.116, 6.16; Livy 21.48.10; cf. Griffin 2003a: 164; Konstan 2005: 337, 340. Compare also Catharine Edwards' advice that we should not assume that listeners took charges of immorality, either in poetry or in forensic and political rhetoric, at face value (1993: 10).

Tiberius' and other people's pretences to virtue.⁴ Seneca, meanwhile, criticises those who “cultivate honourable reputations for profit, for whom virtue without reward is unpleasing.”⁵ Among the Greek authors, Plutarch contrasts the elder Cato's frequent praise of “prudence”⁶ with his “disgraceful” (αἰσχύνῃν ἔχει καὶ τὸ ἔργον) late-life marriage to his freedman's daughter (*Comp. Aristid. et Cato Mai.* 6). John Ma, moreover, has shown how Dio Chrysostom's *Euboicus* makes a “direct challenge to the ideology of civic love” specifically and the rationality of civic life generally through his character of the hunter who exhibits virtues naturally, without wealth, education, or the inducement of honours.⁷

Virtues could even be turned into jokes. Martial quipped that a man could be “just, upright, and blameless,” yet also “feared” (*vir iustus probus innocens timeris*, 3.44.18), because he had the “very dangerous vice” of being “too much a poet” (*nimis poeta es. hoc valde vitium periculosum est*, 3.44.4-5). As will be seen, *innocens* is supposed to indicate the very opposite of danger. Romans, thus, did not always take virtues seriously. This is a point that Moses Hadas made with his observation that Horace's claim to be *integer vitae* (*Carm.* 1.22.1) on account of his love of poetry was “urbane jesting,”⁸ perhaps playing off of Cato's carefully crafted reputation for integrity (*integritas vitae*, *Sall. Cat.* 54.2). Of course verses do not physically fend off wolves or Mauretanian javelins, as Horace would have them. Scholars must not insist too much on

⁴ *remisit Caesar adroganti moderatione*, Tac. *Ann.* 1.8.5; *honoresque memoriae eius ab senatu large decretos quasi per modestiam imminuit*, Tac. *Ann.* 5.2.1. For Tiberius, see also: Tac. *Ann.* 1.7.7, 1.52.2, 1.72.2, 4.38.4, 5.2.1, 6.51.3. Regarding others: 13.45.3; 15.48.2; 16.32.3.

⁵ *inveniuntur, qui honesta in mercedem colant quibusque non placeat virtus gratuita*, Sen. *Ben.* 4.1.2, cf. 4.17.2-4. Tacitus similarly reports others criticising “men who insist on seriousness,” yet who divide up the homes and villas of others “as if war spoils” (*nec defuere qui arguerent viros gravitatem adseverantes, quod domos villas id temporis quasi praedam divisissent*, Tac. *Ann.* 13.18.1; cf. *Ann.* 3.35, 6.44.1). Juvenal observes that glory is a much greater motivator than virtue, for who would strive for virtue without its rewards (*Sat.* 10.140-142)?

⁶ “Cato always adorned prudence with the noblest praises” (ὁ Κάτων κεκόσμηκε καὶ καλλίστοις ἐπαίνοις ἀεὶ σωφροσύνη, *Comp. Aristid. et Cato Mai.* 6.1).

⁷ Ma 2000: 114-117.

⁸ Hadas 1935: 17, supported by Kellum 1999: 291; cf. Olstein 1984; Edwards 1993: 18-19 re. Ovid.

Roman *gravitas*, was Hadas' main point.

Nonetheless, virtues were not a medal awarded by an objective referee, but a gambit that sought to define a person in an easily comprehensible way. Apuleius, after rushing back to Carthage to thank the leading men of the city for the statue they awarded him and to excuse his absence, declares that he has “undertaken to justify the whole period of [his] life” to them and prays that they be “knowledgeable judges” of everything he should do, great and small (*institui omne vitae meae tempus vobis probare . . . nihil tantum, nihil tantulum faciam, quin eius vos et gnaros et iudices habeam*, *Flor.* 16.3). By inviting the leading men of Carthage to examine every nuance of his life, Apuleius was employing a political strategy with a long tradition in Roman society.⁹ It is connected to the well-established idea that how one conducts oneself within one's household is a strong indication of how one will conduct oneself in public.¹⁰

Apuleius makes a similar point in his *Apologia*. In response to his accusers' disparagement of his ethnicity, Apuleius states that “it is not where someone was born that should be judged, but how he spent his time. It is not in which region he began to live life that is to be considered, but by which way of thinking” (*non enim ubi prognatus, sed ut moratus quisque sit spectandum, nec qua regione, sed qua ratione vitam vivere inierit, considerandum est*, *Apol.* 24.3, cf. 11.5-6). In other words, Apuleius is asking people to judge him according to factors over which he has control, his words, his conduct, and not according to factors over which he has no control, such as place of birth (cf. *Sen. Ep.* 47.15; *Ben.* 3.28.1). Displaying virtues was an attempt to exercise some control over how others perceived you. They were performed.

⁹ Dion. Hal. 20.13.3; Vell. Pat. 2.14.2-4; Plut. *Mor.* 800F (πολιτικά παραγγέλματα 3); *Publ.* 10.2-6; cf. Plin. *Ep.* 2.13.10, 10.3a.3.

¹⁰ Plut. *Mor.* 800B-F (Πολιτικά παραγγέλματα 4); *Comp. Arist. et Cato Mai.* 3.1; Phil. *Apol. Ep.* 58. See also Pliny's assertion that he runs his household like a *res publica* knowing that his letter will be widely read (*Ep.* 8.16; cf. *Sen. Ep.* 47.14).

The comments of the unknown author of the so-called *rhetorica ad Herennium* show that virtues were well understood to be deliberate posturing and open to dispute (3.6; cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 1.9.29=1367a-b):

huiusmodi partes sunt <virtutis amplificandae si suadebimus>, adtenuandae, si ab his dehortabimur . . . nam nemo erit, qui censeat a virtute recedendum; verum aut res non eiusmodi dicatur esse, ut virtutem possimus egregiam experiri, aut in contrariis potius rebus quam in his virtus constare, quae ostendantur. item, si quo pacto poterimus, quam is, qui contra dicet, iustitiam vocabit, nos demonstrabimus ignaviam esse et inertiam ac pravam liberalitatem; quam prudentiam appellarit, ineptam et garrulam et odiosam scientiam esse dicemus; quam ille modestiam dicet esse, eam nos inertiam et dissolutam negligentiam esse dicemus; quam ille fortitudinem nominarit, eam nos gladiatoriam et inconsideratam appellabimus temeritatem.

Aspects of virtue of this sort are to be amplified, if we will be persuading, to be diminished, if we will be discouraging. . . . Certainly, there will be nobody who gives the opinion that there must be a retreat from virtue. But either the matter may be said not to be of the sort that we can test an excellent virtue¹¹ or [it may be said that] the virtue is more consistent with matters contrary to those which are being presented. Likewise, if we can in any way, what the opposing [advocate] calls justice, we will show to be idleness and sloth, and so depraved liberality; what they call prudence, we will say is unsuitable, babbling, and useless knowledge; what the opponent says is modesty, we will say is idleness and unresolved business; what the opponent names fortitude, we will call the unconsidered rashness of a gladiator.

Cicero gives one example to Atticus of this advice in action during his proconsulship of Cilicia.¹² According to the orator, friends of Appius Claudius Pulcher, the previous governor, were “absurdly” interpreting Cicero's desire to be a virtuous governor (see below) as really a desire to insult Pulcher through the unfavourable contrast that would result.¹³ Cicero, indeed, was trying to distinguish himself, being well aware of Pulcher's bad reputation in the province. He

¹¹ I.e. the matter does not provide sufficient scope for testing a grand virtue.

¹² Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 14.46.2; Plin. *Pan.* 3.4.

¹³ “These things several friends of Appius absurdly interpret. They think that I want to be well spoken of so that he is poorly spoken of, and to act uprightly not to win praise, but to insult him” (*haec non nulli amici Appi ridicule interpretantur, qui me idcirco putent bene audire velle ut ille male audiat, et recte facere non meae laudis sed illius contumeliae causa, Att.* 6.1.2).

had rescinded several of Pulcher's decisions, planned to rescind more, and was going into debt in order not to exact from the provincials the food, lodging, transport, and other provisions that Pulcher had, even though they were the governor's right to demand (*Att.* 5.15, 6.1.2). Cicero's point to Atticus, however, is that he is trying to make himself look good, not Pulcher look bad. Virtues were, above all, political.¹⁴

Virtues were also work. To avoid mockery, people had to live up to the virtues applied to them, at least outwardly. The miscellaneous collections of sayings falsely attributed to Cato maintains that one has to act morally as well as speak morally in order to be good (*Dic. Cat.* 4a.23). This was especially true of the virtues one applied to oneself. For example, one who criticised or prosecuted others was expected to be more careful of one's own conduct (*Cic. Verr.* 2.3.1; *Att.* 6.1.21; *Dic. Cat.* 3.7). Moreover, Cicero cites his *De re publica* as “surety” for his own upright conduct while proconsul of Cilicia (*cum sex libris tamquam praedibus me ipsum obstrinxerim*, *Att.* 6.1.8, 6.2.9, 6.3.3; cf. 8.11.1). Now that he had published his opinions, he could not ignore their substance so easily.¹⁵

As such, maintaining a virtuous appearance involved constant conscientious effort. Soon after his departure from Cilicia, Cicero wrote to Atticus that: “all those things early on, which you in your letters extolled to the heavens, were counterfeit. Virtue is not easy at all! Its very pretense is exceedingly difficult over a long period of time” (*omnia illa prima quae etiam <tu> tuis*

¹⁴ Note Cicero's disappointment at Cato's public testimony of Cicero's “integrity, sense of justice, mildness, and good faith.” Cicero seems to interpret it as trade off for not supporting his petition for a triumph: “he gave . . . what I was not requesting; what I petitioned for he denied” (*dedit integritatis, iustitiae, clementiae, fidei mihi testimonium quod non quaerebam; quod postulabam, negavit*, *Att.* 7.2.7).

¹⁵ In the same vein, he teases Atticus, for, although Atticus is the “praiser” of his conduct (*laudator integritatis et elegantiae nostrae*), he “dares” (*ausus es*) to ask that Cicero provide up to fifty mounted soldiers to Scaptius – a notorious agent of Brutus employing violent means to collect money in Cilicia –, knowing full well Cicero's stated rule not to give prefectures to *negotiatores* (*Att.* 6.2.8-9). Cicero informs him that he loves Brutus too much in this matter, and respects Cicero too little, particularly his reputation (*nimis, inquam, in isto Brutum amasti, dulcissime Attice, nos vereor ne parum*, *Att.* 6.2.8-9).

litteris in caelum ferebas ἐπίτηκτα fuerunt. quam non est facilis virtus; quam vero difficilis eius diuturna simulatio, Att. 7.1.5-6; cf. Sen. Ben. 2.18.2). Cicero is joking, but only half-joking. He immediately goes on to explain the pressure he came under from his gubernatorial staff when he announced that he was going to return one million sesterces of his expense budget to the treasury, rather than distribute the amount among them. “But they did not move me,” Cicero proudly reports, “for my glory is much more important to me” (*sed me non moverunt; nam et mea laus apud me plurimum valuit*).

In Proconsularis, when a civic group set up a statue, it was not just publicly testifying to the virtues of the honoree, but also actively demonstrating that they had made a reasoned decision to honour. At Sufetula, the *curiae* devoted space in the inscription of a statue to a *flamen perpetuus* and *duumvir* “to declare and testify to the devotion of their judgement and affection” (*at declarandam testificandamq(ue) iudicii et adfectionis suae religionem*, App. H.103). The decurions of Bulla Regia similarly testify that their decision to honour a *flamen perpetuus* and *duumvir* was made “with a most weighty judgement,” while the *populus* for its part is said to have casted “sincere votes” for the honour (*universus populus sinceris suffragiis suis et ordo splendidissimus gravissimo iudicio*, App. H.129). Even the senatorial *curator rei publicae* signed off on the honour (*decernente Burrenio Felice c(larissimo) v(iro) cur(atore) rei p(ublicae) n(ostrae)*). This concern to demonstrate care in honouring is rooted in a Stoic argument that a *beneficium* is only honourable when it can be established that it was given with “judgment” (*iudicium*, Sen. Ben. 1.15.5-6) of the recipient's good character.¹⁶ It goes without saying that extolling the virtues of honorees on statue bases increased the value of each honour. In addition,

¹⁶ “My estimate pertains to the attitude of the person; in this way, I will pass over the rich but unworthy man [and] I will give to the poor but good man” (*ad animum tendit aestimatio mea; ideo locupletem sed, indignum praeteribo, pauperi viro bono dabo*, Sen. Ben. 4.10.4). See also: Cic. Off. 1.49; Sen. Ep. 81.10; Ben. 1.15, 2.16.1, 4.9.3, 4.10.4-11.1. Griffin 2003b: 106-108.

the civic groups might have been anxious to validate their decision to use public resources for the honour.

There was, however, an additional motivation for civic groups to record praise on stone: setting the standards of acceptable behaviour from notables by praising a few in such a public and enduring manner. This is an idea already touched on several times in Chapter Three. The decurions of Lepcis Magna explain that they are authorising public money to erect a statue of Plautius Lupus in a *biga* “so that others may also be stirred to the same desire” (*ut reliqui quoque ad eandem volup[tat]em sollicitari possint*, Appendix A B23-24). A few other inscriptions and literary works make similar claims.¹⁷

The recognition that praise could shape behaviour goes back at least as far as Xenophon. In his *Symposium*, the character Hermogenes praises Socrates' assessment of the virtuous nature of Callias' love for the athlete Autolycus, explaining that: “right at the same time you are flattering Callias, you are educating him on the very sort of person it is necessary to be” (νῦν ἅμα χαριζόμενος Καλλία καὶ παιδεύεις αὐτὸν οἷόνπερ χρὴ εἶναι, Xen. *Sym.* 8.12). Polybius depicts a Rhodian embassy conscientiously contrasting Rome's recent obtainment of mastery in the east after their 190 BCE victory at Magnesia against Antiochus III with the Rhodians' promise to praise Rome continuously (Polyb. 21.23). Their strategy was to use praise to convince the senators to grant freedom to the Greek cities of Asia against the objections of King Eumenes II of Pergamum – the main ally of Rome at Magnesia (Polyb. 21.20).¹⁸ Praise, thus, was one of the few

¹⁷ The regulations of the *collegium* of Diana and Antinous at Lanuvium explain that former *quinquennales* who acted “with integrity” (*quisquis quinquennialitatem gesserit integre*, CIL XIV 2112 line 2.21) are awarded a portion and a half of all distributions, so that “those following may hope for the same by acting rightly” (*ut et reliqui recte faciendo idem sperent*, line 2.22). AE 1971, 543 lines 5-7 (Mauretania Tingitana: the Tabula Banasa); Cic. *Phil.* 9.3; Suet. *Aug.* 31.5; Plin. *Ep.* 2.7.5; cf. 8.6.13. See also the idea that the honoree is an “example”: *mirae integritatis et innocentiae inimitabilis exempli viro*, App. H.32 (Pupput, 282 CE); App. H.45, 53, 119; *ILTun.* 574 (if the reconstruction is correct).

¹⁸ In the *De clementia*, Seneca similarly states that he wants Nero to be “very familiar with his good deeds and sayings,” so that his “natural impulse” toward goodness becomes “policy” (*quid ergo est? praeter id, quod bene*

tools available to the weaker party.

From the Rhodian embassy, it is not a far jump to the panegyric genre of literature, which had the expressed goal of defining the virtues of leadership.¹⁹ The younger Pliny states that he is publishing a refined version of his speech of thanks to Trajan so that “future *principes* . . . may be told in advance the main way by which they may strive for the same glory [as Trajan]” (*ut futuri principes non quasi a magistro sed tamen sub exemplo praemonerentur, qua potissimum via possent ad eandem gloriam niti*, *Ep.* 3.18.2). Accordingly, it is feasible that some of the various civic dedicators of honorific inscriptions in Africa Proconsularis were seeking to shape the behaviour of notables when they praised their virtues.

5.2 EUERGETISM

“Euergetism” is a modern word describing the ancient phenomenon of the wealthy giving to their communities. Paul Veyne popularised its usage among historians in his 1976 book *Le pain et le cirque*.²⁰ Despite the moralism implied in its ancient Greek root of εὐεργ- (“do good”), Veyne championed euergetism as a neutral term to mark this social practice that touched on multiple aspects of ancient life. Its usage in this chapter is necessary, for, as suggested above regarding the inscription of Maximianus' honorific statue, the Latin (and ancient Greek) words that were used to describe communal giving and receiving were morally and politically charged. Their usage in the cities of Proconsularis was anything but neutral, as shall be seen. Moreover, none describes the broad social practice as a whole, but rather aspects of it. It is, thus, helpful to have a word like euergetism to denote the phenomenon when necessary.

factis dictisque tuis quam familiarissimum esse te cupio, ut, quod nunc natura et impetus est, fiat iudicium, *Clem.* 2.2.2; cf. 1.14.2). Griffin has a general discussion on this point, but it pushes the cited evidence (1976: 137).

¹⁹ Burdeau 1964: 52-54; Wallace-Hadrill 1981: 318, supported by Potter 1999: 71.

²⁰ Veyne 1976: 20-22.

That said, euergetism does not completely satisfy as a descriptor, although it will have to do for the time being. As indicated by its Greek roots, it describes the phenomenon more from the perspective of notables who gave than from the perspective of the recipients and observers. While Veyne addresses all aspects of euergetism, his support for the term is consistent with his greater focuses on notables and the question of why they gave. He simplified the concept of euergetism down to two players, the people who expected the gifts and the notables who responded to this pressure with a show of giving willingly.²¹ By the imperial period, he believed, the practice had long-since undergone “codification.”²² According to Veyne, thus, euergetism was deeply integrated into Greco-Roman civic life, tacitly understood and accepted by all. In this conceptualisation, there is little room for controversy or concern that observers might think that a community honoured someone because of generosity alone. Veyne's treatment of honorific statues does not appear until a third way through the massive book and then as a “cog in the system.”²³ He seems to consider their main features to be their ubiquity and the uniformity of their inscriptions, which reflects Veyne's broad sociological approach to the phenomenon.²⁴ He, as Garnsey writes, is “at heart a theorist,” a scholar concerned with the big picture.²⁵ The smaller details were left for subsequent scholars to study.

Let us start with the Latin terms that describe the gifts. Studying literary uses of the word *liberalitas* (“liberality”), Manning claims that in the Principate it was “restored as a quality universally recognised as appropriate amongst the Roman aristocracy,” after an “ambivalence”

²¹ “Euergetism is the fact that collectivities (cities, colleges . . .) expected from the rich that they contribute from their own money to public expenditures, and their expectation was not in vain: the rich contributed spontaneously or with good grace” (Veyne 1976: 20, cf. 261: “la cité est donc divisée en deux camps, le camp de ceux qui donnent et le camp de ceux qui reçoivent.”).

²² Veyne 1976: 21.

²³ “[I]ls sont un rouage dans le système,” Veyne 1976: 262.

²⁴ Veyne 1976: 263-269. Cf. the discussion in Chapter 3.5.

²⁵ Garnsey 1991: 167.

had developed during the Late Republic. Authors in that earlier period, he observes, had begun to prefer synonyms like *beneficia* (“benefactions”) and *munificentia* (“munificence”), and applied *liberalitas* to *populares* like Caesar, who used the word as a personal slogan for his many acts of euergetism.²⁶ Some like Cicero, thus, equated *liberalitas* with electoral bribery, disruptive ambition, and even tyranny.²⁷ It was only in the first century CE, when the emperors controlled access to offices, Manning asserts, that gladiatorial shows, monetary distributions, and other acts of *liberalitas* became acceptable again. He explains that aristocrats were now relieved of the need to buy influence in Rome and became free to use their money according to philosophic ideals.²⁸

This same “ambivalence” Elizabeth Forbis finds in the inscriptions of honorific statues from the cities of Italy.²⁹ She reports fifty-one instances of *munificentia* and its various cognates and only twenty-nine instances of *liberalitas*, *largitio* (“generosity”), and their various cognates. In the late Republic and first century CE, dedicators preferred the “less controversial term” of *munificentia*, Forbis notes. It was not until the start of the second century CE that the word *liberalitas* became widely and frequently used, shortly after it became an imperial virtue.³⁰ From that point on, Forbis writes, “sensitivity to the connections between *liberalitas*, *largitio*, and *ambitio* in the inscriptions' language disappears after the beginning of the second century. Some inscriptions, in fact, exaggerate their use of *liberalitas* and *largitio* in order to emphasise the extent of the honorand's largess.”

It could be argued that the inscriptions from Africa Proconsularis reflect the developments Manning and Forbis describe. Unlike the numerical superiority of references to *munificentia* in

²⁶ Manning 1985: 76.

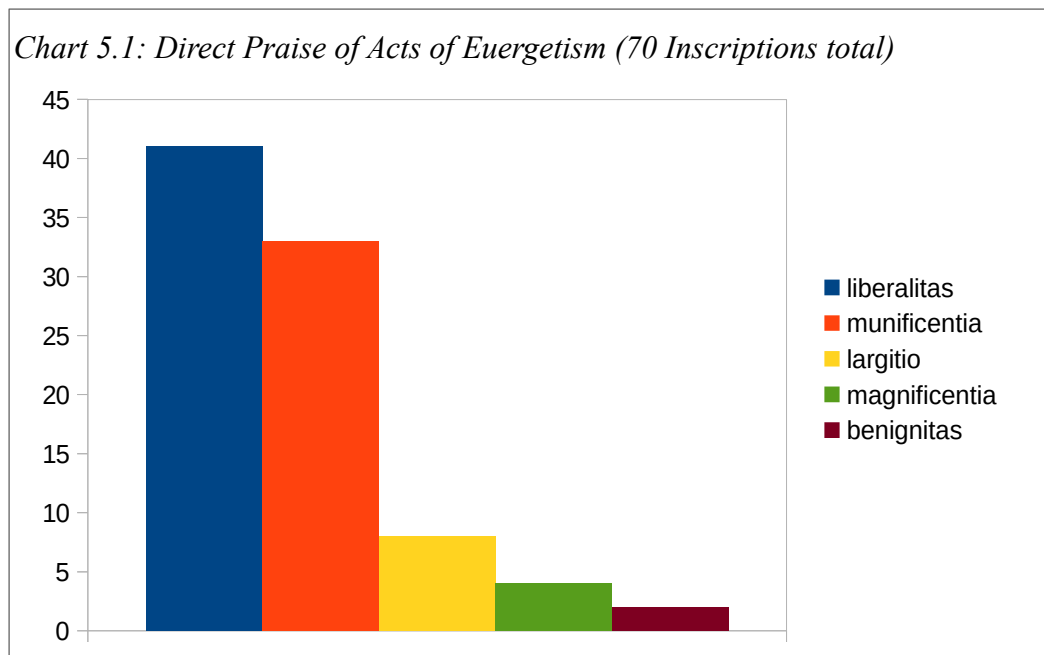
²⁷ Manning 1985: 77-79.

²⁸ Manning 1985: 80-81.

²⁹ Forbis 1996: 34.

³⁰ Forbis 1996: 40-41.

Italy, at forty-one surviving references *liberalitas* and its cognates are found slightly more frequently in Proconsularis than *munificentia* and its cognates, which are found thirty-three times (see Chart 5.1; Appendix B). This difference between the two regions could be explained by the fact that all of the inscriptions from Proconsularis citing either virtue do not date earlier than the second century CE, the time by which Manning and Forbis claim the term had been “restored” as a virtue.



The theory of restoration, however, must be challenged. Most notably, Manning's argument, on which Forbis bases her thesis, is focused on Republican Rome and high-imperial politics. He does not address other cities, where the political stakes were lower and where there was less socio-cultural distance between civic notables and the rest of the population. Moreover, Manning himself only claims that *liberalitas* suffered from “ambivalence” in the late Republic. He also reports instances of positive usages of the word in late Republican literature, even from

Cicero.³¹ The word never did fall into such disrepute that it needed restoration before being useable again. As will be seen, it was more the manner with which gifts were given that stirred controversy rather than the gift itself or the word used to describe it.

In Africa Proconsularis, that civic groups believed *liberalitas* to be an appropriate justification for public honours is straightforwardly indicated by the eight statues whose stated purpose is “to remunerate” the benefaction of the honoree (e.g. *ad remunerandam liberalitatem*).³² Indeed, *liberalitas* and *munificentia* are the second most numerous pair of laudatory terms, after *ob merita* and its variants (e.g. *merens*), which appear 72 times in the epigraphic catalogue of honorific statues. *Merita* too sometimes refers to acts of euergetism (see Appendix C). Less common terms and their cognates were also used in place of or in addition to *liberalitas* and *munificentia*, such as *beneficia* (“benefactions,” once), *benignitas* (“benevolence,” twice), *magnificentia* (“magnificence,” four times), and *largitio* (“generosity,” eight times).

In fact, words of praise like *liberalitas* and *munificentia* were not even necessary to validate a statue based on euergetism. Take, for example, the following inscription which the *ordo* of Sufes posted sometime in the third century (*CIL* VIII 262=11430=*ILS* 6835):

[Spl]endidissimus et / [f]elicissimus ordo / col(oniae) Sufetan[ae] / P(ublio)
Magnio Aman[do fl(amini)] / p(er)p(etuo) inter quinqu[ennali]/cios adlecto qu[i]
prae]/ter summ(am) hono[rariam] / flamoni(i) p(er)p(etui) et quinquen/nalitatis
amplius HS L(milia) n(ummum) / obtulerit ex cuius quanti/tatis usuris quodannis /
XII K(alendas) Nov(embres) die natali dei / Herc(uli) Geni(i) Patriae divisi/ones
dec(urionibus) dantur / Q(uintus) Magnius Maximus / Flavianus fil(ius) eius
eq(ues) R(omanus) / honore cont(entus) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit) et / ob
dedic(ationem) sportulas / dedit l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)

The most splendid and most fortunate *ordo* of the Sufetanian colony to P. Magnius Amandus, *flamen perpetuus*, adlected among the men of quinquennialician rank, who, in addition to the *summa honoraria* for the perpetual flamine and

³¹ Manning 1985: 73; e.g. Cic. *Fin.* 1.52; *Off.* 1.20, 3.24.

³² App. H.85, 86, 116, 131, 159, 178, 216; Appendix A lines B22-23.

quinquennialitate, offered 50,000HS more, from whose interest distributions are to be given to the decurions annually on October 21st – the birthday of Hercules the Protective Spirit of [our] Native City; Q. Magnus Maximus Flavianus, his son, a Roman equestrian, being content with the honour, made this with his own money and, to mark the dedication, gave *sportulae*; the location provided by decree of the decurions.

In part, the statue and its inscription served to guarantee the “permanence” of the terms of Amandus' foundation, as Margaret Laird argues regarding similar foundations in Italy.³³ With the statue base preserving an accessible reminder of the conditions of the foundation, it would have been difficult to redirect the money to another purpose.

Other inscriptions commemorating foundations, however, also contain words of praise.³⁴ The boast that the 50,000HS was “offered” and “in addition to the *summa honoraria* for the perpetual flamine and quinquennialitate” verifies that father and son considered the foundation to be an act of liberality. Yet the only terms of praise on Amandus' inscription are the superlatives describing the *ordo*. This is surprising, for the remittance of the cost of the statue gave his son, Flavianus, more control over the content of the inscription.³⁵ Nonetheless, Flavianus continues the reserved tone by not connecting the remittance and his own distribution of *sportulae* to any claim of modesty, restraint, or liberality. Seemingly, Flavianus was content to let the actions speak for themselves.

The lack of laudatory terms does not imply that the text was inattentively composed. As the original movers of the honour, the decurions head the inscription, occupying the most prestigious real estate on the stone normally reserved for the honoree. Flavianus, as the remitter, concludes the inscription. The honoree and the details of his gift are sandwiched in the middle.

³³ Laird 2006: 37.

³⁴ Ammaedara: App. H.122; Gor: *ILTun.* 769; Hippo Regius: App. H.178; Mactaris: *CIL* VIII 11813+p.2372=*ILS* 1410; Musti: *AE* 1968, 588=*IMustis* 20; Sicca Veneria: App. H.34; Theveste: *ILAlg.* 1.3066=*AE* 1977, 859.

³⁵ Most notably at Hippo Regius, Vibia Severa remitted the cost of her daughter's statue and seems to have set up a foundation “in order to remunerate best the affection, sense of duty, and liberality of her daughter” (App. H.178).

The text, in other words, is organised to emphasise the connections of the living to the benefactor. The nominative case of *ordo* and the dative case of Amandus' name soon afterward establish the decurions' original desire to honour him. Meanwhile, Flavianus, whose name is also in the nominative, occupies almost as much space at the bottom as his father does in the middle. Coming at the end of the inscription, one message must have been that Amandus' virtues and values continue in his son. The inscription does not require terms of praise to be a highly political document.

Yet in other inscriptions, such terms abounded. In addition to *liberalitas*, *munificentia*, and other words denoting generosity, adjectives and adverbs were often applied to underscore the grandeur, uniqueness, or frequency of the benefactions, such as *amplus* (“abundant”), *adsiduus* (“constant”), *egregius* (“excellent”), *eximius* (“exceptional”), *frequens* (“frequent”), *incomparabilis* (“incomparable”), *insignis* (“marked”), *magnus* (“great”), *primus* (“first”), and *singularis* (“singular”).³⁶ Some inscriptions give the strong impression that the drafters strove to find a unique way to express the generosity of the benefactor. The *populus* of a *municipium* known only by its modern name of Henchir Bedd, for example, saluted the *septizodium* built by an aedile as the “great construction of raw liberality” (*magnamq(ue) etiam operis septizodi(i) nudaе liberalitatis exstructionem*, App. H.125). The *septizodium* was a style of *nymphaeum* popularised by Septimius Severus at Rome and the people at Henchir Bedd were evidently proud to be taking part in the trend.³⁷

The verbatim copies of the two *decreta* the decurions of Lepcis Magna passed to honour “the great outpouring of enthusiasm” with which Plautius Lupus is said to have organised his

³⁶ See Appendix B.

³⁷ *HSA Sev.* 19.5, 24.3; Wilson 2007: 293. On the many connections Severus' *septizodium* at Rome makes to Africa, see Thomas 2007: 358-367.

benefactions are the prime example of how purple the praise could be in Proconsularis.³⁸ The two *decreta* are not alone, however. While the *curiae* of Thuburnica did not copy the entire *decretum* authorizing their statue to an aedile, they did quote from it (App. H.116):³⁹

. . . *quod primus in col(onia) / sua amphitheatrum / suis sumptibus excolue/rit et quod insign(i) lusi/onis edition(e) patriae / suae voluptates ampli/averit addita etiam / singulari ac benigna / erga universos cives / libertate curiales* . . .

. . . whereas he was the first in his own colony to embellish the amphitheatre at his own expense and whereas he increased the pleasures of his own native city with a marked provision of games, also with added singular and kindly liberality towards all citizens, the *curiales* . . .

Most inscriptions are not so fulsome, but, as argued in Chapters 1.3, 3.1, and 3.4, the terms of praise they do contain likely gloss the principal speech supporting the honour. Liberality was not just an acceptable reason for a civic group to honour an individual; it also seems to have been a point upon which the groups felt the need to expound.

There is in the inscriptions from Henchir Bedd and Thuburnica a certain redundancy, which is found in other inscriptions. The *populus* of Thabarbusis, for instance, claims to be honouring a *flamen perpetuus* from Calama “because of his marked and singular munificence towards the citizens and liberality” (*ob insignem singularemque eius in cives munificentiam ac liberalitatem*, App. H.126).⁴⁰ Such repetition is partly on account of fine differences in meaning between the words. *Liberalitas* emphasises the generosity of the benefactor, while *munificentia* focuses on the *munus* (“gift”) the benefactor “made.”⁴¹ Still, the terms were largely

³⁸ *[e]ffusissimis adfectibus iterum splendidissimos ludos ediderit*, Appendix A lines B12-13. For more detailed discussion of IRT 601(=Appendix A), see Chapter 3.6.

³⁹ The *quod* plus subjunctive perfect is typical of motivational clauses in *decreta*. It is not known whether this one was a *decretum ordinis* or *decretum publicum*.

⁴⁰ Similarly: *ob munifi[c]entiam lib[er]a[le]m*, App. H.54; *ob insignem singularemque eius in cives munificentiam ac liberalitatem*, App. H.126; *ob . . . munificentias liberalitates*, App. H.62; *civi largi[ssi]mo et ampliter munifico*, App. H.213; *ob singularem munificentiam et largam lib[er]alitatem*, App. H.107.

⁴¹ Forbis 1996: 37.

interchangeable, as Forbis observes.⁴² Moreover, the repetition is found with other terms. The *curiae* of Sufetula, for instance, honoured a man partly for the “generous liberality” – *largam lib(eralitatem)* – of his father (App. H.107). *Largitio* and *liberalitas* are even more synonymous than *munificentia* and *liberalitas*.⁴³

Using several like terms was not the only form of redundancy. The *res publica* of Thibaris felt the need to emphasise that their senatorial *patrona* “boosted” the city not only by “her marked and innumerable (acts of) liberality,” but also by “her giving” (*ob insignem eius et innumerabile(m) liberalitatem qua ordine(m) et patriam donatione sua amplificavit donatione sua*, App. H.191). The motivation for the fulsome language came from a different source than a desire to cover all shades of meaning. In effect, the dedicators at Thibaris were clarifying their motivation for the honour. The fulsome language was not merely meant to “exaggerate” the now restored virtues of *liberalitas* and *largitio*, as Forbis claims for the inscriptions of Italy. The “sensitivity to the connections between *liberalitas*, *largitio*, and *ambitio*” had not disappeared, at least in Proconsularis. Sensitivity remained and it extended to *munificentia*. Despite the acceptability of using euergetism for rationalising a public honour, there seems to have been a certain embarrassment over that rationale.

Unlike the common *ob merita* which only possibly refers to benefactions and, hence, is perhaps intentionally vague, only four inscriptions say *ob munificentiam* with no further information (App. H.31, 35, 139, 179). No example of a lone *ob liberalitatem* exists in Proconsularis. Even in relatively succinct inscriptions usually at least one adjective intensifies the praise, such as *ob egregiam ei[us munifi]centiam* (“because of his excellent munificence”),⁴⁴ *ob*

⁴² Forbis 1996: 37-38.

⁴³ Forbis 1996: 36.

⁴⁴ App. H.186.

eximiam eius liberalitatem (“because of her exceptional liberality”),⁴⁵ or *ob multiplicem eius erga rem publicam munificentiam* (“because of much munificence towards his *res publica*”).⁴⁶ Most of the inscriptions contain even more elaborate forms of praise of the benefaction(s), such as the examples discussed above.

The impression is that dedicators were often eager to record that the public honour was not due to just any act of munificence, but an exceptional act of munificence. This comes across most clearly in two inscriptions. In 193, “each *curia*” of Hippo Regius set up a statue to an equestrian *flamen perpetuus* of the Augustus, *pontifex*, and *duumvir*, because his three-day gladiatorial show “surpassed all memory of prior shows” (*omnes priorum memorias supergressus est*, App. H.77-78). Similarly, at Sufetula some time in the Severan era, the “whole *populus* of the *curiae*” honoured a *flamen perpetuus*, partly because of his “singular liberality” which set “a new standard” (*ob singularem ac novi . . . exempli liberalitatem*, App. H.101). In both cases, the *curiales* were keen not just to say once, but to record publicly for all time that (a) there were no dissenters among the dedicators and (b) the honour was due to a benefaction too special to go unrewarded.

The verbosity of the inscriptions, thus, seems to result from the dedicators' (and sometimes honorees') desire to establish publicly their reasoning for the honour as the authoritative interpretation. Claiming the exceptionalism of the benefactions, however, was just one way dedicators and honorees attempted to ensure that readers understood that the benefactor truly merited a statue in public. There were also specific terms of praise meant to reassure readers that the honour, its cost, and its use of public space were justified.

⁴⁵ App. H.173, 189.

⁴⁶ App. H.137; similarly: *ob eximiam in rem publ(icam) suam liberalitatem* (“because of exceptional liberality towards the *res publica*,” H.40); *[ob a]tsiduam et frequen[t(em) in] universos cives suos liberalitatem* (“because of her constant and frequent liberality towards all her own citizens,” App. H.121); App. H.219.

5.3 HONOURABLENESS AND EUERGETISM

Only six inscriptions use the noun *honestas* and the adjective *honestus* in the strict moralistic sense of “honourable(ness).”⁴⁷ The *ordo* is the most frequent employer of the terms at four times, two of which are in conjunction with the *populus*. The *curiae* are known to have used the term once and an unknown individual used the term in what looks to be an inscribed letter to the decurions of Calama.

Table 5.1: *Honestas and Honestus*

Dedicator	City	Date	Honoree	Praise	Citation
<i>ordo</i>	Thuburbo Maius	177/193	equestrian <i>flamen divi Titi</i> at Carthage, <i>sacerdos Aesculapii</i>	. . . <i>ob honestam munificentiam Iuliae Bassiliae flam(inicae) perpet(uae) matris eius</i> . . .	App. H.48
	Ureu	200/250	son of equestrian, (adopted?) brother of senatorial boy	. . . <i>ob multa merita patris atque avi eius in patriam et in rem p(ublicam) et honestas eorum munificentias liberalitates</i>	App. H.62
<i>ordo and populus</i>	Hippo Regius	100/299	<i>flamen perpetuus, duumvir</i>	. . . <i>[ob insigne]m in cives amorem et ob honestissi[mam] egregiamq[ue] eius liberalitatem</i> . . .	App. H.145
	Thugga	268/284	aedile, <i>flamen perpetuus</i>	. . . <i>[ob lu]dorum magnifi[cent]iam et multiform[es] libera]li[tates] quibus h]onestatem in re[m] pub]l(icam) et patriam c[u]m [sui]s exegit</i> . . .	App. H.155
<i>curiae</i>	Sufetula		<i>duumvir, aedile</i>	. . . <i>propter insignem morum clementiam et circa singulos universosque plenam et honestam liberalitatem aedilicio Ilvirali iuveni probissimo</i> . . .	App. H.104
Unknown	Calama		(possible letter from proconsul)	<i>[- - -] decreti vestri qua de [- - -] / [- - -] honestate cumulari S[- - -] / [- - -] OSEVS splendoris essen[t - - -]</i>	App. H.207

The five usages by civic groups all pertain to acts of euergetism. *Honestas* and *honestus* are applied to *liberalitas* four times and *magnificentia* once, but also twice to *munificentia*. The *ordo* of Thuburbo Maius, for example, honoured in the late second century an equestrian active at Carthage but of local origin “because of the honourable munificence of Iulia Bassilla, *flaminica perpetua*, his mother” (App. H.48). The *ordo* of Ureu similarly honoured a prestigious equestrian

⁴⁷ I have not counted uses of *honestus* as a marker of equestrian rank.

(brother of a *clarissimus puer*) “because of the many merits of his father and grandfather towards their native city and the *res publica* and their honourable acts of munificent liberality” (App. H.62). Contrary to what Manning and Forbis suggest, even with *munificentia* some dedicators wished to stress that it was “honourable.”

Only two of the five inscriptions specify the nature of the benefactions. At Hippo Regius, the *ordo* and *populus* at an unknown date honoured Q. Aurelius Honoratus, “[because of marked] love towards the citizens and because of his most honourable [and excellent] liberality, in whose testament [he gave - - -] 100,000HS [to provide] banquets in perpetuity to the decurions [likewise the *curiae*] and the *Augustales* on the birthday of Maria [- - - Honora]tiana his wife [and] *flami[nica]*” (App. H.145). In the late third century at Thugga, the *ordo* and *populus* voted a statue to [...] Titisenius Felicissimus Cornelius, “because of the magnificence of the games and the many diverse liberalities, with which he, along with his relatives, proved his honourableness towards the *res publica* and native city” (App. H.155).

Public benefactions were regulated by the civic statutes. Most commonly discussed is the strict maintenance of hierarchical seating arrangements at spectacles.⁴⁸ The evidence for seats assigned to *curiae* at Lambaesis (*CIL* VIII 3293) and Uthina (*AE* 2004, 1833) shows that this concern extended to North Africa (see Chapter 2.2). These regulations were partly targeting the donors of the shows. The *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae*, for instance, prohibits magistrates and anyone else organising shows from arranging the seating of their shows in any way other than that decided by a majority of the decurions (*LCGI* 126). In other words, *editores*, even if they were using their own funds, could not disregard the carefully staged hierarchy of the community on threat of a hefty fine (5,000HS).

⁴⁸ *TH* lines 133, 137-138; *LCGI* 66 lines 8-10, 125-127; *LI* 81.

More pertinent, however, is the provision prohibiting anyone who is going to stand as a candidate that year or anyone else on his behalf from holding a banquet (*convivium*) or inviting more than nine men to dinner (*cena*; *LCGI* 132). The same chapter also forbids the candidate or someone in his name from granting or distributing gifts.⁴⁹ Again, the fine for those caught in violation of this provision was set high at 5,000HS.⁵⁰ The concern here is *ambitus*, that a candidate will attempt to override the connections other candidates have with the *populus* and bind the electorate to him through distributions of food, money, and other gifts and, thereby, gain an unfair advantage in the *comitia*.⁵¹ The same concern of bribery caused Trajan to support Pliny's proposal to restrict the ability of the provincials of Bithynia-Pontus to use dedications and life events as excuses to invite large crowds to distributions.⁵²

The *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae*, thus, provides a starting point for understanding the use of *honestas* and its cognates in the inscriptions of honorific statues in Proconsularis. Its rules show that some concerns about euergetism ran deep enough for Roman leaders to enshrine them in the statutes they gave to provincial communities. As at Rome in the late Republic, the question was not so much the benefactions themselves, but the fine line donors had to walk between decent and improper cultivation – according to one's fellow notables – of relationships with the citizenry.⁵³ Yet it remains to be seen just what were the connotations behind *honestas*.

⁴⁹ Among other verbs, the provision uses *largiri* (“to give generously”; *LCGI* 132 ll.25, 30), which shares the same root as *largitio*, the (distant) third most popular term of praise for acts of euergetism in Proconsularis (see above). As Manning and Forbis argue (Manning 1985: 78; Forbis 1996: 40-41), it, along with *liberalitas*, was associated with *ambitus* in the late Republic and early Principate, when the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* was drafted.

⁵⁰ José Murga's theory that an accusation of *ambitus* under the *lex* (which could be brought by any citizen) was a popular “procedural means to combat those powerful optimate citizens” and a potential basis for a citizen to build political clout seems optimistic, at least as a standard strategy (1994: 207-208).

⁵¹ I, thus, do not agree with George Ville's assertion that *ambitus* was only a concern at Rome, while the concern in provincial cities was the impoverishment of family resources (1981: 225, 448).

⁵² *speciem διανομῆς*, Plin. *Ep.* 10.116.1, 117.1; for discussion of this phrase, see Chapter 3.3.

⁵³ Lintott 1990: 10-11, 14. For the connection of *LCGI* 132 to late republican Rome, see Lintott 1990: 10; Murga 1994, which is somewhat speculative.

Citing Hellegouarc'h,⁵⁴ Forbis observes that, when the words *honestissimus*, *honeste*, and *honestas* are applied to men in the cities of Italy, they “pertain to the probity of local magistrates.”⁵⁵ They are, thus, praising their upstanding conduct while in office. It is only with female priests of Ceres at Capena that she finds a usage approaching that in Proconsularis. Two inscriptions (*AE* 1954, 165; *CIL* XI 3933=*ILS* 3352) from the mid-third century praise the priests for their *honestissimae caerimoniae*, which Forbis interprets as referring to their “religious sanctity and their privileged affluence.”⁵⁶ Forbis was only working with ten examples.⁵⁷ That *honestas* has an ethical sense is clear, but, given the limited number of epigraphic examples, it is necessary to study the usage of the word in literature to gain a fuller understanding of its connotations.

Honestas and its cognates were often used to protest that an action was honourable, which could easily have become disgraceful.⁵⁸ Cicero, for example, once claimed that he had a “certain love for glory, perhaps too sharp, but nonetheless honourable” (*de meo quodam amore gloriae nimis acri fortasse verum tamen honesto*, *Arch.* 28). Valerius Maximus warns that his next topic of conjugal love is “somewhat more ardent and excited” (*aliquanto ardentior et concitior*, 4.6pr) than the previous one of *verecundia*. Yet it is “equally honourable” (*aeque honestum*).⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Hellegouarc'h 1964: 388, who asserts that *honestas* “represents the quality of one who executes with exactitude all one's obligations, morality, honesty in its most general sense, and it is frequently opposed to *turpitude* [“disgrace”].”

⁵⁵ Forbis 1996: 70-71.

⁵⁶ Forbis 1996: 70.

⁵⁷ Forbis 1996: 252. Lefebvre does not report any examples from Baetica, Lusitania, and Mauretania Tingitana.

⁵⁸ Apuleius uses *honestus* three times in the sixteenth oration of the *Florida*, two of which pertain to the public realm. He states that his Carthaginian audience had demanded a statue for him “honourably” (*statuam, quam mihi praesenti honeste postulastis*, 16.1) and later recalls that the decurions had “decorated [him] in that *curia* with most honourable cheers” (*me in illa curia honestissimis adclamationibus decoravere*, 16.44). These usages seem connected to others that use *honestas* to stress the honourability of a decision contrary to a hostile interpretation (Cic. *Lael.* 35; cf. 44). Similarly, Juvenal says that there is no better *comes* of Domitian than Vibius Crispus, for, in part, he could bring “honourable council” (*honestum adferre liceret consilium*, *Sat.* 4.85-86).

⁵⁹ In the same vein, Ovid claims that his intention for writing the scandalous *Ars amatoria* was “honourable” (*honestas voluntas*, *Trist.* 3.357; cf. 1.7.19), for the work is fictional: “my morals are distinct from my song” (*distant mores a carmine nostro*, 3.353; cf. 2.2.275-276).

Aulus Gellius too frequently feels the need to claim that the various “pleasures” (*voluptates*) in which he and his friends engaged at Athens were “decent and honourable” (*in volutatibus pudicis honestisque*, 18.5.1, similarly: 18.2.1, 18.2.2; 18.13.1).⁶⁰ Meanwhile, the author of the third century juridical work *Opiniones*, falsely attributed to Ulpian, advises allowing people who previously did not have sufficient resources to hold *munera* and civic offices, if they have increased their patrimony by “honourable strategies.”⁶¹ Ulpian himself similarly advises in his *De officio proconsulis* receiving illegitimate sons into decurionates, if they have an “honourable estate and life style” (*ad decurionatum et re et vita honesta recipientur*, *Dig.* 50.2.3.2). The implicit contrast is with others who did act illegally or in some other manner unacceptable to notable morality.

This tone of protestation carries over into the inscriptions of Proconsularis. Most clearly, the *curiae* of Sufetula declare that they are honouring a young *duumvir* because his liberality was “full and honourable” (*plenam et honestam liberalitatem*, App. H.155). The implication would seem to be that his generosity easily could have had a dishonourable purpose or consequence, but did not. The ethical implications of his generosity are brought out further by the praise for the “mildness of his morals” and the observation that he was “most upright” as youth and magistrate. That the liberality was to all citizens further indicates his patriotism.

Several other literary sources more clearly associate *honestas* and its cognates with virtues and the well-being of the community. Sallust glosses *honestas* as “good faith, decorum, and a sense of duty” and *inhonestas* as the greed of the *nobiles*, their pride, and various crimes

⁶⁰ Gellius further relates that Plato, contrary to expectation, did recommend “moderate and honourable relaxations into drinking” (*modicis honestisque inter bibendum remissionibus*, 15.2.5), in order to refresh the mind, but not “most disgraceful inebriation” (*ebrietatem istam turpissimam*, 15.2.4).

⁶¹ *si ex voto honestis rationibus patrimonium incrementum acceperit*, *Dig.* 50.4.4.1. On the *Opiniones*, see Honoré 1982: 120-128.

against the state.⁶² The context is the tribune C. Memmius' speech in 111 BCE attempting to rouse the people to defend their rights against the *nobiles*.⁶³ At two other points, Sallust again contrasts honourableness with the greed of notable Romans, who put their own desires before the needs of the state (*quibus divitiae bono honestoque potiores erant*, *Jug.* 8.1; *pauci . . . caeci avaritia, quis omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat*, *Jug.* 80.5). Cicero too attacked Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon by connecting honourableness to loyalty to the *res publica*.⁶⁴

Using Stoic ideas as a basis, Cicero would develop his theory of *honestas* much more fully just eight months later in the *De officiis*. In it, he takes a standard philosophical stance that the honourable is the only useful goal and activity for all individuals, whether rich or poor, in or outside of Rome.⁶⁵ Foremost in his mind, however, were his son (to whom the essay is addressed) and other young notables, who would one day administer the *res publica*.⁶⁶

Cicero's main concern in the *De officiis* is the uncontrolled individual who disrupts public harmony in pursuit of personal interests. The problem, he writes with reference to Caesar, is that “people often try to elevate themselves above others and take advantages of cleavages in the state, rather than being content to remain equal” (*Off.* 1.64). His overall argument is that people owe the greatest *officium* (“obligation”) to the *res publica*, more than to general humanity or to

⁶² *homines sceleratissimi, cruentis manibus, immani avaritia, nocentissimi et idem superbissimi, quibus fides decus pietas, postremo honesta atque inhonesta omnia quaestui sunt*, *Jug.* 31.12.

⁶³ Cicero, in his speech on behalf of Rabirius, contrasts the “virtue, honourableness, and decency” (*virtus et honestas et pudor cum consulibus esse cogebat*, *Rab.* 24) of siding with the consuls against the tribune Saturninus in 100 BCE in accordance with a *senatus consultum ultimum* to the “madness and crime” of siding with Saturninus (*cum Saturnino esse furoris et sceleris*).

⁶⁴ “Where is dignity unless with honourableness? Is it honourable, therefore, to have an army without a public decision, to seize citizen cities from which there is an easier approach to the fatherland, to strive for the cancellation of debts, the return of exiles, a vast number of other sins, in order to have the greatest item of the gods: absolute power?” *ubi est autem dignitas nisi ubi honestas? honestum igitur habere exercitum nullo publico consilio, occupare urbis civium quo facilior sit aditus ad patriam*, χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς, φυγάδων καθόδους, *sescenta alia scelera moliri*, τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην ὥστ’ ἔχειν τυραννίδα? (*Att.* 7.11.1)

⁶⁵ See, for example, *Sen. Ben.* 4.1, 4.9.3, 4.15.1.

⁶⁶ *Cic. Off.* 1.1; Dyck 1996: 29, 31.

one's friends, relatives, and even parents and children (*Off.* 1.57, 3.27, 46, 101).⁶⁷ People, particularly notables, must not only subordinate their personal interests to the *res publica*, but hold dear the notion that the political structures of the *res publica* are the only venue appropriate for display of their talent and worth (*Off.* 1.72).

Cicero defines the “honourable” (*honestum*) as the sum of wisdom (*sapientia*), justice (*iustitia*), greatness of spirit (*magnitudo animi*), and self-control (*temperantia*).⁶⁸ Justice receives the lion's share of his attention throughout the three books. E.M. Atkins observes that Cicero's treatment of justice is thoroughly distinct from earlier Greek philosophical treatments and is the earliest known argument for justice being the main binding force in society.⁶⁹ She stops just short of asserting that Cicero's argument is original.⁷⁰ Cicero, rather, was employing Hellenic moral theory and particularly the second century BCE work of the Stoic Panaetius as a convenient structure on which to hang his political essay.

Cicero believed justice to be the main measuring stick for assessing the honourable (*Off.* 1.60). “Nothing can be honourable, if justice is absent” (*nihil honestum esse potest, quod iustitia vacat*, 1.62). He defines justice in its broadest sense, asserting that it stems from nature and is the instrument by which people can co-exist in a *societas* – a society.⁷¹ At the heart of justice is *fides*

⁶⁷ Similarly Val. Max. 5.6pr. Atkins (1990: 275-277) argues that Cicero's discussions on the obligations to general humanity are “little more than empty rhetoric,” for they are always negative, never positive obligations (i.e. they never trump obligations to the *res publica*; cf. Long 1995: 237, 281).

⁶⁸ These are, in effect, the four traditional virtues of Greek philosophy (Atkins 1990: 262). Cicero does not present them as such but rather with their practical application already in mind (Atkins 1990: 281; Dyck 1996: 98-99). Justice, for example, is only implied: “protecting the fellowship of men, attributing to each his own, and good faith in contracts” (*in hominum societate tuendatribuendoque suum cuique et rerum contractarum fide*, *Off.* 1.15). Only later do we learn that Cicero paired justice with *liberalitas* and *beneficentia* under the broader heading of *communitas* (“sense of community”).

⁶⁹ Atkins 1990: 278-284. Atkins argues that a Greek philosopher would have never subordinated σοφροσύνη to justice as Cicero subordinates *sapientia*. Moreover, Atkins observes that Greek philosophy gives πίστις little attention, while *fides* plays a key role as a binding agent of society in the *De officiis*, and is a necessary virtue of magistrates (*Off.* 1.124).

⁷⁰ Atkins 1990: 284-285. See also Long's thesis that Cicero drew on Greek philosophy to rework traditional Roman political ideology, in order to address the political situation of his day (1995: 217-218, 226).

⁷¹ Atkins 1990: 269-277. See *Off.* 3.28, where Cicero presents justice as the most important virtue for binding

(“good faith”; *fundamentum . . . est iustitiae fides*, *Off.* 1.23, cf. 2.34, 38, 84), the virtue which leads people to make honourable decisions even when there is no chance of being observed.⁷² It is what creates the conditions that allow for the exchange of obligations that bind the community together (*Off.* 2.15, 32-33). The overall role of justice, thus, is the preservation of the *res publica* (*Off.* 1.157, 2.15).

It is the sense of justice, Cicero believed, that was primarily responsible for checking overly ambitious people like Caesar. It is only with *iustitia*, for example, that Cicero's first and third 'virtues' leading to honourableness are even virtues. *Scientia* without justice is “cunning”⁷³ and a “lofty soul” without justice is a “monster which repulses all of humanity.”⁷⁴ A “brave and great soul” with justice, on the other hand, seeks only “what is honourable and fitting” and only engages in activities useful for the state.⁷⁵ Earlier, Cicero had written that greed was the greatest incentive to injustice for all ranks of people (*in quo vitio latissime patet avaritia*, *Off.* 1.24). With regards to notables, “desire for commands, offices, and glory” lead many to an “obliviousness of justice.”⁷⁶ Cicero's ideal notable demonstrates his *magnitudo animi* by despising all of these vices (*Off.* 1.67-68). Instead, he puts *fides* into his forethought and planning (*haec sunt opera magni animi et excelsi et prudentia consilioque fidentis*, *Off.* 1.81) and he protects the interests (*utilitas*) of all citizens without favouring the interests of himself or those of a particular segment of the

society together.

⁷² *Off.* 3.38-39, 62; Atkins 1990: 268, 279.

⁷³ *non . . . solum scientia, quae est remota ab iustitia, calliditas potius quam sapientia est appellanda*, *Off.* 1.63; similarly: 1.54, 2.34. Moreover, it is justice that gives *cognitio* purpose, for, being a higher obligation, justice forces the researcher to apply his learning to practical problems (*Off.* 1.153-154).

⁷⁴ *ea animi elatio, quae cernitur in periculis et laboribus, si iustitia vacat pugnatque non pro salute communi, sed pro suis commodis, in vitio est; non modo enim id virtutis non est, sed est potius immanitatis omnem humanitatem repellentis*, *Off.* 1.62, cf. 1.46. Atkins 1990: 258, 260.

⁷⁵ *Off.* 1.66; Long 1995: 226-228.

⁷⁶ *maxime autem adducuntur plerique, ut eos iustitiae capiat oblivio, cum in imperiorum, honorum, gloriae cupiditatem inciderunt*, *Off.* 1.26.

population, for that introduces “violent disturbances and discord.”⁷⁷

It is in this context that Cicero's discussions of *beneficentia* and *liberalitas* are situated. They and justice, Cicero argues, make up *communitas*, the “sense of community” which allows people to cohabitate (*Off.* 1.20).⁷⁸ The orator is reflecting the general belief that giving, despite its many pitfalls, was necessary for a healthy community.⁷⁹ Again justice serves as the safeguard (*nihil est enim liberale, quod non idem iustum*, *Off.* 1.43). Cicero's first discussion of *beneficentia* and *liberalitas*, which mostly concerns benefactions to individuals, is expressed mainly in the negative – what not to do.⁸⁰ He starts by noting that the two virtues require “many precautions” (*habet multas cautiones*, *Off.* 1.42), especially against using it as a vehicle for personal glory. Cicero's first example is perhaps irrelevant for the cities of Proconsularis, for it deals with theft seemingly on par with proscriptions (*Off.* 1.43), but his next point pertains to everyone: a vainglorious person might impoverish his family by displays of giving, which could lead him to seize unjustly the property of others.⁸¹

The main discussion of benefactions to the *populus* comes in Book Two, which addresses the “useful” (*utile*) in the obligations of notables. Cicero makes his preferences clear right away. There are two ways to be beneficent and generous, he says: “with benevolent work or with money to the needy” (*nam aut opera benigne fit indigentibus aut pecunia*, *Off.* 2.52).

⁷⁷ *qui autem parti civium consulunt, partem neglegunt, rem perniciosissimam in civitatem inducunt, seditionem atque discordiam*, *Off.* 1.85, similarly 1.86. Cicero lets it be known that he has in mind here the factional politics of his own day: *ex quo evenit, ut alii populares, alii studiosi optimi cuiusque videantur, pauci universorum*, *Off.* 1.85.

⁷⁸ Atkins 1990: 266.

⁷⁹ Seneca makes *humana societas* a core value of his *De beneficiis*: people must continue to give willingly, because it is giving that binds society together (*Ben.* 1.4.2, 4.18.2). Inwood 1995: 241-242, 263-264; Griffin 2003b: 92-93, 101-102.

⁸⁰ Dyck 1996: 156, who observes that Cicero does not define *liberalitas* as he does the other virtues.

⁸¹ *inest autem in tali liberalitate cupiditas plerumque rapiendi et auferendi per iniuriam, ut ad largiendum suppetant copiae*, *Off.* 1.44, cf. 2.54. The *iniuriae* Cicero has in mind here are unclear. Dyck (1996: 160) points to a similar line in Sall. *Cat.* 52.11, which is also vague, but perhaps pertains to *tutores* squandering the resources of their wards (*quia bona aliena largiri liberalitas*).

Representation in the courts (*Off.* 2.49-51) is an example of the former and is to be offered often, for it draws on the inexhaustible resource of virtue. There is the additional benefit of winning supporters for later efforts (*Off.* 2.53, 69-70). The latter, however, drains the family coffers, leaving nothing for heirs, and corrupts both the recipient and the giver (*Off.* 2.52-53, 64).

Nonetheless, many Roman politicians did give benefactions, finding them to be politically expedient or even necessary, including Cicero (*Off.* 2.32, 54, 59).⁸² “A reputation for moneygrubbing must be avoided,” he states (*vitanda tamen suspicio est avaritiae*, *Off.* 2.58), for the people may hold it against the notable at election time. As A.A. Long notes, Cicero does advocate self-interest, just not extreme self-interest which infringes upon the rights of others.⁸³ Accordingly, Cicero divides donors into two groups on moral grounds: “the wasteful and the liberal” (*omnino duo sunt genera largorum, quorum alteri prodigi, alteri liberales*, *Off.* 2.55).

“Liberal” (*liberalis*), of course, is the term of praise found on many inscriptions. According to Cicero, it covers the “better outlays” (*illae impensae meliores*, *Off.* 2.60) like infrastructure projects for the *res publica*: walls, shipyards, ports, and water works (*muri, navalia, portus, aquarum ductus omniaque, quae ad usum rei publicae pertinent*), or prudent personal benefactions: ransoming people from slavery, enriching deserving people in need, or forgiving debts (*Off.* 2.61-64). To building projects, even theatres, colonnades, and new temples (i.e. not restoration of old temples), he gives only reserved approval (*Off.* 2.60).

The benefactions Cicero includes under the heading of “wasteful” are also found on inscriptions: “banquets, meat distributions, gladiatorial shows, games, and beast hunts” (*epulis et viscerationibus et gladiatorum muneribus ludorum venationumque*, *Off.* 2.55). In addition to cost,

⁸² Ville 1981: 448-449. For Cicero's subjective stance on *ambitus*, see Lintott 1990: 10-11.

⁸³ Long 1995: 238-239; cf. Ville 1981: 447. Cf. *Off.* 3.42, where Cicero states that pursuit of honour does not prohibit pursuing one's own interests. The interests of a truly honourable person will be aligned with honour. Cf. *Off.* 3.17-18, 75.

the orator attacks these in another way. They are essentially bribes, which turn the noble donor into a servant or toady and train the people to expect more of the same (*Off.* 2.53, 63; cf. *Plut. Mor.* 822A). Therefore, they are ineffective. They fail to increase the *dignitas* of the donor and they target the fickle element of the people, who quickly forget the act (*Off.* 2.55-57).

Yet Cicero's distinction between the two types of donors is disingenuous. He admits that distributions make a more immediate impression on the people than utilitarian works (*quod praesens tamquam in manum datur; iucundius est, tamen haec* [sc. ship yards, etc.] *in posterum gratiora*, *Off.* 2.60). Moreover, using language found also on the statue bases of Proconsularis (*magnificentissima . . . munera*, *Off.* 2.57), he notes that distributions are a traditional aspect of Roman political life. His opposition, thus, seems to be posturing to emphasise what he considers to be the least disruptive benefactions. “Good men” (*bonis viris*, *Off.* 2.58), a phrase which Cicero states means men of justice (e.g. *iustis autem et fidei hominibus, id est bonis viris*, *Off.* 2.33, 38), do not want to give them but agree as far as their resources permit.⁸⁴ When they do, they are to serve a “greater and more useful cause” (*si quando aliqua res maior atque utilior populari largitione acquiritur*), like a lane-way lunch as a tithe-offering to a god⁸⁵ or selling grain at a low price while aedile when the market rate is high (i.e. by a person acting in an official rather than a private capacity, and modestly in comparison to free distributions; *Off.* 2.58).

The shared feature of all three *exempla* are that they recognise limits imposed by the gods or the community. Plutarch, a Platonist who freely drew upon other philosophical traditions like Cicero, expresses the same disdain for public benefactions in his Πολιτικά παραγγέλματα.⁸⁶ He

⁸⁴ *quare et si postulatur a populo, bonis viris si non desiderantibus, at tamen approbantibus faciundum est, modo pro facultatibus, nos ipsi ut fecimus*, *Off.* 2.58; cf. *Plin. Ep.* 6.34.2.

⁸⁵ *ut Oresti nuper prandia in semitis decumae nomine magno honori fuerunt* (*Off.* 2.58). For the meaning of *decumae*, see Dyck 1996: 446.

⁸⁶ Cicero describes himself as a sceptical academic (*Off.* 2.8; 3.20; Dyck 1996: 36-39), but states that he is mainly following stoicism here, namely Panaetius (*Off.* 1.6; Dyck 1996: 17-18). For Plutarch's eclectic academic

fears that they ruin the donor and empower the receiver (*Mor.* 822A, 830E).⁸⁷ Yet he too realises that they are politically necessary (*Mor.* 822A) and advises careful use (*Mor.* 822C):

οὕτως σὺ τῶν φιλοτιμιῶν ὅσαι τὸ φονικὸν καὶ θηριῶδες ἢ τὸ βωμολόχον καὶ ἀκόλαστον ἐρεθίζουσι καὶ τρέφουσι, μάλιστα μὲν ἐξέλαυνε τῆς πόλεως, εἰ δὲ μή, φεῦγε καὶ διαμάχου τοῖς πολλοῖς αἰτουμένοις τὰ τοιαῦτα θεάματα · χρηστὰς δὲ καὶ σώφρονας ἀεὶ ποιοῦ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ὑποθέσεις, τὸ καλὸν ἢ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἐχούσας τέλος ἢ τὸ γοῦν ἢ δὴ καὶ κεχαρισμένον ἄνευ βλάβης καὶ ὕβρεως προσοῦσης.

Displays of munificence, which anger and foster the murderous and beastly or the ribald and unbridled, drive as many of them as possible out of the city, or, if not, avoid and contend against the many who demand such displays. Always make the useful and the prudent the pretexts for the expenditures, which have an honourable and necessary point or, at least, a pleasurable and acceptable point without there also being harm and insolence.

Plutarch shares Cicero's opinion that divine worship is one “useful and prudent pretext” (*Mor.* 822B). He too would rather have notables build political capital through counsel, advocacy, and other personal acts on behalf of needy individuals and the state (*Mor.* 822E-823E). Only these, he states, gain one a reputation as a statesman (οἱ δὲ πολλοί . . . τὸ ἥθος τοῦτον ἡγοῦνται μόνον πολιτικὸν καὶ δημοτικὸν καὶ ἄρχοντα, *Mor.* 823D, similarly 802D-E), while the base “flatteries and bait” (νόθα καὶ κίβδηλα τὰ . . . θωπεύματα καὶ δελεάσματα, *Mor.* 823C) of spectacles, banquets, and other distributions gain but a short-lived reputation (*Mor.* 821F, 823D-E).⁸⁸ Like the Roman orator, the overriding concern of Plutarch is that men guided by their morals are leading cities, in order to minimise internal discord.⁸⁹

philosophy, see: Herschbell 2004; Trapp 2004: 198-199; Boulogne 2004.

⁸⁷ Aalders 1982: 51.

⁸⁸ Like Cicero, Plutarch's views describe an ideal, but I do not go as far as Trapp in considering them “piously unrealistic” (2004: 196). See discussion in introduction 0.3.

⁸⁹ Hurler argues that consensus and concord were important values Rome helped to instill in the cities of the western empire through the electoral system of the municipal *lex*, the imperial cult, the cult of Concordia, and by conditioning promotion of civic juridical status partly on internal concord (2002: 170-174). Plutarch, for instance, sets the maintenance of civic harmony as the chief mission of the statesman (*Mor.* 823F-824D; Aalders 1982: 52; Sheppard 1984-1986: 241-244). Carrière asserts that Plutarch was mostly concerned that there be harmony among the notables (1977: 241). This is true to the point that Plutarch believed that leaders were a “guide-line for the attitude and behaviour of other people” and that their wealth and positions gave them the ability to split

This discussion suggests several ideas could lay behind the “honourable” benefactions noted on the five inscriptions from Africa Proconsularis. Foremost, the term *honestas* and its cognates suggest that the benefactor acted without *ambitus*, that is that he limited his desires to the institutions and *lex* of the city. More specifically, the term could suggest a suitable pretext to the gift, most notably divine worship. It could suggest pure intentions: that the donor gave the benefactions without any thought to personal advantage, but with only the interests of the community in mind. It could suggest the prudence and restraint of the donor: that it did not financially ruin him or her to give the benefaction and that only enough was given to satisfy the stated intent of the benefaction, in order not to promote jealousy among fellow notables nor to embolden the recipients.

While the five *honestas/honestus* inscriptions from Proconsularis are brief, there are a few indications that they are referring to the same moral system as that presented by Cicero in the *De officiis*. The honour at Thuburbo Maius was praising the “honourable munificence” of a *flaminica*, which may suggest a religious connection. Similarly, the honour at Hippo Regius was to a local *flamen perpetuus*, who had given 100,000HS for a banquet for the whole community, including the *Augustales*, on the birthday of his wife, a *flaminica* of, probably, the divine Augustae.

Moreover, the “honourable acts of munificent liberality” of the father and grandfather of the equestrian honoured at Ureu are said to have been to his “native city” (*in patriam*). The message is that his motivation was patriotism. That the equestrian's father and grandfather were the source of these acts further suggests a significant time delay between the benefactions and the

communities with their quarrels (Aalders 1982: 45, 51-52). Plutarch, however, was promoting harmony among all inhabitants.

honour. This implies that their cost had been easily absorbed by the family and that the promise of the honour did not 'buy' the benefactions.

Finally, the young *duumvir* at Sufetula is said to have been especially mild concerning his morals, upright, and to have directed his liberality towards everyone (App. H.104). It is these sort of morals that Cicero argues are needed for people to live peaceably together. That his liberality is said to have been both “full and honourable” (*plenam et honestam liberalitatem*) may show the concern of the *curiae* – the groups that had voted him into the duumvirate – to make sure everyone knew that his extraordinary generosity had no ulterior motive.

5.4 THE LANGUAGE OF CIVIC LOVE

A) CIVIC LOVE AND EUERGETISM

Table 5.2: Amor, Adfectio, Adfectus, Benevolentia, and Studium by Honoree

Honoree (citation)	Place	Date	<u>Dedicator</u>							
			Local	<i>ordo</i>	<i>ordo and populus</i>	<i>populus</i>	<i>cives</i>	Juridical Status	<i>res publica</i>	<i>curia(e)</i>
Members of the Imperial Elite										
consul, <i>comes Augusti</i> , and son (App. H.146)	Mactaris	250/299	◆		*					
senator, patron (App. H.156)	Ureu	250/299	◆		*					
senatorial youth, son of patron (App. H.65)	Uzappa	250/288	◆	*						
praetorian prefect, patron (App. H.199)	Uchi Maius	244/249	◆						*	
praetorian <i>curator rei publicae</i> (App. H.57)	Thysdrus	200/299		*						
equestrian prefect, procurator at Rome, patron (App. H.30)	Municipium Aurelium C[- -]	245/265	◆	*						
equestrian <i>curator rei publicae</i> , patron (App. H.123)	Furnos Minus	220/228	◆			*				
equestrian <i>advocatus fisci</i> , <i>sacerdos Lanuvinus</i> (App. H.197)	Thugga	260/268	◆						*	
<i>procurator Augusti tractus Numidiae a frumentis</i> (App. H.228)	Zama Regia	209/211								*
<i>sacerdos</i> at Rome (App. H.198)	Uchi Maius	181/230	◆						*	

Honoree (citation)	Place	Date	Dedicator							
			Local	ordo	ordo and populus	populus	cives	Juridical Status	res publica	curia(e)
		?								
Carthaginians										
equestrian aedile at Carthage, <i>curator rei publicae</i> (App. H.2)	Abthugni	193/235		*						
equestrian <i>duumvir</i> , decurion of Carthage, <i>civis</i> (App. H.160)	Vina	250/299	◆		*					
<i>duumviralis</i> at Carthage (probably), patron (App. H.15)	Chiniava			*						
aedile of Carthage (App. H.168)	Vicus Maracitanus	193/211					*			
Civic Notables										
equestrian <i>duumvir</i> (<i>quinquennalis</i> ?), <i>comes</i> of Commodus, brother of Praetorian prefect (App. H.151)	Thaenae	177/192	◆		*					
equestrian <i>duumvir quinquennalis designatus</i> (App. H.165)	Sabratha	190/299	◆				*			
deceased equestrian <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , <i>duumvir</i> , son of <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , <i>duumvir</i> x2 (App. H.147)	Madauros	200/233	◆		*					
<i>flamen</i> of province and city, <i>duumvir</i> (App. H.18)	Gigthis		◆	*						
patron; the <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , and <i>duumvir</i> of App. H.158? (App. H.159)	Vallis	275	◆		*					
<i>flamen perpetuus</i> , patron (App. H.53)	Thugga	205/206	◆	*						
<i>flamen perpetuus</i> , <i>duumvir</i> , civic patron (App. H.83)	Municipium Aurelium C[- - -]	222/235	◆							*
<i>flamen perpetuus</i> , <i>duumvir</i> (App. H.145)	Hippo Regius	100/299	◆		*					
<i>flamen perpetuus</i> , <i>pontifex</i> , <i>duumvir</i> (App. H.77-78)	Hippo Regius	193/299	◆◆							**
<i>flamen perpetuus</i> (App. H.154)	Thubursicu Numidarum		◆		*					
<i>flamen Augusti</i> , <i>duumvir</i> (App. H.103)	Sufetula		◆							*
<i>flamen perpetuus</i> , <i>duumvir</i> (App. H.132)	Gigthis	138/161	◆		*					
<i>flamen perpetuus</i> , aedile (App. H.125)	Henchir Bedd	211/225	◆			*				
equestrian <i>duumvir</i> (App. H.55)	Thugga		◆	*						
son of equestrian patron (App. H.200)	Uchi Maius		◆						*	
<i>duumvir quinquennalis</i> (App. H.177)	Curubis	250/299	◆				*			
<i>duumvir</i> (App. H.84)	Municipium Aurelium C[- - -]	230	◆							*
<i>duumvir</i> (App. H.100)	Simitthus	138/192	◆							*
aedile, grandson (App. H.6)	Avedda		◆	*						
father (App. H.17)	Civitas Saraditana	154/160	◆	*						
<i>flamen</i> , <i>pontifex</i> , <i>duumvir</i> (Appendix A=IRT 601)	Lepcis Magna	c. 200	◆	*						
<i>duumviralis</i> , father (App. H.50)	Thuburnica		◆	*						

Honoree (citation)	Place	Date	Dedicator						
			Local	ordo	ordo and populus	populus	cives	Juridical Status	res publica curia(e)
<i>duumvir</i> , aedile, <i>munerarius</i> (App. H.131)	Curubis		♦		*				
former magistrate (App. H.81)	Mactaris		♦						*
decurion (App. H.202)	Ammaedara		♦	? ⁹⁰					
benefactor (App. H.162)	Lepcis Magna	250/299	♦				*		
benefactor (App. H.196)	Thugga	222/261	♦						*
<i>tribunus cohortis, civis</i> (App. H.164)	Neferis	218/222	♦				*		
centurion, secretary of <i>praetorian prefect</i> (App. H.174)	Vicus Maracitanus	193/211	♦				*		
father (App. H.59)	Uchi Maius	230/235	♦	*					
wife (App. H.74)	Cillium	150/199	♦						*
daughter (App. H.178)	Hippo Regius		♦					*?	
man and two youths? (App. H.113)	Theveste	193/235							*
Other									
unknown (App. H.24)	Hippo Regius			*					
a descendant of senators? (App. H.60)	Uchi Maius	100/299	♦	*					
unknown (App. H.140)	Gigthis		♦		*				
unknown (App. H.190)	Thugga							*	
Total 51			43	15	11	2	5	3	5 9

Amor, *adfectio*, *adfectus*, *benevolentia*, and *studium* make up one of the largest groups of terms of praise for honorees, at fifty-one epigraphic appearances. Another three inscriptions cite the *adfectio* the civic dedicators feel for the honouree (Table 5.3). As shown in Appendix B, only *liberalitas*, *munificentia*, and the vague *meritum/a* are cited more frequently. This corresponds with Forbis' more numerous findings from Italy, where she observes that the forty-two known usages of *amor* make it the fourth most common laudatory term behind *merita*, *optimus*, and *munificentia*.⁹¹ *Adfectio*, she adds, appears twenty times.⁹²

⁹⁰ At a minimum, the decurions were involved. See note at App. H.202.

⁹¹ Forbis 1996: 46.

⁹² Forbis 1996: 47.

Table 5.3: *Dedicators' Amor or Adfectio for the Honoree*

Dedicator	City	Date	Honoree	Praise	Citation
ordo(?)	Hippo Regius		unknown	. . . <i>qu[o] testificatior manifestiorque esset singulorum adfectio viritim aere conlato posuit . . .</i>	App. H.24
ordo(?)	Uchi Maius	100/299	descendant of senators?	. . . <i>ut adfectibus civium pareret epulo quarto a se dato titulo contentus statuam de suo posuit itemque dedicavit</i>	App. H.60
curiae universae	Sufetula		flamen Augusti, duumvir	. . . <i>at declarandam testificandamq(ue) iudicii et adfectionis suae religionem aere conlato . . .</i>	App. H.103

The apparent popularity of the language of 'civic love' is, from a certain perspective, surprising, because it is praising a strong emotion rather than a reserved quality like *honestas*. Craig Williams has recently demonstrated that in literary genres like elegiac poetry and Menippean satire, *amor* often means erotic “love,” which can be destructive and imply the lack of self-control.⁹³ As noted throughout this chapter, the self-control of civic magistrates and other notables was a primary concern of the citizens of cities in Proconsularis. Yet the Stoic Seneca advises people to receive benefactions “with an outpouring of enthusiasm” (*effusis adfectibus*, *Ben.* 2.22) and to express this gratitude “everywhere” (*ubique*), even to organise a public meeting for the purpose (*ita accipienti adhibenda contio est*, *Ben.* 2.23.1). The philosopher is addressing the topic of private benefactions and he plainly states that not everyone expresses their thanks in a properly effusive fashion. Nonetheless, his advice does indicate that highly emotive language was the appropriate register for euergetism.

Williams further argues that *amor* had a wide semantic range and that its “reading” partly depends upon the genre of speech.⁹⁴ In more formal genres, like letters, epitaphs, and electoral *programmata*, *amor* could have a decidedly less virulent meaning, in some cases closer to the English words of 'admiration', 'caring', or 'support'.⁹⁵ Williams points out that *amor* was the term

⁹³ Williams 2012: 125-126.

⁹⁴ Williams 2012: 113, 123-125.

⁹⁵ Williams 2012: 126-127. I do not adopt Williams's argument for changing the English translation of Latin terms according to the genre of speech and according to other in-text hints about usage (2012: 30-35; cf. 123, 246, 252).

one applied to personal relationships, if one approved; if one did not approve, *libido* (“lust”) was the term.⁹⁶ *Amor* also expressed legitimate passion.

While *honestas* was demonstrated through personal conduct, civic love was demonstrated through the quality of relationships formed and maintained. *Amor*, *adfectio*, and the *benevolentia*, *adfectus*, and *studium* they generate form part of the language of friendship (e.g. Cic. *Lael.* 29).⁹⁷ In their letters, Cicero, Pliny, and Fronto describe their relationships to family members and especially to friends in these evocative terms.⁹⁸ The language of love is even found in letters of recommendation, further demonstrating the acceptability of the language in formal situations.⁹⁹ To Latin speakers, this passionate language was natural. In his dialogue on friendship, Cicero observes that the word *amicitia* derives from *amor* (*Lael.* 26, 100) and argues that all enjoyment of friendship originates in “love itself.”¹⁰⁰ Although less frequently, the language of love is also

He asserts, for example, that using ‘lover’ for *amator* in an electoral *programma* would be a “serious mistranslation” (2012: 127, again regarding *amor* and *amare* 219-220). Using “admirer,” like Williams suggests, would dilute the Latin. There are other Latin words that more closely denote an admirer, like *mirator* or *venerator*. Users in Roman cities intentionally chose *amor* and related words for the active passion they implied. Williams himself notes that, while *sodalis*, *familiaris*, and *necessarius* could be used interchangeably with *amicus/a* and were preferred in some genres (Williams 2012: 44, 80-84, 92, 95), on inscriptions *amicus/a* was the term of choice (Williams 2012: 42; cf. 96, 101, 107, 146, Chapter Four 259-354). The reason he gives is that publicly calling a person a friend had a “performative function” (Williams 2012: 44). At a minimum, it signalled the lack of hostilities. Thus, to use alternate translations just because the English word ‘love’ is used less frequently in the contexts of friendship and politics is to ignore the conscientiousness of the use of *amor* in those contexts.

⁹⁶ Williams 2012: 96, cf. 146.

⁹⁷ For an overview of the use of the language of *amicitia* – including *amor* – in the works of Catullus, Virgil, Horace, Propertius, Petronius, Cicero, and Fronto, see Williams 2012: Chapter Three 174-258.

⁹⁸ For Cicero to Atticus, see, for example, *Att.* 6.3.5-6; Konstan 1997: 124-125.

⁹⁹ Williams, for example, observes that Cicero employed the language of love “generously and no doubt strategically” in his 111 letters of recommendation (2012: 225). In 238 CE, M. Aedinius Iulianus, praetorian prefect, recommended to Badius Commianus, procurator and interim governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, T. Sennius Sollemnis a former provincial priest of the Three Gauls. Iulianus writes that he “began to love [Sollemnis] on account on the seriousness of his guiding principles and honourable morals” (*quem propter sectam gravitat[em] et honestos mores amare coep[i]*), *CIL* XIII 3162 right side lines 12-13 [the ‘Thorigny Marble’]; Cotton 1981: 34; Vipard 2008: 115). Moreover, Fronto asks Passienus Rufus to “love” Aemilius Pius (*ama eum, oro te, Amic.* 1.8). Fronto adds indirectly how “very desirous” he is to facilitate friendships of men like them (*cupidissimus sim amicitiarum cum eiusmodi viris, qualis tu es, copulandarum*). Cf. Roger Rees (2007: 159) and Williams (2012: 253), who caution that Fronto is not asking Rufus to feel love for Pius, but to treat him like an *amicus*.

¹⁰⁰ *sic amicitiam non spe mercedis adducti sed quod omnis eius fructus in ipso amore inest*, Cic. *Lael.* 31, 100.

found in familial contexts.¹⁰¹ For example, *amantissimus*, “most loving,” is a superlative relative or friends sometimes applied to the dedicatee on epitaphs and other inscriptions.¹⁰²

In a passage of the *Annals*, Tacitus suggests how the language applied to the civic level. For him, the formation of a *res publica* required two elements: people with long-standing relationships with one another and the like-mindedness and love that results from those relationships (*ut consensu et caritate rem publicam efficerent*, *Ann.* 14.27.3). The veterans settled under Nero at Tarentum and Antium, Tacitus reports, did not have these feelings for one another and soon departed to their former provinces of service. Unlike past veteran settlements, he explains, the soldiers were not settled by unit with their comrades and leaders, but individually and separately – as strangers (*ignoti inter se*). “Without a leader, without mutual affection,” they were “more a group than a colony” (*sine rectore, sine adfectibus mutuis . . . numerus magis quam colonia*). Love, thus, was taken as a sign of a cohesive, intimate community.

The inscriptions of Proconsularis reflect Tacitus' sentiments. Two pieces of an inscription found in the riverbank of Muzuca preserve just enough text to show that the *curiae* (in the nominative case) were enthusiastic enough to agree unanimously to honour someone they considered a “friend of everyone” (*[- -] amico omnium curiae universae*, App. H.88). Whether *omnium* referred to all inhabitants of Muzuca (the *populus*) or all *curiales* is of negligible importance, since the *curiae* could represent the whole community. The unanimity and the public nature of the *curiae* make it likely that they were honouring the honoree publicly. This is the

¹⁰¹ See following note. For funerary inscriptions at Rome, Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 176) does not report *amor* or *adfectio* and their cognates among the top eight most common epithets. Rather, the synonym *caritas* (“dearness”) and its cognates were preferred. In literature, *caritas* is often used interchangeably with *amor* and *adfectio*. More study is needed to ascertain why *amor* was not used more frequently in familial contexts and why *caritas* appears so infrequently in civic inscriptions.

¹⁰² Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1981: 59 #1. Cirta: *fratri amantissimo*, *CIL* VIII 7174+p.1848=ILAlg. 2.1861. See also Val. Max. 4.7 (*De amore coniugali*).

clearest case in the province of the language of friendship being consciously applied to the public sphere.

Civic love and familial love find their intersection in the statue to T. Sextius Felix Bullatianus, an aedile of Avedda.¹⁰³ At an unknown date, Bullatianus' "fellow decurions" used their own money to dedicate a statue to him, due in part to his "affection towards his native city and the love he shows to all citizens" (*et adfectionem [in p]atriam et amorem quem universis civib(us) exhibuiti*, App. H.6). His grandfather, moreover, a *flamen perpetuus* also called T. Sextius Felix Bullatianus, added a personal dedication on the left side of the statue base: *[ne]poti amantissimo*. In this case at least, civic love was essentially a larger manifestation of familial love. As Patrick Le Roux observes, embedded in the language of civic love is the idea that the city functions like a family.¹⁰⁴

Given that the language of civic love originates in family and friendship, it makes sense that thirty-three of the fifty-one honorees whose inscription contains the language of civic love held local civic office or were otherwise civic notables and, even more, that forty-three of the fifty-one were citizens of the communities honouring them, whether they be local notables or members of the imperial elite (see Table 5.2).¹⁰⁵ "Love" has the greatest chance to flourish when there is a long-term relationship, not just between the community and the honoree but the community and the family of the honoree. Civic love is, above all, a local phenomenon between

¹⁰³ App. H.6; similarly from the Civitas Saraditana between 154 and 160 CE: App. H.17. An inscription from Hippo Regius records that a mother established a foundation for distributions to the decurions and *Augustales*, "in order to remunerate best the affection, sense of duty, and liberality of her daughter" (App. H.178). The additional praise of liberality (*libe[ralitatem]*) could be unusual in a familial context. Cébeillac-Gervasoni (1981), for instance, does not mention it in her list of epithets applied to the deceased on tombstones at Ostia. The presence of *libe[ralitatem]*, thus, indicates that the mother was also thinking of the daughter's affection and duty towards the city.

¹⁰⁴ Le Roux 2002: 153.

¹⁰⁵ Of the eight outliers, the local citizenship of four cannot be established or surmised with any certainty (App. H.24, 113, 168, 190).

fellow citizens.

But how was civic love established? *Amor*, *adfectio*, *adfectus*, and *benevolentia* are uniformly manifested through active measures. Thirty-one of the fifty-one inscriptions do not just praise the honorees for their civic love, but for their love “towards” (*circa*, *erga*, *in*) their native land (*patria*), *res publica*, *ordo*, and/or fellow citizens (*cives*).¹⁰⁶ In the Severan era, for example, the *ordo* of Abthugni lauded their *curator rei publicae* from Carthage for his “marked affection towards the *res publica*, *ordo*, and all citizens” (App. H.2), and in the late second century or early third the *res publica* of the *Uchitani Maiores* is said to have honoured M. Attius Cornelianus, a praetorian prefect and their patron, “because of incomparable love towards his native city and citizens” (App. H.199). This matches Cicero's definition of friendship in his early treatise *De inventione*: “willing good things towards another for the sake of that person alone, whom one esteems, with the same willing on his part [towards you]” (*amicitia voluntas erga aliquem rerum bonarum illius ipsius causa, quem diligit, cum eius pari voluntate*, 2.166).¹⁰⁷

Three of the thirty-one inscriptions convey more clearly what is meant by this standard formula and suggest that thoughtfulness alone was insufficient. One is the honour to Aemilianus Pudens, a *comes* of Commodus and brother of the praetorian prefect, Q. Aemilius Laetus (App. H.151). Following a *decretum publicum*, the *ordo* of Thaenae authorised the statue for his “singular blamelessness” and for his “affection proven by winning over each and every citizen” (*ob singularem innocentiam et in promerendis singulis universis(ue) civib(us) examinatam adfectionem*). Also on a public decree, the decurions of Vallis explained that they honoured their

¹⁰⁶ App. H.2, 6, 15, 17, 30, 50, 53, 55, 57, 59, 74, 77-78, 81, 83, 84, 123, 140, 145, 146, 147, 156, 164, 174, 168, 177, 190, 196, 197, 198, 199, 228. For general discussion of the formula and its variations, see Giardina 1988: 72-73; D'Errico 1996: 60-61.

¹⁰⁷ Cicero in the *De amicitia* defines *diligere* as arising from *amare* (*Lael.* 100) and seems to use *amare* and *diligere* interchangeably. Williams, however, notes that, in his letters, Cicero places “passionate *amor*” on a “distinctly higher level than the fondness denoted by the verb *diligere*” (2012: 224-225).

patron and former *duumvir* known only as Optatus “to remunerate the affection of this same Optatus, which he munificently furnishes to his native city and citizens” (*ad remunerandam adfectionem eiusdem Optati quam et patriae et civibus munifice praestat*, App. H.159). Finally, the *res publica* of Thugga erected a statue to C. Seditius Africanus “because of his marked munificence and love towards his native city made clear with many and great proofs” (*ob insignem m[uni]ficentiam eius et am[o]rem in patriam mul[tis] ac magnis documentis declaratum*, App. H.196).

These inscriptions share the idea of proof. They did not just claim to love their city and its citizens, nor did they just feel love. They demonstrated it; they acted upon it. This must also be the idea behind the simpler usages cited above. The honourers are acting as witnesses, confirming that they have experienced the “love,” “affection,” “enthusiasm,” “goodwill,” or “zeal” of the honorees. The question is what proofs did the dedicators require?

The scholarly consensus today is benefactions.¹⁰⁸ Cicero provides the theory.¹⁰⁹ Of the three ways he presents for securing the “goodwill” (*benevolentia*) of others, the first two are providing *beneficia* and expressing the desire to perform *beneficia*. The third starts with a reputation for *liberalitas* and *beneficentia* (*Off.* 2.32). This was a belief widely held. Seneca argued that giving *beneficia* created *amicitia* between peers and helped to stitch society together

¹⁰⁸ Giardina 1988: 69, 73; D’Errico 1996: 60-63; Maurin *ad Dougga* 84; cf. Forbis 1996: 46-49. Forbis asserts that references to love were ultimately signalling “sincere devotion,” but also observes that the primary demonstration of *amor* and *adfectio* was “financial generosity.”

¹⁰⁹ Williams is overly critical of scholars who use Cicero’s *De amicitia* for information on Roman friendships (2012: 20). He claims that it and other philosophical works are just as tendentious as any other genre of Latin literature, and, thereby, do not allow scholars to “know” *amicitia* as the millions of historical Romans experienced it. This is true, but only if the scholar’s goal is to do micro-histories of specific friendships. Those like myself, who take an approach similar to Williams and view the terms as “labels” that people applied to present an idea about a relationship rather than the objective truth (Williams 2012: 53), can find much of use in the *De amicitia*. In the treatise, Cicero is presenting the ideals of friendship, the very ideals to which people were appealing when they used the language of friendship.

(*Ben.* 2.2.1, 2.7.2, 2.18.5, 2.21.2).¹¹⁰ Outside of philosophy, Tacitus explicitly states that Claudius put on games in the circus “to acquire the zeal of the crowd” (*quod adquirendis vulgi studiis edebatur*, *Ann.* 12.41.2).

The evidence from Proconsularis reflects these views. Several inscriptions directly connect the praise of civic love to benefactions. As just seen with the unknown patron of Vallis, the *populus* and decurions wished “to remunerate the affection” that Optatus “munificently furnishes” to his fellow citizens (App. H.159). At Curubus, the *ordo*, on demand of the *populus*, honoured a former *duumvir* whom they also describe as a *munerarius*, because of his “generous love towards citizens and native city.” The adjective *largus*, “generous,” and the adverb *largiter*, “generously,” are only found on inscriptions used in connection to benefactions.¹¹¹

A clearer connection between *amor* and benefactions comes from Lepcis Magna. There in the last half of the third century, a group – likely the citizens – dedicated an elaborate statue to someone known only by his *signum* of Porfyrius (App. H.162). The dedicators describe him as *amator*, “a lover of his native city and of his fellow citizens.” This statement they directly support with reference to a spectacle he put on: “since he, out of sacred kindness, gave four carnivorous living beasts” ([- - *quod ex indulgentia sacra civibus suis feras dentatas quattuor vivas donavit*). The man is confirmed a civic patriot, only because of the spectacle. Two other of the fifty-one inscriptions contain the noun *amator*. During the Severan era or later in the third century, the citizens of Sabratha called an equestrian *duumvir quinquennalis* designate *amator patriae* (App. H.165). A simple *ob merita* is the only additional explanation provided, a vague

¹¹⁰ Griffin 2003b: 97-98.

¹¹¹ E.g. Madauros: *o[b in]signem in se amorem et frumenti copiam t[emp]ore inopiae sibi largiter praestitam*, App. H.147; Sufetula: *largamq(ue) liberalitatem duplicis editionis ludorum in sacerdotio liberorum*, App. H.106; Henchir Bedd: *civi largi[ssi]mo et ampliter munifico*, App. H.213. Cf. Sufetula: *circa frumentariae rei largam moderationem et pr(a)estantiam*, App. H.102. On *largitio* in Italian inscriptions of honorific statues, see Forbis 1996: 40-42.

phrase which variously points to benefactions, services, and/or virtues (see Appendix C). Outside of the Tripolitanian region of the province in the latter half of the Severan era, the *populus* at HENCHIR BEDD called Ti. APRARIUS FELIX PARATUS, an aedile and *flamen perpetuus*, “a good man, lover, and *alumnus* of his own *municipium*” (*bono viro amatori et alumno municip(ii) sui*, App. H.125). Like the examples above, these terms are directly supported by reference to benefactions: “because of the incomparable provision of thrown gifts for the office of the aedileship and also the great construction of raw liberality: the building of a *septizodium* (monumental fountain).”¹¹²

Calling people “lover” is a strong word suggesting passion and has a long history in Proconsularis. Lepcis Magna boasts the most examples, ranging in date from the first century CE to the fourth century. According to Giorgio Levi Della Vida, *amator patriae* was used in bilingual inscriptions for the Punic *maheb ʿereṣ* (“he who loves the country”) and *amator civium* was used for *maheb bñē ʿam* (“one who loves the children of the people”).¹¹³ These correspondences once caused scholars to consider the phrases to be Punic in origin and a relic of earlier times.¹¹⁴ If true, such culture-specific phrasing would require a specialised interpretation unconnected to the other Latin inscriptions employing the language of love.

Andrea Giardina has demonstrated, however, that the presence of *amator patriae* and similar phrases in the inscriptions of Tripolitania does not mean that they were Punic in origin.¹¹⁵ As shown in Table 5.4, the same or similar phrases are found in non-Punic communities elsewhere in North Africa and, in fact, elsewhere in the Latin West, from the early first century to

¹¹² *ob incomparabilem missilium in honorem aedilitatis editionem magnam(ue) etiam operis septizodi(i) nudae liberalitatis exstructionem*, App. H.125.

¹¹³ Levi Della Vida 1949: 405; followed by Giardina 1988: 69. Cf. from 1-2 CE, when a *flamen* and *sufes* of Lepcis Magna described himself as *ornator patriae amator concordiae* (IRT 321-323).

¹¹⁴ E.g. Pflaum 1970: 94; Bénabou 1976: 533; Mattingly 1995: 119. For more bibliography, see Giardina 1988: 70-71.

¹¹⁵ Giardina 1988: 76-77; followed by Corbier 1990: 844-846, although Corbier leaves the door open for new finds forcing alterations to Giardina's thesis.

the fourth. The phrases *amator civium* and *amator civitatis* were applied to individuals in the veteran colony of Thamugadi, Numidia. In the colony of Oescus, Moesia Inferior, *amator rei p(ublicae)* is found and three different Italian communities used similar phrases. An electoral poster from Pompeii proclaims a candidate for the aedileship as “your lover,” which must mean “lover” of you the voter. It dates to “relatively soon” after the establishment of the colony there in 80 BCE. Such phrases were rare but also an enduring part of Latin civic rhetoric.

Table 5.4: Other Instances of Amator in the Western Half of the Empire

City	Citation	Date	Type	Text
Lepcis Magna	<i>IRT</i> 347b	92	podium and altar dedication	. . . <i>amator patriae amator civium ornator</i> ¹¹⁶ <i>patriae amator concordiae</i> . . .
Lepcis Magna	<i>IRT</i> 275	79/199	votive offering	. . . <i>amatoris patriae amatoris civium ornatoris [patriae]</i> . . .
Lepcis Magna	<i>IRT</i> 567	200/399	marble statue base	. . . <i>amatori patriae ac civium suorum</i> . . .
Madauros	<i>ILAlg.</i> 1.2209 = <i>CLE</i> 1963 = <i>CLEAfrigue</i> 87	100/299		. . . <i>ol[i]m patriae virtutis amator</i> . . .
Maxula	<i>CIL</i> VIII 12459 = <i>ILTun.</i> 866	299/301	re-used marble <i>tabula</i>	. . . <i>amatori ordinis</i> . . .
Cirta (Numidia)	<i>CIL</i> VIII 7741+p.1849 = <i>ILAlg.</i> 2.1.1943 = <i>ILS</i> 8428			. . . <i>amator reg(ionis) suburbani sui</i> . . .
Thamugadi (Numidia)	<i>CIL</i> VIII 2400=17911		on statue base	. . . <i>amatoris civium filio</i> . . .
Thamugadi (Numidia)	<i>BCTH</i> 1893-162		hexagonal stele	. . . <i>amator constituit civitatis</i>
Uzelis (Numidia)	<i>ILAlg.</i> 2.3.8794	222	statue base	. . . <i>amator patriae</i> . . .
Altava (Mauretania Caesariensis)	<i>AE</i> 1933, 57 = <i>IdAltava</i> 317	220/230	possible statue base	. . . <i>amatori patriae</i> . . .
Altava (Mauretania Caesariensis)	<i>CIL</i> VIII 21724 = <i>IdAltava</i> 15	257	on statue base	. . . <i>amatori patria[e]</i> . . .
Icosium (Mauretania Caesariensis)	<i>BCTH</i> 1900-CLXXXVIII			. . . <i>amatori rei p(ublicae) et civium</i> . . .
Tipasa (Mauretania Caesariensis)	<i>CIL</i> VIII 20870		public honour	. . . <i>amatori re(i) p(ublicae) T(ipasae) civium</i> . . .
Telesia (Italy)	<i>CIL</i> IX 2243	200/299		. . . <i>amatori civium</i> . . .
Pompeii (Italy)	<i>CIL</i> IV 45b	80/60 BCE ¹¹⁷	electoral <i>programma</i>	<i>amator(em) vest(rum)</i> . . .
Praeneste (Italy)	<i>CIL</i> XIV 2937		public honour	. . . <i>amatores regionis macelli</i> . . .

¹¹⁶ Text repeated by the more fragmentary *IRT* 318b.

¹¹⁷ The given date range is my own. Mouritsen dates this *programma* to “early” in the period immediately after the establishment of the colony at Pompeii in 80 BCE (1988: 84). It is part of a “concentration of electoral notices covering a few years relatively soon after the establishment of the colony” (Mouritsen 1988: 89).

Castrimoenium (Italy)	<i>CIL</i> XIV 2466	31	<i>tabula</i>	. . . <i>utilis rei publicae et amator municipi(i) . . . amet municipium et rei p(ublicae) sit utilis . . .</i>
Oescus (Moesia inferior)	<i>AE</i> 2005, 1325	193/235	statue base	. . . <i>amatori rei p(ublicae) . . .</i>

Furthermore, according to the translations of Levi Della Vida, the Punic texts differ markedly from the Latin; they can contain phrases that do not exist in the Latin¹¹⁸ and the parts that are translated only roughly correspond to the Latin.¹¹⁹ Patrick le Roux, in fact, posits a Greek origin to the *amator* phrases of Tripolitania, via Rome, noting the late Hellenistic laudatory term φιλόπατρις (“lover of the fatherland”).¹²⁰ Thus, the evident popularity of *amator* in Tripolitania is not an independent and localised development, but, as Giardina suggests, a conscientious adaption of Latin political rhetoric to the local context.¹²¹

Amator patriae and *amator civium*, thus, were not simple translations of archaic Punic phrases empty of meaning for the current population.¹²² It is more reasonable to consider *amator* as the agent noun of *amare*.¹²³ The difference is grammatical, not semantic. The *amator* phrases should be considered part of the same practice of praising strong personal emotions as the other uses of *amor*, *adfectio*, *adfectus*, *benevolentia*, and *studium*. As such, they too evince the close relationship between feelings of love and euergetism.

¹¹⁸ Levi della Vida (1949: 406) notes that the Punic text of *IRT* 321-323 seems to call the dedicator the equivalent of *servator civium*, which is not found in the Latin half.

¹¹⁹ Levi della Vida 1949: 405-406. Giardina also notes (1988: 77) that *ornator concordiae* is for the Punic “he who loves the perfect understanding” (or “science of perfection”). She adds: “We are not merely in the presence of literal translations but also of reformulations and paraphrases that tend to specialize in otherwise unrelated concepts.”

¹²⁰ Le Roux 2002: 157 with 145-147. Le Roux does not mention Giardina's 1988 study.

¹²¹ Giardina 1988: 77.

¹²² Similarly Le Roux 2002: 148, who is discussing all expressions of patriotic *amor*.

¹²³ For the inscriptions from Italy, Forbis does not report any change in sentiment between calling some individuals *amator* and describing the actions of others acts of *amor* (1996: 46, 50).

B) THE SENTIMENTS OF CIVIC LOVE

While the language of civic love is closely connected to euergetism, it cannot be simply stated that *amor* and similar words served as short-hand for acts of euergetism. It has already been noted that dedicators could legitimately rationalise public honours with direct reference to benefactions. Indeed, a few inscriptions do not even try to validate the honour with laudatory language, but simply record benefactions.

Moreover, although performing *beneficia* and promising *beneficia* are the first two ways Cicero presents for securing goodwill (*benevolentia*), he also claims that “the love of the multitude is passionately stimulated by a credible reputation for *liberalitas*, *beneficentia*, *iustitia*, *fides*, and all the virtues which pertain to the gentleness of morals and accessibility” (*vehementer autem amor multitudinis commovetur ipsa fama et opinione liberalitatis, beneficentiae, iustitiae, fidei omniumque earum virtutum, quae pertinent ad mansuetudinem morum ac facilitatem*, *Off.* 2.32). As Cicero subsequently notes, he is really talking about “the honourable and the fitting” (*quod honestum decorumque dicimus*, *Off.* 2.32). Although *liberalitas* and *beneficentia* continue to be present in this third method (values which do not form part of Cicero's definitions of *honestas* and *decorum*),¹²⁴ nonetheless Cicero is signalling that virtuous conduct does have some role to play in civic love.¹²⁵

This secondary focus of Cicero on virtues and not just any virtues, but the virtues of gentleness – which were widely considered the virtues of civilised city-based life –, is reflected in the inscriptions of Proconsularis. This needs to be said: not a single inscription makes a direct

¹²⁴ Rather, the virtues which *honestas* encapsulates ensure that one practices *liberalitas* in the 'proper' manner (see above).

¹²⁵ D'Errico (1996: 64) argues that *benevolentia* in inscriptions from Italian cities does not develop a second, “administrative,” character until the fourth century. She is, however, only working with fifteen inscriptions and focusing on this one term. She later indicates that this second meaning was present in literature since, at least, Cicero (1996: 66-67).

connection between civic love and virtues. Nonetheless, Veyne's *Le pain et le cirque* points the way to a broader understanding of the language. He presents Greco-Roman politics as, “like love, an internal relationship of minds;” the people deeply cared what their leaders thought of them.¹²⁶ The “tone” in which a leader commanded mattered.¹²⁷

This argument Veyne bases on three factors: that the benefactions (or at least the grandeur of the benefactions), for which emperors, senators, and other notables were honoured, were not required of them; that the benefactors towered over the majority of the people socially, financially, and politically;¹²⁸ and that, because there was little policy difference between candidates for magistracies,¹²⁹ competition centred around popularity, that is playing for the hearts of the electorate.¹³⁰ When notables gave generously, the message was that they cared about the people, their city, and that they continued to share the interests of their fellow citizens.¹³¹ Veyne argues that it was a deliberate and reassuring demonstration that the benefactors, despite their many “superiorities,” did not spurn their own city. On the other hand, when dedicators testified to their “love” of a benefactor, they were indicating that they believe the benefactor's social, financial, and political superiority to be justified.

Veyne's treatment of the question conflates the Greek evidence with the Roman and the Republican with the imperial.¹³² One gets the impression that Veyne believed that the ancient

¹²⁶ Veyne 1976: 692.

¹²⁷ Veyne 1976: 693.

¹²⁸ This point is found throughout the book. See, for example: Veyne 1976: 353-355, 476. Veyne saw the Romans continuing the “absolutely identical” agonistic pattern of euergetism established in Hellenistic Greek cities (1976: 283).

¹²⁹ An illustrative example is the oath a magistrate of a *municipium* had to swear before entering office that “he will neither initiate a course (of action) nor advise it nor express an opinion otherwise than he believes to be according to this statute and according to the common good of the *municipes* of that *municipium*” (*neque aliter consilium initurum neque aliter datu<ru>m neque sententiam dicturum, quam ut ex h(ac) l(ege) exque re communi municipum eius municipi censeat fore*, *LI* 26 lines 46-49).

¹³⁰ Veyne 1976: 265, 366-368, 377-378, 382, 397-398.

¹³¹ Veyne 1976: 473-475; similarly for Baetica, Lusitania, and Mauretania Tingitana: Lefebvre 1994: 192-195.

¹³² See, for example, Veyne's use of Latin terms in his chapter on Greek euergetism (e.g. “*ob honorem*,” 1976: 215, 257; “*somme légitime*,” 1976: 290). Cf. D'Errico 1996: 66 regarding *benevolentia* in late antique Italy.

Mediterranean had a single unchanging culture. Moreover, with a rather large dose of hyperbole he asserts that notables, by virtue of their familial resources and prestige, possessed an intrinsic “right to command” and, thereby, sought the love of the people instinctually rather than through political calculation. For Africa Proconsularis, that was simply not the case. Yet in broad strokes, Veyne's argument has merit. It bears a striking resemblance to Seneca's ideal result of benefactions between individuals: two minds coming together (*res inter animos geritur*, Sen. *De ben.* 2.34.1). The language of civic love, in other words, was the consequence of adapting the conventions of private benefactions to the public realm.

This is most readily seen with the inscriptions praising the “zeal,” “enthusiasm,” or “willingness” of the honoree. When judging benefits, Seneca writes in the *De beneficiis*, what matters is the “attitude” of the donor (*mens; animus*, Ben. 1.6, 3.18.2; cf. 2.11.6).¹³³ A donor will maximise the gratitude of the recipient and bind more people to him more closely, by giving readily and by adding kind words (Sen. *Ben.* 2.3.1; 2.7.2, cf. 1.14.4).¹³⁴ An inscription from Ureu similarly commemorates L. Aur[elianus?] Didasius' “ready love” (*paratum . . . amorem*), which led him to restore and embellish the baths after they had crumbled from a flood (App. H.156). All of the *curiae* of Hippo Regius, moreover, each honoured L. Postumius Felix Celerinus for his love and various virtues, “in order to equal his willingness,” which had already been detailed as the provision of a three-day gladiatorial show (*ut eximiam voluntatem eius tanti honoris titulis adaequarent*, App. H.77-78). Back at Hippo Regius, an unknown civic dedicator stressed the honoree's willingness even more by describing it as “prompt willingness” (. . . *prompta voluntate*

¹³³ The various words and expressions Seneca uses to denote the willingness or speed of a benefit are: *voluntas, libenter, cito, sine ulla dubitatione, parata, facilia, occurrentia*, Ben. 1.1.8, 1.3.5, 1.5.2-3, 1.6.1-2, 1.7.1, 2.1.2-3, 2.5.4, 2.17.7, 2.18.8, 3.17.4.

¹³⁴ As Pliny notes, easily agreeing to acts of euergetism was a further way to demonstrate munificence: *illud quoque egregie, quod tam facilis tam liberalis in edendo fuisti; nam per haec etiam magnus animus ostenditur*, Ep. 6.34.2; cf. Cic. *Lael.* 44.

ut civi statua[m] publ(ice) ponendam decr(everit), App. H.178).¹³⁵ The decurions of Lepcis Magna, meanwhile, highlight the “great outpouring of enthusiasm” with which Plautius Lupus put on games and later state that such “enthusiasm” must be remunerated (Appendix A lines B12, 22; App. H.17). Dedicators were not just interested in the benefactions, but also in the spirit with which they were given.

These laudatory terms served to sharpen the already clear contrast between the generous benefactors who received honorific statues and reluctant benefactors, meaning those whom people had to convince to give and those who delayed to fulfil campaign promises or to fulfil promises made in a relative's will. As Jacques demonstrated, the governor sometimes had to intervene to force reluctant benefactors to follow through on promises.¹³⁶ Notables doing the obligatory were not worthy of a public honour. Partly, the language of civic love is a reflection of the above-discussed tendency of dedicators to indicate that they are honouring exceptionalism. The strength of Veyne's argument lies in its presentation of the engagement of the people in the benefactions provided by notables. The recipients did not just consume, but judged: 'in what tone is the benefactor putting on the show: reluctantly, arrogantly, or as a fellow enthusiast?'¹³⁷

Le Roux refines Veyne's theories somewhat by highlighting the long-term implications of the language of civic love.¹³⁸ He asserts that phrases like *amor patriae* point to strong local patriotism that “integrated the daily and lived dimension of political relationships at the heart of

¹³⁵ Cf. the “prompt liberalities” of Q. Crepereius Rufinus at Theveste (*prom(p)tas liberalitates*, App. H.112); Calama: *sponte*, “on own accord,” App. H.11 (“due to her excellent liberality towards her own citizens with a theatre, promised of her own accord to decorate her native city with her own money”); Gigthis: “very ample zeal for munificence” (*amplissimum munificentiae studium*, App. H.132; cf. App. H.18). Moreover, the *res publica* of Thugga honoured Aulus Vitellius Felix Honoratus, because he “completed an embassy for public liberty willingly and at no expense” (App. H.197).

¹³⁶ Jacques 1975: 162-166, 176; 1984: 735-757.

¹³⁷ On the promotion of spectacles in order to maximise spectator enthusiasm and the resulting popularity of the benefactor, see Edmondson 2016: Chapter Fourteen

¹³⁸ Although Le Roux mostly mentions Veyne to critique him, his final argument is preconditioned by many points resembling those of Veyne.

the community, above all in moments difficult for all.”¹³⁹ It was non-partisan language, which revealed local identity and values that transcended not just the cut and thrust of daily politics, but also the disparate statuses and origins of those inhabiting the cities. All could agree that the city was paramount, without necessarily agreeing how best to help it.

At this general level, Le Roux's argument is helpful and largely uncontroversial.¹⁴⁰ Yet it is overwhelmed by his unsupported insistence that the language of civic love resulted from crisis and other moments of communal doubt. Le Roux implies that praise of civic love served as a reminder to all that the needs of the community superseded their personal desires. As he himself noted earlier, however, phrases like *amor patriae* were embedded in celebrations of distributions, marvellous shows, and other spectacles which benefactors put on for their community. A few of the inscriptions link the dedicators' praise of the honoree's civic love to utilitarian benefactions in times of need,¹⁴¹ which supports Le Roux's thesis that this type of praise arose from communal crisis and doubt. Yet the majority of these patriotic laudations resulted from games, banquets, and other benefactions designed to increase the contentment of the recipients. In other words, the civic love of benefactors tended to be lauded when communal optimism was at its height.

This leads to another confusing point of Le Roux's argument: his contradictory claims that patriotic language “contributed to the cohesion of the civic core,” yet was unconnected to acts of consensus.¹⁴² “I have not encountered an occurrence combining *amor patriae* and *consensus*,” he

¹³⁹ Le Roux 2002: 160.

¹⁴⁰ Le Roux even attempts to head off the charge of naivety by noting from time to time that civic notables – the source of benefactions – benefited from being closely associated with altruistic civic patriotism (2002: 152, 159, 161). Although he does not stress the point enough, it is an acknowledgement that the rhetoric of civic love could be utilised by a notable seeking popularity.

¹⁴¹ For instance, the *ordo* and *populus* of Madauros honoured M. Cornelius Fronto Gabianus “because of his marked love towards them and the supply of grain generously provided in a time of need” (*o[b] in]signem in se amorem et frumenti copiam t[emp]ore inopiae sibi largiter praestitam*, App. H.147). See also, App. H.156.

¹⁴² Le Roux 2002: 159-160.

claims.¹⁴³ This is not well explained. Certainly, several of the inscriptions citing the love of the benefactor claim to come from the “entire” dedicating body.¹⁴⁴ Most notably, at Furnos Minus, probably in 228, “the whole *populus*” honoured their civic patron and *curator rei publicae*, Q. Paccius Victor Candidianus, “because of incomparable affection towards all of his own citizens” (*ob incomparabilem in universos cives suos affectionem*, App. H.123). He had made clear his “affection” for all citizens in some unknown way, and they all honoured him in return. What is more, the *populus* paid for the statue with collected money (*ex aere conlato*). As Clara Berrendonner argues,¹⁴⁵ the effort and personal expense involved in collections can be interpreted as an act of consensus and of especial esteem for the honoree. *Aes conlatum* appears in three other inscriptions citing civic love (App. H.24, 100, 103).

It is not just 'being loved' that could generate consensus, 'loving' could too. At Hippo Regius, for instance, an unknown dedicator – possibly the *ordo* – set up a statue to an unknown honoree “so that the affection of each person is better attested and more evident” (App. H.24). The *aes conlatum* for the statue, moreover, is specified to have been collected “man by man” (*viritim aere conlato*). Similarly, “all” *curiae* (*curiae universae*) of Sufetula at an unknown date explained that they wanted their honour “to declare and testify to the devotion of their judgement and affection” (*at declarandam testificandamque iudicii et adfectionis suae religionem*, App. H.103). While many inscriptions employing the vocabulary of civic love do not explicitly mention an act of communal consensus, the two seem to have been considered the natural outcome of the other.

This problem with Le Roux's thesis may originate in his treatment of φιλοτιμία, the overly

¹⁴³ “Je n'ai pas rencontré d'occurrence associant l'*amor patriae* et le *consensus*.” Le Roux 2002: 148.

¹⁴⁴ In the second half of the third century, moreover, “the *ordo* of the Vinenses and all citizens” honoured an equestrian *duumvir* who was also a decurion at Carthage, calling him “a most loving citizen” (App. H.160).

¹⁴⁵ See the discussion in Chapter 1.5.C.

zealous “love of honours” that threatened communal harmony. He points out that φιλοτιμία was a negative term,¹⁴⁶ yet suggests that phrases like *amor patriae* avoided rather than addressed it: “The homages for patriotism express neither generosity nor respect for the civic rules – that concerned φιλοτιμία –, but the defence and illustration of an identity durably ingrained, profoundly even of a defined and recognizable civic personality.”¹⁴⁷ We are, thus, back at Le Roux's contribution to the current understanding of the civic language of love: that it speaks to a sense of communal patriotism that helped communities to cohere. It is a point that Le Roux seems to be overly emphasising. Civic love was not claimed in order to obtain communal harmony, but to increase the impression of communal harmony. Again, the language was considered to be a sign of a healthy community.

So far then, the language of *amor*, *adfectio*, *adfectus*, *benevolentia*, and *studium* is clearly related to acts of euergetism, but specifically it refers to the circumstances in which the benefactions were given rather than to the benefactions themselves. The language suggests more than Veyne's successful meeting of the minds; rather, it helped to create the impression that fellow citizens belong to one big family or a large circle of friends.¹⁴⁸ Civic love emphasised what binds them instead of what separates them. While Veyne highlights the judgement of the people, both he and Le Roux do not convey the fact that users employed the language conscientiously to make certain points.

The exact intentions behind the use of the language of civic love remain vague. Cicero

¹⁴⁶ Le Roux 2002: 148. Surprisingly, he does not cite Plutarch's criticisms of φιλοτιμία (see Chapter 3.5).

¹⁴⁷ “Les hommages pour patriotisme exprimaient non la générosité ni le respect de règles civiques – il s'agissait alors de *philotimia* –, mais la défense et l'illustration d'une identité durablement enracinée, fondement même d'une personnalité civique définie et reconnaissable.” Le Roux 2002: 160.

¹⁴⁸ Le Roux (2002: 160-161), however, pushes this observation too far in the final paragraph of the article, where he asserts that local identity was not based on common exploits and victories, but on “the perception of a genealogical filiation modelled on the *stemmata* of noble families and their perpetuation.” The family trees of notables were important to local identity, but common endeavours and achievements must also have played a part.

provides some clues in his *De officiis*. Of the reasons he provides for why people promote and honour certain men, the very first is *benevolentia* – “goodwill” –, which arises when “they cherish another for some reason” (*aliqua de causa quempiam diligunt*, *Off.* 2.21). He, in effect, is presenting *benevolentia* and cherishing as motivating forces. Pliny does much the same, but from the opposite direction. He presents love as legitimate motivation for giving advice, benefactions, and doing other favours for family, friends, and cities.¹⁴⁹ “My love towards you compels me” (*amor in te meus cogit*, *Ep.* 8.24.1) is the line with which he opens a letter to Sex. Quintilius Valerius Maximus, who was about to take up the governorship of Achaia. It is a letter of advice, framed as a reminder of the respectful tone Maximus should strike as governor of free peoples. As such, it approaches pedantry and Pliny is using the excuse of overwhelming love to avoid appearing condescending (*Ep.* 8.24.10).

He similarly begins a letter to a man called Priscus, declaring in detail his love for his childhood friend Atilius Crescens (*Ep.* 6.8.1-2).¹⁵⁰ This time the reason becomes clear a third-way through the letter: Pliny must adopt a reasonable but stern tone, in order to prod Priscus into pressuring Valerius Varus to return money Varus had borrowed from Crescens as well as several years interest. Only by establishing the intimacy of his relationship with Crescens can Pliny excuse his testing of other rules of etiquette.¹⁵¹ Indeed, Pliny congratulates (*recte fecisti*, *Ep.* 6.34.1) another Maximus¹⁵² for having put on a gladiatorial show for his fellow citizens at Verona. He observes that it would have been “harsh to refuse” their unanimous request

¹⁴⁹ *Amor*: *Ep.* 1.5.17; 3.10.1, 4.15.11; 4.19.4, 6.6.5; cf. 5.20.3; *caritas*: 6.6.3; *diligo*: 3.11.5; 4.15.13; 5.7.3; *amo* and *diligo*: 3.3.1; cf. *Plin. Pan.* 85.8.

¹⁵⁰ For potential identifications, see Sherwin-White 1966: 363; Birley 2000: 83 s.v. Priscus 2.

¹⁵¹ The letter, thus, is adopting the advice of Cicero, who, in his *De amicitia*, argues that friends must stand up for one another, that they must be sincere and frank with each other, but also that they must receive friendly correction without resentment (*Lael.* 88-91).

¹⁵² Based on the similar tone Pliny adopts of an elder speaking to a junior, Sherwin-White suspects that this is the same Maximus who is about to become governor of Achaia in *Ep.* 8.24 (1966: 401, 477). Birley makes no such connection, however (2000: 71 s.v. Maximus 3).

(*praeterea tanto consensu rogabaris, ut negare non constans, sed durum videretur, Ep. 6.34.2*), because, as Pliny has just noted, Maximus “is frequently loved, admired, and decorated” by his fellow citizens (*a quibus olim amaris suspiceris ornaris, Ep. 6.34.1*). Love, thus, could be used to validate decisions that otherwise could be considered unseemly. The question is why.

There is the topos in Greco-Roman literature that lasting love in friendships naturally results from admiration of one another's character and virtues.¹⁵³ In his *De amicitia*, Cicero asserts that “nothing is more able to be loved than virtue. There is nothing which could entice cherishing more, because, on account of virtue and uprightness, we cherish even those we have not seen [i.e. ancestors].”¹⁵⁴ In such friendships, “nothing is made up, nothing simulated; whatever there is is true and voluntary” (*in amicitia autem nihil fictum est, nihil simulatum, et quidquid est, id est verum et voluntarium, Lael. 26; cf. 52*). The implication is that all things motivated by love originate in honest admiration of virtue.

Cicero is promoting the idea that actions based on love can do no wrong. He vigorously argues that the request of a friend cannot be an excuse for wrong-doing (*Lael. 34-44*). True friends, in fact, should oppose each other's bad plans (*Lael. 44, 88-89*). The “first law of friendship” Cicero wishes to “ordain” is that “we seek what is honourable (*honesta*) from friends, and do what is honourable (*honesta*) for the sake of friends.”¹⁵⁵ The people, in turn, were expected to admire such upright conduct among their leaders. As noted above, in the *De officiis* Cicero states that “the love of the multitude is passionately stimulated” (*vehementer autem amor multitudinis commovetur, Off. 2.32*) by a reputation for “the honourable and the fitting” (*quod*

¹⁵³ Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 8.3.6-9 with Konstan 1997: 74-76; Cic. *Lael.* 27-32; cf 100; *Off.* 1.55-56; cf. Cic. *Att.* 14.17a.4; Plin. *Ep.* 4.15.2.

¹⁵⁴ *nihil est enim virtute amabilius, nihil quod magis alliciat ad diligendum, quippe cum propter virtutem et probitatem etiam eos quos numquam vidimus, quodam modo diligamus*, Cic. *Lael.* 28, similarly 98.

¹⁵⁵ *haec igitur prima lex amicitiae sancitur, ut ab amicis honesta petamus, amicorum causa honesta faciamus*, *Lael.* 44; stated earlier in the negative at *Lael.* 40, cf. 32.

honestum decorumque dicimus). Love can be trusted to reinforce rather than overrule social norms.¹⁵⁶

The discussion, thus, has returned to *honestas*, Cicero's concept of proper conduct by members of the governing class. Both the language of civic love and the concept of honour are closely tied in inscriptions to euergetism, but how do they relate to one another?

Earlier in the *De officiis*, Cicero shared the *sententia* that “there was nothing more effective for someone to secure and hold onto resources than being loved and nothing more foreign than being feared” (*nec aptius est quicquam ad opes tuendas ac tenendas quam diligere nec alienius quam timeri*, *Off.* 2.23). “No amount of resources is able to withstand the odium of the many,” Cicero continued. “Fear is a bad guardian of longevity; contrariwise goodwill is a loyal guardian, eternal in fact” (*malus enim est custos diuturnitatis metus contraque benivolentia fidelis vel ad perpetuitatem*). In other words, no number of services and donations could perpetually atone for appalling behaviour. For long-term preservation of safety, resources, and influence – both public and private – a person must cultivate love (*Off.* 2.24).

Caesar is the specific *tyrannus* Cicero had in mind with these statements. As such, the behaviour and repercussions he mentions are exaggerated. Pliny, however, shows that the basic idea of Cicero's words were still current almost a century and a half later. He advises Sex. Quintilius Valerius Maximus, who was about to take up the governorship of Achaia, to instill “love” (*amor*) in the Greeks, rather than “fear” (*timor*). The methods he suggests amount to good conduct and honourable execution of duties. They include broadly: (a) cultural respect;¹⁵⁷ (b)

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Laelius' proposal to his interlocutors in Cicero's *De amicitia*: “Let us first see, if you permit, how far love in a friendship ought to go (*id primum videamus, si placet, quatenus amor in amicitia progredi debeat*, *Lael.* 36).

¹⁵⁷ Respect for their founding gods and the names of those gods (*reverere conditores deos et nomina deorum*, *Ep.* 8.24.3); respect for their ancient glory and antiquity (*reverere gloriam veterem et hanc ipsam senectutem*); show honour to their antiquity, accomplishments, and stories (*apud te honor antiquitati, sit ingentibus factis, sit fabulis quoque*).

respect for the freedom and rights of the cities (*Ep.* 8.24.4-5, 7); and (c) respect for the dignity of the individual and his or her rights and freedoms.¹⁵⁸ More specifically, he recommends avoiding “arrogance and harshness” (*absit superbia asperitas*, *Ep.* 8.24.5). This idea he puts positively in another letter, where he observes that another governor makes his *iustitia* “agreeable to the provincials with much humanity” (*quod iustitiam tuam provincialibus multa humanitate commendas*). This causes him, Pliny claims, to be “as loved by lesser men as he is at the same time cherished by leading men” (*ita a minoribus amari, ut simul a principibus diligare*, *Ep.* 9.5.1).

Here is the right “tone” that Veyne says leaders tried to strike in order to suggest that they continue to share the same values as their social, political, and economic inferiors. Pliny's rival, Regulus, did the opposite. According to Pliny, Regulus was a wealthy leader of a senatorial following (*locuples factiosus*), who was “attended by many, feared by more” (*curatur a multis, timetur a pluribus*). In this instance, “fear was, for the most part, stronger than love” (*quod plerumque fortius amore est*, *Ep.* 1.5.15; cf. *Pan.* 85.1-2). “It is possible, however,” Pliny quickly adds, “for these things [i.e. his followers] to be shaken and fall, for regard for evil men is as faithless as they themselves” (*potest tamen fieri ut haec concussa labantur; nam gratia malorum tam infida est quam ipsi*, *Ep.* 1.5.16). Similarly, to Q. Valerius Maximus Pliny asserts: “fear goes away if you depart, love remains; and just like the former turns into hatred, the latter turns into awe” (*nam timor abit si recedas, manet amor, ac sicut ille in odium hic in reverentiam vertitur*, *Ep.* 8.24.6; cf. Val. Max. 4.7 ext.1; Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 47.18).

To Pliny, then, as well as Cicero, “love's” relationship with *honestas* was two-fold. One's love for others leads to honourable conduct and honourable conduct generates love in others.

¹⁵⁸ *nihil ex cuiusquam dignitate, nihil ex libertate, nihil etiam ex iactatione decerpseris*, *Ep.* 8.24.3.

That is just the impression, however. A major gap exists between the two steps. Neither Cicero nor Pliny say that a person has to feel love to behave honourably. Rather, they present honourable conduct almost as a tool for receiving love.

This leads to a possible reason for why the various terms of civic love are so much more common on inscriptions than *honestas*. In Cicero's *De officiis*, honourable conduct is the conscientious performance of *officia* ("obligations"). One serves the *res publica* so well, because one owes the greatest "obligation" to it (*officium*; *Off.* 1.58; cf. 53), even over parents.¹⁵⁹ In the *De beneficiis*, Seneca distinguishes between *beneficia* and *officia*.¹⁶⁰ *Beneficia* are given by one outside of the household (*alienus*) who can refuse to give or help without incurring censure (*sine reprehensione*), but does anyway simply because of the joy inherent in the act.¹⁶¹ *Officia*, however, motivated to give or help out of "necessity" (*necessitudo*). For example, children were generally considered to owe *officia* to their parents and were blamed if they do not fulfil them. *Officium*, thus, is an alternative motivation for honourable conduct. It is not exclusive of the motivation of "love" (cf. App. H.154; App. H.18), but it is more rational, less personal, and less appealing. This suggests that people employed the language of civic love partly to avoid the implication that they were only acting out of a sense of duty. They were not required to give and honour, is the message, but they did anyway because they wanted to.

Furthermore, the language of civic love carried a connotation of infiniteness that was absent in *honestas*. Again, Cicero shares the ideal. At the end of his *De amicitia*, the main

¹⁵⁹ "Of all types of relationships, none is more important, none dearer to each and every one of us than that with the *res publica*. Our parents are dear, our children are dear, relatives, friends, but our native land encompasses all of these other forms of endearment at once" (*omnium societatum nulla est gravior, nulla carior quam ea, quae cum re publica est uni cuique nostrum. cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares, sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est, Off.* 1.57; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.42.1. Manning (1986: 75) observes that Pliny gives a similar ranking: *patriae, propinquis, adfinibus, amicis, Ep.* 9.30.

¹⁶⁰ Sen. *Ben.* 3.18.1. I leave aside here the *ministeria* of slaves, which Seneca also contrasts with *beneficia* and *officia*.

¹⁶¹ Griffin 2003b: 98.

interlocutor, Laelius, talks of the friendship he formed with the old men of his youth out of love for their virtue, and the pleasure now, as an old man, he takes in the affection (*caritas*) of ever younger generations of men (*Lael.* 100-101). Laelius notes, however, that love among peers is the strongest. His example is the love he felt for Scipio Aemilianus. Although long dead, Scipio, he says, lives on: “I loved the virtue of that man and that is not extinguished” (*vivet tamen semperque vivet; virtutem enim amavi illius viri, quae exstincta non est, Lael.* 102). Moreover, not only does Scipio's love survive in Laelius, “but it will be ever bright and marked in future generations” (*sed etiam posteris erit clara et insignis*).

The impression is that love and the virtue which sparks it are self-perpetuating.¹⁶² While the starting point of individual instances of love can often be traced, their ultimate origins cannot. People's ancestors had long since set the pattern.¹⁶³ This inter-generational tradition of love is also found in the inscriptions of Africa Proconsularis. In the late third-century, for example, the *ordo* of Uzzapa honoured a senatorial youth “because of the love of this same person but [also] of the Valerii: Gallianus his grandfather, Rogatianus his father, and [- - -] / [- - -] his brother.”¹⁶⁴ At Uchi Maius, meanwhile, the *res publica* honoured C. Mamius Vettius Agrius Aemilianus as an “*alumnus*” and “most loving patron,” but also made sure to note that his equestrian father had been their patron too (*e(gregii) v(iri) patr[oni] filio alumno amantissimo patrono*, App. H.200). The term *alumnus* here is indicating that Agrius had been raised and nurtured at Uchi Maius and,

¹⁶² “Impression,” of course, is often not reality. Regarding Cicero's relationship with Dolabella, Williams (2012: 224 n.93) observes: “So quickly can one go from being the object of winning expressions of *amor* to being called *inimicissimus* and the object of *odium*, and back and forth.”

¹⁶³ Cf. Cicero's claim that P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura should have been stopped from joining Catiline's conspiracy by his grandfather's unique example of love for his native land and fellow citizens (*qui amavit unice patriam et civis suos; quae quidem te a tanto scelere etiam muta revocare debuit, Cat.* 3.10).

¹⁶⁴ *ob amorem eius[de]m set [et] Valerior(um) [G]alliani avi et Rogatiani patris et u[- - -] pa[- - -] frat[ri]s*, App. H.65. Similarly from Curubis: App. H.131; Mactaris: App. H.147; cf. a wife honoured in the second half of the second century at Cillium, because of the “love” her husband showed to the *curiae* (App. H.74); cf. Hippo Regius: App. H.178.

thus, is a reflection of the city.¹⁶⁵ As patron, he was merely returning the affection that had been shown to him since childhood. The love had not begun with Aemilianus.

Therefore, the language of civic love implies that benefactions and honours result not from honourable ties of obligation, but from pre-existing mutually respectful and nourishing relationships. Cicero and Seneca readily admit at several points that “advantages” (*utilitates*) such as benefactions and honours are constantly accrued from friendships based on love, but, they claim, they are not the point: “We think that friendship is to be sought out, not with hope for drawing a fee, but because all enjoyment of it is in the love itself” (*sic amicitiam non spe mercedis, adducti sed quod omnis eius fructus in ipso amore inest, expetendam putamus*, *Lael.* 31, repeated 51, cf. 80, 100; *Sen. Ben.* 2.33.1, 4.1). Those friendships that are formed with material benefits in mind are not only base, but naturally unstable, for they dissolve as soon as the potential for profit ends (*Lael.* 32; similarly Fronto *ad M. Caes.* 1.3.4).

Meanwhile, “adulation, blandishments, and flattery” (*adulationem, blanditiam, assentationem*, *Lael.* 91) are forms of “wicked deceitfulness” (*simulatio vitiosa*, *Lael.* 92) that are “especially hostile to friendship. It destroys truth, [the virtue] without which the name of friendship is unable to thrive.”¹⁶⁶ For, Cicero explains, “in [friendship] unless, as is said, you see an open heart and show your own, you have nothing faithful, nothing tested, nor certainly [the opportunity] to love and be loved, since you don't know how it is truly done.”¹⁶⁷ It is a sentiment reflected in Apuleius' expressed desire to have his Carthaginian audience be “knowledgeable judges” of his whole life, so that they will believe the sincerity of his words (*Flor.* 16.3).

¹⁶⁵ Corbier 1990: 852; cf. 822-823, 834. Cf. *Apul. Flor.* 18.36.

¹⁶⁶ *tum amicitiae repugnat maxime; delet enim veritatem, sine qua nomen amicitiae valere non potest*, *Lael.* 92.

¹⁶⁷ *in qua nisi, ut dicitur, apertum pectus videas tuumque ostendas, nihil fidum, nihil exploratum habeas, ne amare quidem aut amari, cum id quam vere fiat ignores*, *Lael.* 97.

These ideas can be found in other authors.¹⁶⁸ Fronto asserts that “chance love is superior to obliged love” (*amor fortuitus officioso amori antistat*; *M. Caes.* 1.3.6).¹⁶⁹ Observing that he has not lately performed any service to merit the great love M. Aurelius professes for him, he swears that this is best. Their relationship should not be “cultivated by a plan of services” (*officiorum ratione coleretur*), but based on “chance,” that is “impulse” (*impetu potius quam ratione*, *M. Caes.* 1.3.4, 8). Fronto explains that the former is unstable and not really love at all,¹⁷⁰ while the latter is “pure” (*puri*), “perpetual” (*perpetui*; *iugis*), “natural” (*ingenui*), and “free of charge” (*gratuiti*; *M. Caes.* 1.3.4).¹⁷¹ Fronto is hardly ruling out (true) friends doing favours for one another; rather, he is criticising calculated giving.

Cicero saw the “remuneration of goodwill” and the “exchange of zealous acts and services” as the sweetest part of friendship between virtuous men (*Lael.* 51, cf. 49):

atque etiam mihi quidem videntur qui utilitatum causa fingunt amicitias, amabilissimum nodum amicitiae tollere. non enim tam utilitas parta per amicum, quam amici amor ipse delectat; tumque illud fit quod ab amico est profectum iucundum, si cum studio est profectum. . . . non igitur utilitatem amicitia, sed utilitas amicitiam secuta est.

And in fact, those who form friendships for the sake of advantage seem to me especially to miss the most lovable bond of friendship. For it is not so much advantage produced through a friend that delights as the love of a friend itself. Besides, that pleasure when a friend performs a service is only felt when he performs it with zeal. . . . Therefore, friendship does not follow advantage, rather

¹⁶⁸ *toto illum pectore admitte*, Sen. *Ep. mor.* 3.2; Tacitus has Galba assert that “adulation, blandishments, and – the worst poison of sincere enthusiasm – one’s interest in oneself” disrupt “good faith, liberty, and friendship: the chief goods of the human soul” (*fidem libertatem amicitiam, praecipua humani animi bona, tu quidem eadem constantia retinebis, sed alii per obsequium imminuent: inrumpet adlatio, blanditiae et pessimum veri adfectus venenum, sua cuique utilitas*, *Hist.* 1.15.4).

¹⁶⁹ Here, I am not following Taoka’s proposal that the mention of Baiae in the letter is referring to a sexual relationship between them (2013: 422; cf. Richlin 2006a: 73). She adds to this proposal by distinguishing “between their *amor* and common *amicitia*.” Fronto’s ideas are in line with those Cicero expresses in his *De amicitia*, only more passionately stated. He is not contrasting two different types of relationships, but two different types of friendship (true and false).

¹⁷⁰ *nec omnino mihi amor videtur qui ratione oritur et iustis certisque de causis copulatur*, *M. Caes.* 1.3.4.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Williams 2012: 251, who asserts that Fronto is inviting here a comparison to Cicero’s presentation of Laelius’ friendship with Scipio.

advantage follows friendship.

The above-discussed inscriptions noting the “willingness” (*voluntas*), “enthusiasm” (*adfectus*), or “zeal” (*studium*) of the honoree show that these ideas circulated at the civic level in Proconsularis. What is more, the majority of honorees praised for these qualities also remitted the cost of their statue.¹⁷² One does not give to be loved, but because one is loved. Likewise, one honours because one loves and is loved. “Services” and their “remuneration” are presented as natural (cf. Cic. *Lael.* 50; Sen. *Ben.* 4.15.3-4).

The question was how to determine if a gift – whether it be a benefaction or honour – truly does arise from love. It could be easily argued that all expressions of love involving exchange, including those in Proconsularis, exemplify what Fronto despised: “cultivating by a plan of services.” In most cases, it must have been true. Yet combatting such a notion is the very reason for the language of love. No one readily admits that a friendship is based on what the friend can do for him or her. Any claim to friendship is automatically a claim to true friendship. If proven otherwise, then it is no longer friendship.

This suggests that the practical motivations for the exchange were being ignored. Pliny, in a letter to the equestrian Septicius Clarus, to whom he had dedicated his first book of letters (*Ep.* 1.1), admits to “guilt” (*agnosco crimen*) in praising his friends “on every occasion beyond due measure” (*amicos meos ex omni occasione ultra modum laudem*, *Ep.* 7.28.1). In fact, he says “I even embrace it” (*amplector etiam*). “What is more honourable than the fault of kindness?” (*quid enim honestius culpa benignitatis?*, *Ep.* 7.28.2). Thus, even though it is an “error,” it is a “most favourable” one; how can people despise it (*quid invident mihi felicissimo errore?*)? Pliny's

¹⁷² Praising *voluntas*: App. H.178; praising *studium*: App. H.18, 132; praising *adfectus*: IRT 601; App. H.17. The fourth inscription noting *studium* is lacunose, but the honoree might also have remitted, since *quod ips[e]* is a standard formula for introducing a remittance (App. H.202).

defence is that he knows his friends better than these unidentified critics and that, even if his friends do not merit such constant praise, he is “blessed” by being blind to that fact.¹⁷³ Those who publicly criticise their friends offer them “this perverted attentiveness” (*hanc sinistram diligentiam*, *Ep.* 7.28.3). Such people, Pliny concludes, “will never persuade me to think at any time that my friends are loved by me too much” (*mihi numquam persuadebunt ut meos amari a me nimium putem*).

In other words, good friends are well aware of each other's imperfections, but they overlook them, at least in public.¹⁷⁴ The implication for the inscriptions of honorific statues is that the praise of love and virtues was consciously hyperbolic and one-sided. People could and probably often did understand baser motivations to be at the heart of the exchange. Like a good friend, however, they were choosing to focus on the honorees' positive aspects and their benefactions. Yet it was not just the positive. As suggested above, they were also focusing on the long-term. What is the point of nit-picking when people have given and, hopefully, will continue to give?

The role of both benefactions and honours was to further that love. “Love is strengthened,” Cicero asserts, “by received benefaction, evident zeal, and added practice. When these are applied to the first stirring of the mind and love, a certain admirable greatness of goodwill flares up.”¹⁷⁵ Accordingly, one inscription at Thugga does not simply declare the

¹⁷³ *qui sunt tamen isti, qui amicos meos melius norint? sed, ut norint, quid invident mihi felicissimo errore? ut enim non sint tales quales a me praedicantur, ego tamen beatus quod mihi videntur*, *Ep.* 7.28.2.

¹⁷⁴ Rees argues that the “endearing display of sincerely held passion” in *Ep.* 7.28 is one of the methods Pliny used to insist on the veracity of his praise in letters of recommendation. By admitting to the “problem of inflation” in panegyric, Pliny was converting the “little trust” his readers put in the genre into a literary “weapon” (Rees 2007: 166-167). That there was distrust of the content of panegyric is clear. Rees' specific interpretation, however, does not work. He puts *Ep.* 7.28 on the same level as Pliny's letters of recommendation (2007: 167). Yet it is self-reflective and defensive, unlike those letters. It cannot be read in the same way. As Rees himself asserts, it is a “guide:” a guide for the readers of *Ep.* 7.28 that is, not for the recipients of Pliny's letters of recommendation.

¹⁷⁵ *quamquam confirmatur amor et beneficio accepto et studio perspecto et consuetudine adiuncta; quibus rebus ad illum primum motum animi et amoris adhibitis, admirabilis quaedam exardescit benevolentiae magnitudo*, *Lael.*

“exceptional love” the honoree feels for the citizens and his “goodness towards his native city,” but concludes by dedicating the statue to “the eternal memory of their mutual love” (*ob amoris mutui memoriam sempiternam*, App. H.53).¹⁷⁶ Claims of civic love not only imply that the associated benefactions result from genuine and positive feelings of love, but also that they are perpetuating long-term, mutually nurturing relationships.

The several inscriptions declaring that the dedicators of public honours are “remunerating” the love/affection of the honoree¹⁷⁷ or a relative¹⁷⁸ (e.g. *ad remunerandam adfectionem*) imply in particular the perpetuation of an on-going relationship. As discussed in Chapter 3.6, the decurions of Lepcis Magna praised Plautius Lupus partly for doing “all things according to the splendour of his family” (*omnia secundum splendorem natalium [s]uorum*, lines B9-11) and for the “great outpouring of enthusiasm” with which he put on very splendid games (*[e]ffusissimis adfectibus iterum splendidissimos ludos ediderit*, Appendix A lines B12-13). After listing yet more benefactions, they state that “enthusiasm of this sort ought to be remunerated” (*debentque huiusmodi adfectus remunerari*, lines B22-23). What they decreed was lavish (a *biga* at public expense in a location of Lupus' choosing), which caused Lupus to remit the cost explaining that “he would not burden the city, whose people, [and whose] trust, zeal and [- - -] of the decurions he reveres” (lines C9-11). The “zeal” of the decurions both answers Lupus' “enthusiasm” and inspires it. By offering the remittance, a further benefaction, as well as a display of modesty and restraint, Lupus was continuing the cycle of civic love (see also App.

29, cf. 30.

¹⁷⁶ The same idea is found in a mid-fourth century inscription from Lepcis Magna, where (probably) the decurions and *populus* praise a governor of Tripolitania, their patron, for “enthusiasm beyond a native citizen” (*supra genitalis ciuis affectum*) and later declare their “indivisible enthusiasm for their mutual love” (*ob individuum mutui amoris affectum*, IRT 569). Praising a non-citizen for love beyond that of a regular citizen is hyperbole, contrary to the normal usage of the language of civic love. It must be a unique twist meant to emphasise the governor's generosity.

¹⁷⁷ Vallis: App. H.159; cf. Thubursicu Numidarum: App. H.154.

¹⁷⁸ Hippo Regius: App. H.178 (see also n.103); cf. Curubis: App. H.131.

H.50).

It was suggested in Chapter 3.6 that Lupus chose his words carefully. How one could leverage the language of civic love comes across more clearly in a second or third century inscription from Uchi Maius. It records that Pullaienus Bassus remitted the money (of unknown type) for his statue and hosted a fourth banquet for the city at its dedication, “in order to yield to the affections of the citizens” (*ut adfectibus civium pareret*, App. H.60). By this time, Bassus' family had set up a monument to the Genius of the city with statues, whose dedication had likely occasioned the third banquet. Perhaps in response, an unknown person or group had already “demanded” (*expostulasset*) a statue(?) and base “for the memory of the munificence of their family” and the *ordo* (probably) had responded by decreeing “images to him, his father, wife, and children.”¹⁷⁹

Like Lupus, Bassus might have remitted the money to burnish his reputation for self-control and to ward off envy. Moreover, citing the affection of the citizens as the stimulus for the banquet might have given him cover from the accusation of political pandering. Yet by keeping count of the number of banquets, Bassus was also portraying this fourth one as yet one more inevitable iteration in a long line of reciprocal demonstrations of love that had begun long before with the “munificence” of his family. It it was simply natural for Bassus and the honourers to give advantages to one another.

Not only was civic love not shorthand for euergetism, but it also was not a facile protestation of honourable motivation. It was a deliberate borrowing from the language of family

¹⁷⁹ *pro memor(ia) etiam munificentiae domus eius qua Genium patriae statuīs adornasset et epulum ter dedisset imagines ipsi patri coniugi liberisq(ue) eius*, App. H. 60. Because of the loss of the first half of the inscription, it is not certain how Bassus' statue (*statuam*) relates to the mentioned *imagines* of himself and his family. Khanoussie and Mastino (*ad Uchi* 2.89) say that it was a “new” statue, meaning in addition to the *imagines*, but this is not clearly stated in the surviving text.

and friendship that attempted to recontextualise civic exchanges as personal rather than formal. This dovetails well with *patronus* and *alumnus*, two terms which were also used in the cities of Proconsularis that recall the familial sphere to make a statement about the affective ties between the city and the honoree.¹⁸⁰ The language of love, thus, implied that the given action was 'straight from the heart,' that is genuine and beneficial. It was a spontaneous token of appreciation, secondary to the relationship itself. By suggesting that the immediate benefaction or honour was just one iteration in a long line of exchanges, the claim of love sought to conceal the short-term motivations behind the exchanges.

5.5 THE POLITICS OF INTEGRITY AND BLAMELESSNESS

A) THE BLAMELESS ADMINISTRATOR

Table 5.5: *Integritas and Integre by Honoree*

Honoree (citation)	Place	Date	Dedicator				
			Local	ordo	ordo and populus	curia(e)	Unknown
Members of the Imperial Elite							
consular <i>curator rei publicae</i> , patron (App. H.13)	Calama	211/ 275	◆	*			
consular <i>curator rei publicae</i> , patron (App. H.32)	Pupput	282		*?			
senatorial <i>curator rei publicae</i> , patron (App. H.36)	Sicca Veneria	280/ 330		*			
<i>procurator Augusti</i> (App. H.228)	Zama Regia	209/211					*
<i>procurator</i> ? (App. H.70)	Althiburos	161/192				*	
Civic Notables							
<i>flamen</i> , <i>pontifex</i> , <i>duumvir</i> (Appendix A line C4)	Lepcis Magna	190/210	◆	*			
<i>duumvir</i> (App. H.29)	Meninx	200/299	◆	*			
<i>magister curiae</i> or civic magistrate? (App. H.76)	Henchir Zian	138 or later	◆	*			
Unknown							
<i>flamen perpetuus</i> at Carthage or Thubba; <i>curator rei publicae</i> ? (App. H.152)	Thubba	249 or earlier			*		
Total 9			4	6	1	1	1

¹⁸⁰ Corbier 1990: 852-853. For *alumnus*, see App. H.8, 10, 72, 125, 200, 204.

Table 5.6: Innocentia, Innocens, and Innocuus by Honoree

Honoree (citation)	Place	Date	Dedicator						
			Local	ordo	ordo and curiae	ordo and populus	Citizens	curiae	Unknown
Members of the Imperial Elite									
consular <i>curator rei publicae</i> , patron (App. H.32)	Pupput	282		*					
wife of candidate for praetorship (App. H.157)	Utica	200/249				*			
senatorial <i>curator rei publicae</i> (App. H.102)	Sufetula	222/250						*	
<i>procurator Augusti</i> (App. H.170)	Theveste	211/212					* 181		
<i>procurator Augusti</i> (App. H.169)	Theveste	211/212					* 182		
praetorian <i>curator rei publicae</i> (App. H.57)	Thysdrus	200/299		*					
Civic Notables									
equestrian <i>duumvir</i> (<i>quinquennalis?</i>), <i>comes</i> of Commodus and brother of praetorian prefect (App. H.151)	Thaenae	177/192	◆			*			
equestrian <i>duumvir</i> , <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , <i>procurator Augusti</i> elsewhere (App. H.150)	Sufetula	222/235	◆		*				
equestrian <i>pontifex</i> , <i>munerarius</i> (App. H.114)	Theveste		◆					*	
<i>duumvir</i> , <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , <i>pontifex</i> (App. H.77; App. H.78)	Hippo Regius	193	◆					** 183	
<i>flamen Augusti</i> , <i>duumvir</i> (App. H.103)	Sufetula		◆					*	
<i>flamen perpetuus</i> (App. H.101)	Sufetula	190/225	◆					*	
<i>duumvir</i> (App. H.100)	Simitthus	138/192	◆					*	
<i>duumvir</i> (App. H.108)	Sufetula		◆					*	
aedile (App. H.14)	Carthage		◆	*					
unknown magistrate (App. H.81)	Mactaris		◆					*	
<i>munerarius</i> , possible magistrate (App. H.111)	Theveste	150/249	◆					*	
<i>munerarius</i> (App. H.119)	Thysdrus	286/305	◆					*	
Other									
centurion (App. H.174)	Vicus Maracitanus	193/211	◆				*		
unknown honoree (App. H.211)	Carthage								*
Total 20			13	3	1	2	3	11	1

Integritas (“integrity”) and *innocentia* (“blamelessness”) are near synonyms. Nonetheless, their usage differed in Africa Proconsularis. The most obvious point is that the number of

¹⁸¹ Dedicated by the *Oeenses*.

¹⁸² Dedicated by the *Sabrathenses*. Both are to the same honoree.

¹⁸³ Two statues with identical inscriptions were erected to this honoree.

surviving inscriptions containing praise of *innocentia* (Table 5.6) more than doubles the number of inscriptions mentioning *integritas* (Table 5.5). They also differ in the statuses of the people to whom they are applied.

Those honoured for *integritas* form a more heterogeneous group. The honorees all held administrative posts, including the *flamen perpetuus* at Thubba who is praised for his administrative work of unclear type. Here, however, the similarities end. The *ordines* of Calama, Pupput, and Sicca Veneria honoured *curatores rei publicae* of either consular or senatorial rank, but the *ordines* of Lepcis Magna and Meninx honoured former *duumviri*. A petition of the *populus* of Thubba, meanwhile, caused the *ordo* there to honour a *flamen perpetuus* of, possibly, Carthage. Furthermore, the ten *curiae* of Althiburos honoured a likely *procurator* of imperial estates,¹⁸⁴ while at an unknown city just one *curia* honoured a magistrate of either the whole city or the *curia* itself. At Zama Regia, finally, a *procurator Augusti* of the Numidian grain supply to Rome was honoured (*proc(uratori) ddd(ominorum) Auggg(ustorum) nnn(ostrorum) tractu{u}s Numidiae a frumentis*); the dedicator remains unknown.

Out of the twenty distinct¹⁸⁵ honours that cite the “blamelessness” (*innocentia*, *innocens*; including once *innocuus*) of the honoree, six were to imperial officials, of whom none were governors. Three of these six were to senatorial *curatores rei publicae* in the third century at Pupput, Sufetula, and Thysdrus respectively. The sole woman known to have been publicly honoured for her *innocentia* was the wife of a candidate for the praetorship at Rome. Furthermore, in Theveste in 211 or 212, the same *procurator Augusti* responsible for the imperial estates of Tripolitania was honoured twice by two Tripolitanian communities: the *Oeenses* and

¹⁸⁴ See Appendix H n.15.

¹⁸⁵ Twenty-one inscriptions in Proconsularis use *innocens*, *innocentia*, or, once, *innocuus* in *elogia* of the honorees. Two of the twenty-one are identical inscriptions at Hippos Regius to the same generous local notable. It is reasonable to count these statues once as part of a single honour.

the *Sabrathenses*. The *procurator* likely lived at Theveste, which was on the opposite side of Proconsularis near Numidia, 548km from Sabratha and 617km from Oea via the road network.¹⁸⁶ The honoree's *insignis/singularis innocentia* is the sole stated reason for the statues. The distance the *Oeenses* and the *Sabrathenses* travelled underline the earnestness of their message.

Twelve distinct honorees praised for their *innocentia* were civic notables. Eight are known to have been magistrates (six *duumviri*, one aedile, one unknown magistrate),¹⁸⁷ two are only known to have held a priestly office (*flamen perpetuus* and *pontifex*), and the final two were *munerarii*, although one may also have been a magistrate. An additional honoree was a generous centurion, who seems to have retired to the Vicus Maracitanus from where he perhaps originated, since the Maracitani address him as *optimus civis* (as opposed to *optimus vir*).¹⁸⁸ The final honoree was of unknown status, the inscription being highly fragmentary.

Of special note are the two identical inscriptions (counted as one) from Hippo Regius, which record that “each *curia*” set up a statue to L. Postumius Felix Celerinus, a *flamen perpetuus* of the Augustus, *pontifex*, and *duumvir* (*singulae curiae singulas statuas de suo posuerunt*, App. H.77-78). Presumably, up to nine other exact same statues of the man once stood in the city. The effort and cost the electoral divisions of the city undertook were meant to speak to the sincerity of their desire to proclaim their honoree's *innocentia*.

The usage of the term in Proconsularis, thus, highly favours local honorees; all of the civic notables and the centurion seem to have been local to the community. This is not true of *integritas*. Four, if not five, of the eight known uses of *integritas* are to non-local imperial elites acting in an official capacity, like *procuratores*. This is also not true for Baetica, Lusitania, and

¹⁸⁶ I calculated the road network distances between the cities using *ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World*, designed and executed by Walter Scheidel and Elijah Woods (<http://orbis.stanford.edu/>).

¹⁸⁷ Three of these six were also a *flamen perpetuus* or *pontifex*.

¹⁸⁸ App. H.174; Déroche 1948: 71.

Mauretania Tingitana. Lefebvre finds five instances in these provinces of *innocentia*, four of which concern governors and other imperial elites.¹⁸⁹ The fifth comes from a humble statue the *scapharii* (small boat operators) erected to a *primus pilus* connected to the *annona* at Rome (*CIL* II 1183). Finally, this is not true of late-antique Lepcis Magna. Christol finds that the four times the *ordo* and people of the city used *innocentia* on inscriptions during the Diocletianic period, it was in honour of “representatives of the State.”¹⁹⁰

Only Italy provides a comparable set of epigraphic uses of *innocentia*, but comparable only in general terms. Of the sixteen Forbis reports, one honoree was a women of senatorial rank, three were male senators or high-ranking equestrians, five were equestrian civic patrons,¹⁹¹ two were local civic patrons, another two were civic magistrates, one was a senator who held a local aedileship, another was a Vestal Virgin, and one was an imperial freedman who seems to have enjoyed equestrian status.¹⁹² The impression of this limited evidence is that praise of *innocentia* was less local in the cities of Italy.

The uniqueness of the evidence from Proconsularis becomes even clearer with a glance at the dedicators. The *curiae* employed it eleven times. The next highest numbers are those of the *ordo* and demonyms denoting the local citizens (e.g. *Sabrathenses*) at three times each, followed by the *ordo* acting with the *populus* twice (although not as co-dedicators). The *ordo* and *curiae* are co-dedicators the one time *innocuus* is used. In contrast, the *ordo* was the most frequent employer of *innocentia* and its cognates in Italy at seven times, followed by *collegia* at four

¹⁸⁹ Lefebvre 1994: 146-150, 181-183.

¹⁹⁰ Christol 2005c: 143; *IRT* 522, 544, 575, 610; followed by Chastagnol 1988: 56.

¹⁹¹ Forbis 1996: 65 with n.13. Four of her five “equestrian municipal patrons” (ns. 317, 416, 424, 458) I would consider to be civic notables according to the standards of this study.

¹⁹² Minturnae: *Aurelio Augustorum liberto Alexandro v(iro) e(gregio) praep(osito) sacr(arum) cogn(itionum) viro optim(o) et innocentissim(o) erga patriam honorificentiss(imo) decreto decurionum*, *AE* 1935, 20; Forbis 1996: 119 n.58.

times, and the *populus* at three times.¹⁹³

Moreover, eight of the nine times the *curiae* used *innocens/innocentia* it was to describe civic notables (see Table 5.6). Two of the three times the *populus* cooperated with the *ordo* to honour someone's *innocentia*, those statues too were to civic notables. Only once is an *ordo* alone known to have praised a civic notable for his *innocentia* and then it is a highly fragmentary verbatim copy of a *decretum decurionum*. The non-decurional citizens of cities in Proconsularis, thus, were disproportionately heavy users of *innocentia*. It seems they were especially happy when their local civic officials were “blameless.” The question is why?

Despite differences in usage, *integritas* and *innocentia* form a natural pair in texts.¹⁹⁴ Cicero, for instance, instructs Q. Caecilius that a prosecutor needs “first of all integrity and singular blamelessness” (*primum integritatem atque innocentiam singularem*, *Div. in Caec.* 27). In Proconsularis, the *ordo* of Pupput in 282 lauded a *curator rei publicae* as an “inimitable example of wonderful integrity and blamelessness” (*mirae integritatis et innocentiae inimitabilis exempli*, App. H.32). Hellegouarc'h asserts that the two virtues had different applications: *integritas* for judges and *innocentia* for administrators.¹⁹⁵ He compounds this notion with the claim that *integritas* is used in the political sense of incorruptible administrator “almost exclusively” when attributed to the younger Cato.¹⁹⁶

Hellegouarc'h's assertions are true to an extent. For *integritas*, Cicero notes that a “calm judge of integrity” (*integer quietusque iudex*, *De orat.* 2.187) requires more work for the orator to move emotionally. Most notably, the decurions of Cures in Italy praised a *quattuorvir iure*

¹⁹³ Forbis 1996: 252.

¹⁹⁴ Forbis (1996: 64 n.11, 67) notes that this pairing is not found in the inscriptions of Italy, but, given the small numbers of known inscriptions there praising either *integritas* or *innocentia*, this absence is statistically insignificant.

¹⁹⁵ Hellegouarc'h 1963: 282-283.

¹⁹⁶ Hellegouarc'h 1963: 283. E.g. Cic. *Att.* 1.18.7; Sall. *Cat.* 54.2; Ps. Caes. *B. Alex.* 88.5.

dicundo for “his integrity in administering justice” (*integritatis iuris di[ctionis] s[u]ae*).¹⁹⁷ In Proconsularis, meanwhile, two of the nine honorees praised for their *integritas* were also praised for their *iustitia*¹⁹⁸ and a third for his *aequitas*, a virtue closely tied to the administration of law.¹⁹⁹ In fact, most of the honorees held positions in which legal matters made up a significant portion of their duties. In contrast, none of the twenty distinct inscriptions containing praise of *innocentia* also contain praise of either *iustitia* or *aequitas*.

For *innocentia*, moreover, M. Aurelius makes it, as well as *diligentia* (“attentiveness”) and *experientia* (“skill”), a condition for the retention of his favour in a letter promoting Q. Domitianus Marsianus to a procuratorship (*ad ducenariae procurationis splendorem . . . succedere igitur Mario Pudenti tanta cum spe perpetui favoris mei quantam conscientiam retinueris innocentiae diligentiae experientiae*, AE 1962, 183).²⁰⁰ The letter is preserved as a postscript to the dedicatory inscription of an equestrian statue to Marsianus in Bulla Regia. Marsianus' brother, L. Domitius Fabianus, was likely the source of the decision to add the letter, since he had remitted the public money decreed by the *ordo* of Bulla Regia and set up the statue at his own expense. In his discussion of the letter, Pflaum points out that Fronto similarly describes a *procurator* and a candidate for a procuratorship in letters to Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius.²⁰¹ The letters show that the expectation for *innocentia* in administrators went all the way to the top

¹⁹⁷ CIL IX 4976; Forbis 1996: 66-67, 171 #246.

¹⁹⁸ Thubba: [- - - inco]mparabili iustitia i[n]tegritate bonitate clemen[tia] administrata, App. H.152; Calama: ob insignem iustitiam et integritatem eius erga rem publicam pariter et cives, App. H.13.

¹⁹⁹ Sicca Veneria: [S]umm(a)e integritatis adque aequitatis serva[tori] [d]i[gn]o, App. H.36; cf. Cicero's definition of *vir bonus* as possessing, in part, *fides*, *integritas*, *aequitas*, and *liberalitas*, Cic. *Lael.* 19.

²⁰⁰ Pflaum puts the emphasis on *conscientia*, as the grammar of the letter does (1978: 24). But he interprets the word in its “intimate” moral sense of good “conscience” (*OLD* s.v. *conscientia* 3). The word to me seems to have the more neutral sense of “awareness” or “consciousness” (*OLD* s.v. *conscientia* 2).

²⁰¹ Pflaum 1978: 25. In a letter to Antoninus Pius, Fronto describes C. Censorius Niger, a deceased *procurator*, partly as “a productive man, both brave and blameless” (*frugi vir et fortis et innocens*, *Pium* 3.2). To Aurelius, he describes Aridelus, the candidate for a procuratorship, as a “productive man, staid, accurate, and attentive” (*homo frugi et sobrius et acer et diligens*, *M. Caes.* 5.52).

of imperial society.

Nonetheless, Hellegouarc'h's distinction does not hold up. Two others of the nine inscriptions from Proconsularis mentioning *integritas* specifically record that the *ordo*, once with the *populus* petitioning, specifically praised magistrates for administering their offices with integrity. Forbis reports similar cases in the inscriptions from Italy.²⁰² The statue awarded by the *ordo* of Meninx to [...] Annius Egnatianus is the better preserved of the two relevant inscriptions. The decurions explain that they are honouring Egnatianus “because he had administered the *res publica* with industry and integrity during his magistracy” (*ob rem [p(ublicam)] in mag(istratu) indust[r]ie adque integre administratam*), which must have been the duumvirate because Egnatianus is also said to have held all of the magistracies in the city (*omni[b(us)] hon(oribus) funct(o)*, App. H.29).

Administrare and *administratio* are generic terms encapsulating the overall²⁰³ execution of a *cura*, *honor*, or *munus*. It appears frequently in the fiftieth book of the *Digest* describing civic magistrates' management of the city.²⁰⁴ Callistratus in the first book of his *De cognitionibus* defines a civic magistracy as the “administration of the *res publica* with a rank of dignity, whether or not expense is involved” (*honor municipalis est administratio rei publicae cum dignitatis gradu, sive cum sumptu sive sine erogatione contingens*, Dig. 50.4.14pr.), and a public *munus* as “administering the *res publica* with expense [but] without title of dignity” (*publicum munus dicitur, quod in administranda re publica cum sumptu sine titulo dignitatis subimus*, Dig.

²⁰² Forbis 1996: 65-66; e.g. Tusculum (131 CE): *ob innoc(entiam) et adsiduit(atem) ceterasq(ue) administr(ationes) eius*, CIL XIV 2636=ILS 6209; Ariminum (second century): *ob honorem ab eo integre et sine ambitione administratum*, CIL XI 387=ILS 6660.

²⁰³ Hence, why it appears but once in the *Lex Irnitana* regarding the quaestor's management of public funds (LM 20 lines 29-30). The civic *leges* are focused on detailing specific duties and procedures, and so do not take the broad perspective that would necessitate the use of *administrare* or *administratio*.

²⁰⁴ E.g. *ex administratione honoris*, Dig. 50.1.24 (Scaevola); *magistratus municipales cum unum magistratum administrant*, Dig. 50.1.25 (Ulpian); *ex administratione rei publicae*, Dig. 50.4.6.1 (Ulpian); *ad rem publicam administrandam*, Dig. 50.4.8 (Ulpian).

50.4.14.1).

Literary sources also use *administrare/administratio* to describe the performance of civic offices at Rome (e.g. Val. Max. 2.9.6, 3.7.7). Similarly to the inscription from Meninx, Quintilian states that the “province [of Cilicia] was administered with the greatest integrity” by Cicero (*integerrime provincia administrata*, *Inst.* 12.1.16). Suetonius too writes that Vespasian “administered [Africa] with the greatest integrity” (*Africam, integerrime . . . administravit*, *Vesp.* 4.3). The *plebs urbana* of Ariminum, Italy, moreover, collected money to honour L. Betutius Furianus, because he had administered curule and plebeian aedileships “with integrity and without ambition,” *ambitio* implying not just undue ambition, but also favouritism (*ob honorem ab eo integre et sine ambitione administratum*, *CIL XI 387=ILS 6660*).²⁰⁵ Administration and integrity seem to have formed a natural pair in the minds of Romans and provincials alike.

An inscription from Zita (Henchir Zian) brings the praise of integrity to an even smaller scale. It shows a single *curia*, the Curia Faustina, being pleased enough with the integrity of Q. Plautius Titianus to erect the statue by itself (App. H.76). Titianus held an unspecified office (*mag.*), which was probably a civic magistracy, although certainty is lacking.²⁰⁶ What is clearer is that concern with the integrity of officers existed at all levels of civic organisation. This was true even of the Lanuvian *collegium* of Diana and Antinous. Its *lex* promised to reward a portion and a half of all distributions to former *quinquennales* who had performed their duties “with integrity” (*quisquis quinquennialitatem gesserit integre*, *CIL XIV 2112* line 2.21). The aim of the award was that “those following may hope for the same by acting rightly” (*ut et reliqui recte faciendo idem sperent*, line 2.22).

²⁰⁵ OLD s.v. *ambitio* 3-5.

²⁰⁶ See discussion in Chapter 2.2.

It seems clear that *integritas* was a much lauded virtue of good magistrates and other officials, whose responsibilities included both justice and administration. Both *integritas* and *innocentia* were closely associated with self-control. Cato, for example, praised Cicero's own conduct as governor of Cilicia as one of "virtue, blamelessness, and attentiveness" (*tuam virtutem, innocentiam, diligentiam*, *Fam.* 15.5.1), and voted in favour of a senatorial decree lauding Cicero's "gentleness and blamelessness" (*mansuetudine et innocentia imperatoris*, *Fam.* 15.5.2). Cicero himself, however, in the letter to the Senate that led to the decree, boasts of his "gentleness and integrity" (*nostram mansuetudinem integritatemque*, *Fam.* 15.1.3). In other letters addressing his governorship, the self-ascribed virtues are "gentleness and self-control," (*mansuetudine et continentia nostra*, *Fam.* 15.3.2), "gentleness and self-restraint" (*nostra et mansuetudo et abstinencia*, *Att.* 5.18.2), "moderation and self-control" (*nostra moderatione et continentia*, *Att.* 6.2.4), and "self-control, sense of justice, accessibility, and mildness" (*iustitia abstinencia clementia tui Ciceronis*, *Att.* 5.16.3; 5.17.2, 5; 5.21.4).²⁰⁷

The virtues mostly summarise Cicero's respect for the local autonomy of provincial communities, his efforts to end embezzlement by local magistrates (*Att.* 6.2.4-5), and, most often, his avoidance of exactions from the provincial communities to which he and his staff were legally entitled by Caesar's Julian law of 59 BCE (*Att.* 6.1.2, 6.2.4; 15; 7.1.6; *Fam.* 5.20.2, 9).²⁰⁸ These

²⁰⁷ Cf. "self-control" and "integrity" (*hanc continentiam; hac integritate*, *Att.* 5.20.6); "fairness" (*aequitas*, *Fam.* 15.1.3). The Diocletianic honours to members of the imperial elite at Lepcis Magna associate *innocentia* with a similar range of values: "gentleness" (*mansuetudo*; similarly twice *lenitas*), "moderation" (*moderatio*), "justice" (*iustitia*), "fairness" (*aequitas*), and "integrity" (*integritas*) (*IRT* 522, 544, 575, 610; Christol 2005c: 143).

²⁰⁸ The reasons Cato lists for his praise are protecting the province, saving Ariobarzanes and his kingdom, and winning back the allies (*socii*) to enthusiastic acceptance of Roman rule. The "allies" were the provincials of Cilicia, who had been heavily oppressed by the exactions, extortionate interest rates, and even brutality of the *publicani*, other businessmen, and of Appius Claudius the previous governor (*Att.* 5.16.2, 5.17.6, 5.21.7-13; 6.1.2-7, 6.2.6-10). Likely, it is this last point which led to the praise of *innocentia*. In his letter to the magistrates and Senate, Cicero explained that the allies renewed their loyalty to Rome after experiencing his "gentleness and integrity" during a quick assize tour (*nostram mansuetudinem integritatemque*, *Fam.* 15.1.3). This is soon repeated to Atticus with greater confidence: *sociis multo fidelioribus utimur quam quisquam usus est; quibus incredibilis videtur nostra et mansuetudo et abstinencia*, *Att.* 5.18.2.

are actions similar to those Cicero advises his brother to do as proconsul of Asia.²⁰⁹ There, however, the virtue that summarises them is not *innocentia*, but *integritas*, which, again, is closely associated with self-control (*continentia*).²¹⁰

As such, both *innocentia* and *integritas* were contrasted with *avaritia*, “greed.” In a letter of recommendation, Pliny describes his subject, Ti. Claudius Pollio a now retired *procurator Augusti*, as a “man always upright, of integrity, tranquil, and modest beyond restraint, if anyone can go beyond restraint” (*vir alioqui rectus integer quietus ac paene ultra modum, si quis tamen ultra modum, verecundus*, *Ep.* 7.31.1).²¹¹ He supports this assertion with the story that, as tribune, he found “great and disgraceful greed and equal carelessness” in the accounts of the auxiliary cavalry units and cohorts of the Syrian army, except in Pollio's wing. There he discovered Pollio's “highest integrity, careful attentiveness” (*huius summam integritatem, sollicitam diligentiam inveni*, *Ep.* 7.31.2). Pliny adds that, after Pollio was promoted to the highest procuratorships, he neither swelled with pride nor, “uncorrupted by any opportunity,” did he “deviate from his innate love of self-restraint” (*nulla occasione corruptus ab insito abstinentiae amore deflexit*, *Ep.* 7.31.3).

For *innocentia*, the contrast with *avaritia* is more frequent²¹² and sometimes found with

²⁰⁹ Cicero advises Quintus to resist desires, money, and other gifts or honours, to rein in the *publicani* and traders, to accept responsibility for the officials acting under his command, to check any misdeeds they commit in their public capacity (*Q. fr.* 1.1.11), and to have even tighter control over his “cohort” of domestic companions and attendants (*Q. fr.* 1.1.12). Cicero notes that Quintus has already done these things in his first two years as proconsul, and he expresses confidence that he will continue to display “the same integrity” in the third (*integritatem eandem*, *Q. fr.* 1.1.12).

²¹⁰ *Integritas et continentia* are the “first” essentials (*fundamenta*) Cicero lists in a letter to his brother for maintaining his reputation (*existimatio*) and dignity (*dignitas*) while proconsul of Asia from 61 to 58 BCE. The other two essentials were decency in his treatment of others (*pudor*) and “firm and consistent discipline” of his slaves (*familiae gravis et constans disciplina*, *Q. fr.* 1.1.18).

²¹¹ Two ways Cicero advises Quintus to display *integritas* are stamping out bribery and not trusting any of his officials whom he even suspects of “greed,” lest they pedal their influence with him (*avaritia*, *Q. fr.* 1.1.14).

²¹² *Cic. Leg.* 3.18; *Sen. Clem.* 2.1.3-4; *Vel. Pat.* 2.13.2; *Tac. Ann.* 1.44.5, 2.37.2.

crudelitas.²¹³ The Verrine orations contain the highest number of examples,²¹⁴ wherein Cicero directly states that the scandalously grasping governor is without *innocentia*.²¹⁵ In the *Pro lege Manilia*, *innocentia* is called the “first” virtue that a general should possess (*primum, quanta innocentia debent esse imperatores!*, Cic. *Leg. Man.* 36, cf. 13, 61; Caes. *BG* 1.40.13). Accordingly, Tacitus reports that Antoninus Primus, one of Vespasian's commanders in the civil war, “did not at all act with the same blamelessness,” but rather his success at the battle of Cremona “opened up his greed, pride, and other hidden evils.”²¹⁶

Integritas and *innocentia*, thus, were both virtues of administrators. The former speaks of “moral rectitude,” as Hellegouarc'h notes, but also implies that the administrator is independent, having more than enough self-control and self-confidence to be unswayed by pressure, bribes, or self-interest, and to persist in what he believes to be best for the *res publica* (cf. Cic. *Cluent.* 152; *Lael.* 19; *Phil.* 3.26). *Integritas* further suggests that the administrator is proactive in restraining abuses under his authority. The presence of these ideas in the nine inscriptions of Proconsularis mentioning *integritas* have already been indicated above.

As far as *innocentia* is concerned, the matter is not straightforward. That the root meaning of 'doing no harm' remained active in late Republic and imperial usages is clear. The essential message is that blameless individuals could have easily abused their prestige and authority for personal gain or satisfaction, but did not. When Tacitus says that Cn. Cornelius Lentulus won a

²¹³ Verr. 2.3.126-128; Tac. *Ann.* 1.44.5; cf. Sall. *Jug.* 31.12. Note also how the sources frequently associate *innocentia* with “gentleness” (*mansuetudo*) or “mildness” (*clementia*).

²¹⁴ Cicero several times contrasts the *innocentia* of other (often hypothetical) governors with the “wickedness” (*scelus*), “unsuitability” (*importunitas*), “cruelty” (*crudelitas*), and, most frequently, the “greed” (*avaritia*) of Verres (Verr. 2.3.126-128). Many years of governors of *innocentia sapientiaque* will not be able to repair the damage his pillaging and exactions have done to Sicily, Cicero states two different times (Verr. 3.21, 3.41).

²¹⁵ Cicero is telling Verres' advocate, Hortensius, what he must like about Verres: *si non virtute, non industria, non innocentia, non pudore, non pudicitia, at sermone, at litteris, at humanitate eius delectamini*, Verr. 3.8.

²¹⁶ *Primus Antonius nequaquam pari innocentia post Cremonam agebat, satis factum bello ratus et cetera ex facili, seu felicitas in tali ingenio avaritiam superbiam ceteraque occulta mala patefecit*, Tac. *Hist.* 3.49.1.

great amount of wealth “innocently” (perhaps by triumphing over the Getae in 9 BCE), after being poor for a long time, he means that Lentulus did not break any laws nor cross any ethical lines to amass it.²¹⁷ Yet while *innocentia* is often contrasted with illegal acts, such as those of Verres, the term does not necessarily have the connotation of legality. It denotes above all a positive moral and ethical assessment of the individual. Its frequent pairing with the idea of self-control suggests that one is to assume a successful struggle against temptation. Hence, to describe someone as *innocens* or even *innocentissimus* does not imply moral purity, like calling a small child “innocent” would today.²¹⁸ “Blameless” people still had desires and ambitions, but controlled them.²¹⁹

One implication of the term *innocentia*, thus, is that a blameless official was focused on his task and followed the rules to accomplish it. He puts the well-being of the *res publica* before his own profit and interest. This implication is also found in the epigraphic evidence from Proconsularis. Three inscriptions from Sufetula directly connect *innocentia* to the duumvirate. The *universae curiae* of Sufetula honoured C. Turranius Silvanus “because of his marked plainness and blamelessness towards everyone while in the duumvirate” (*ob insignem simplicitatem eius et in Ilviratum erga omnes inn[ocenti]am*, App. H.103), then again Q. Fabius Saturninus Honoratianus “because of the blameless conduct during both duumvirates of [his father/son?]” (*ob innocente actu in [utro]que Ilviratu*, App. H.108). L. Caecilius Athenaeus, moreover, was honoured by the *ordo* and *curiae* of Sufetula partly for “his harmless

²¹⁷ *Lentulo super consulatum et triumphalia de Getis gloriae fuerat bene tolerata paupertas, dein magnae opes innocenter partae et modeste habitae*, Tac. Ann. 4.44.1. The note that Lentulus managed his money “with restraint” points to the ethical meaning of *innocenter*. The new-found wealth did not change him.

²¹⁸ This modern meaning seems related to the early Christian usage of *innocentia* signifying baptism (Sigismund Nielsen 2001: 173).

²¹⁹ Plut. *Mor.* 800B (Πολιτικά παραγγέλματα 4). Moreover, Velleius Paterculus severely criticises Tiberius Gracchus' tribunate, but says that he was “otherwise most blameless in life” (*alioqui vita innocentissimus*, Vel. Pat. 2.2.1). Cf. Cicero's point that *viri boni* are not perfect men (*Lael.* 21).

administration of the duumvirate” (*administrationem Ilviratus innocuam*, App. H.150). The intended message must be that these men had ignored opportunities for abusing their office and had led the city with the public good foremost in their minds.

Yet it cannot be said that *innocentia* is purely about the absence of abuse, as asserted by Hellegouarc'h.²²⁰ Like *integritas*, it too has a proactive element. This comes across most clearly in an inscription from Simitthus. There the *curiae* honoured Veturius Fortunatus in the Antonine period because of his “incomparable administration of the duumvirate and singular blamelessness demonstrated with the public interests and advantages” (*o[b] . . . admini[stration]em Ilviratus in[comp]arabilem et inn[ocen]tiam singularem [uti]litatibus publicis commodisque exhibitam*, App. H.100). It is difficult to imagine the two given reasons not being connected. The words *utilitates* and *commoda* are vague, used to gloss public pleasures, services, interests, or needs.²²¹ That Fortunatus “demonstrated” blamelessness with them is stating that he did not abuse them, probably over the course of his duumvirate. It might also be implying that he took proactive measures to ensure the continuation of these pleasures, services, interests, and needs. If the latter is also true, Fortunatus might have anticipated the need for a *curator rei publicae*, an official emperors imposed to intervene in the financial affairs of cities. The *ordo* of Giufi, for instance, honoured their *curator rei publicae* for his “singular sense of justice” and for his “advantages to

²²⁰ Hellegouarc'h 1963: 283.

²²¹ *Commoda* (“advantages”) has a broad usage. Ovid (*Pont.* 1.29-38) and Ulpian in his commentary on the *edictum praetoris* (*Dig.* 50.1.27.1) compile almost the same lists under the heading of *commoda* of city life, namely seeing friends and family, buying and selling, making contracts, and attending the forum, bath, theatres, spectacles, and festivals. In the singular, *commodum* can simply mean the “public advantage” (*publici commodi causa*, *Dig.* 50.7.15, Ulpian), which again is unspecific. Cf. Fronto's allusion to the *praemia* and *commoda* of being a decurion at public meals and spectacles, and in the *curia* (*omnibus decurionum praemiis commodisque, cenis <in> publicis, in curia, in spectaculis?*, *Amic.* 2.7.3). *Utilitas/utilitates* is similarly vague, often meaning just “interest” (*ex utilitate eius*, *Dig.* 50.2.3.2, Ulpian; *si ad publicam utilitatem respiciat*, *Dig.* 50.9.5, Callistratus; *si utilitatis publicae interest*, *Dig.* 50.12.13.1, Papirius Iustus). Sometimes it more narrowly refers to the list of items and services a city was considered to require (*ut necessariam operam publicis utilitatibus exhiberent* [sc. *collegia vel corpores*], *Dig.* 50.6.6.12, Callistratus).

the *res publica* and citizens” (*iustitiam singul[arem et com]moda rei p(ublicae) et c[ivibus]*, App. H.20).

Vaguer references to *innocentia* should also be interpreted as praise for not abusing one's office and, potentially, for strengthening public interests. In Mactaris, for example, the *curiae* honoured an unknown former magistrate (*[- - - duumviral?]icio?*) “because of his singular(?) blamelessness and love towards the *res publica*” (*ob [singulare]m inno[centia]m et [erga] rem p[ublica]m amorem*, App. H.81). At a minimum, he was being praised for an administration that did not harm the city. At Theveste, the *Augustales* and, probably, the *curiae* praised a *munerarius* and probable former magistrate “[because of the] blamelessness of his(?) offices and plain [life?]” (*[- - - ob] innocentiam honorum et simplic[em vitam - - -]*, App. H.111).²²² The dedication is also to his wife, but there does not appear to be enough space to list a flaminicate. The *honores*, thus, were probably magistracies. Likely, he too was being honoured for selfless administration while a magistrate.

B) RAMIFICATIONS AND MEANING: INNOCENTIA AND INTEGRITAS

The basic outline of the usage of *innocentia* and *integritas* on the inscriptions of honorific statues is by now clear. The terms signify that the honorees were self-controlled enough not to have taken advantage of opportunities for enrichment or gratification and they perhaps further signify that the honorees took measures to ensure that such opportunities did not present themselves again. It remains to explore the ramifications of the usages of *innocentia* and

²²² This probability of a magistracy arises from the “-tis” that survives after the lacuna that would have contained any of the civic offices the *munerarius* might have held. Cagnat and Schmidt (*ad CIL* VIII 16560) and Gsell (*ad ILAlg.* 1.3071) restore “-tis” as the genitive of Theveste, which would then be denoting where those offices were held. The *[ob] innocentiam honorum* adds credence to this possibility, but cannot confirm it because of its vagueness.

integritas. Three interconnected themes will be pursued: (1) their connection to benefactions; (2) their connection to the idea of mildness; (3) the relative popularity of *innocentia* among the *curiae*.

(1) The Connection of *innocentia* and *integritas* to Benefactions: For the cities of Italy, Forbis argues that *innocentia*, *integritas*, and *abstinentia* “are used to embellish the figure of the financially generous, yet altruistic benefactor.”²²³ She suggests that the virtues were meant to indicate that the benefactions truly were selfless, rather than a cover for unrestrained ambition. In this case, Italian dedicators were using the three virtues like dedicators in Proconsularis used *honestas*. None of the inscriptions Forbis cites, however, directly connects one of the virtues to the lauded benefaction, as, say, the decurions of Thuburbo Maius did when they praised the “honourable munificence” of Julia Bassilia (*ob honestam munificentiam*, App. H.48). For example, the decurions of Cures, Italy, praise a *quattuorvir iure dicundo* for the first five-day spectacle of the city and then, in a separate clause, praise him for “his integrity in administering justice” (*integritatis iuris di[ctionis s]uae*).²²⁴

The three inscriptions in Proconsularis containing praise of *curatores rei publicae* for *innocentia* draw a slightly more direct connection between the virtue and benefactions.²²⁵ Between 222 and 250, the *curiae* of Sufetula honoured L. Caelius Plautius Catullinus, a senatorial *curator rei publicae*, “because of his marked mildness and outstanding blamelessness regarding each and every citizen, (as seen with?) his generous regulation regarding the grain supply” (*ob*

²²³ Forbis 1996: 66.

²²⁴ *CIL* IX 4976, Forbis 1996: 66-67, 171 #246.

²²⁵ The *curiae* of Althiburos might have also directly connected the *integritas* of an unknown honoree to his extensive benefactions, but the lacuna leaves too much doubt: [- - - / *et singu[laris - - -]* / *integritatis [- - -]* / *qui temporibus cura[e suae] inter cetera [beneficia]*, App. H.70.

insignem eius clementiam et circa singulos universosq(ue) cives praestantia(m) innocentia(m) quam circa frumentariae rei largam moderationem, App. H.102). The grammar is hopelessly knotted, forcing Mommsen to assume that the "exceedingly obtuse" inscriber (*lapidista autem sane hebes*, ad CIL VIII 11332) misread the text he had been given. The exact intention behind the *quam* is indiscernible, but it does link Catullinus' *innocentia* with his actions regarding the city's grain supply. The adjective *largam* suggests that Catullinus used his own money, which was not a requirement of the position, either to relieve a famine or to provide price relief.²²⁶ It must have been this action which caused the *curiae* (rather than the richer decurions) to honour him so exuberantly. Even in this probable instance of direct connection between *innocentia* and a benefaction, however, the specific context is not the benefaction, but the *curator*'s professional yet humane execution of his duties.

The two other dedications to *curatores rei publicae* connect blamelessness to benefactions only indirectly. At Pupput in 282, the *ordo* heads the inscription with: "Of wonderful integrity and inimitable blamelessness does this man serve as an example" (*mirae integritatis et innocentiae inimitabilis exempli*, App. H.32). It is only four lines later, after listing the *curator*'s names and titles, that the decurions explain that the main reason for the honour is "his own liberality," by which he restored and improved the shrines, *capitolium*, and *curia* of the forum. He did this all by himself (*solus*), the inscription adds. The decurions of Thysdrus more closely connect the *innocentia* of their *curator rei publicae* with his "incomparable affection towards each and every citizen," a phrase which likely alludes to a benefaction, but again the immediate

²²⁶ One responsibility of the *curator rei publicae* was ensuring the proper management of the *frumentaria pecunia*: Dig. 50.8.4, 6; Camodeca 1980: 471-473. Jacques (1984: 294) suggests that Catullinus obtained permission from provincial officials to relieve a local famine with grain earmarked for the imperial *annona*. He does not take note of the *largam* and, thus, is unsure whether Catullinus was acting in his capacity as *curator rei publicae* or as a benefactor. The inscription seems to say both.

context is the curator's feelings (App. H.57). *Innocentia* and euergetism are not directly tied together.

In all three cases, the cited *innocentia* is more likely to refer to the *curator's* performance of his duties than to his liberality. As discussed in Chapter 1.4, *curatores* generally enjoyed far greater social prestige than the decurions with whom they worked. In addition, they had authority from the emperor to audit public accounts, review decisions of the *ordo*, initiate legal procedures to recover misappropriated funds, and institute best practices, all in order to restore financial health to the community.²²⁷ There must have been ample potential for abuse.

This is not to say that benefactions and blamelessness were unrelated. Other usages of *innocens/innocentia* are also tangentially connected to benefactions. The latest inscription in the epigraphic catalogue of honorific statues makes the strongest connection between *innocentia* and liberality for a local notable. It records that the *curiae* of Thysdrus unanimously honoured an unknown *munerarius*, whose full career is also unknown on account of lacunae. Yet the spectacle he put on seems to have been grand (*primo munerario et omni spectaculo - -*)²²⁸ and in celebration of Diocletian's co-Augustus for the west, Maximianus (*[- - - Aur]elio Felici Imp(eratori) Maximiano Aug(usto) [- - -]*, App. H.119). It was perhaps connected to Maximianus' successful campaigns against Berber tribes in Mauretania and Numidia in 297-298 and his entry at Carthage, which the newly created mint there treated as triumphal.²²⁹ The inscription moves on to praise the *munerarius* more generally for his “blamelessness, munificence, and benevolence(?)

²²⁷ Camodeca 1980: 487-489; Jacques 1984: 281-282, 292-300.

²²⁸ It is uncertain what he was “first” in. The first to put on a particular show or the first *munerarius* to receive a statue? Regarding inscriptions from cities in Italy, Mrozek finds that the phrase *primus omnium* in the nominative case tends to refer to a given spectacle or the honoree's civic career, while, when in the dative case, it tends to refer to the honour received (1971: 61-62). As Mrozek himself indicates, this is not a hard rule.

²²⁹ FELIX ADVENT(US) AUGG NN, *RIC* 6.422-426; *Pan. Lat.* 8.5.2, 9.21.2 with discussion *ad locos* by Nixon and Rodgers 1994: 117, 174-175.

(*innocentiae munificentiae [benig]nitatis(?) exemplo*). The presumed joy of the *curiales* over Maximianus' African victories increase the possibility that the virtues all refer to the same spectacle, since it is imagineable that the *curiales* are implying that the *munerarius* was caught up in the joy himself and offered to organise the spectacle without selfish motivations. Nevertheless, this remains unverifiable.

Other connections between euergetism and blamelessness are weaker, but still exist. In Sufetula, the *curiae* explain that they are honouring a *flamen perpetuus* “because of his singular liberality towards them which sets a new standard” and then salute him as a “most innocent citizen” (*ob singularem ac novi erga se exempli liberalitatem innocentissimo civi*, App. H.101). At Hippo Regius, each *curia* set up a statue to L. Postumius Felix Celerinus, an equestrian who had held the *militiae equestres*, as well as been *duumvir*, *flamen perpetuus* of the Augustus, and *pontifex* in the city. They explain this extraordinary honour in two distinct motivational clauses each introduced by *ob*. The first contains the primary reason for the honour: a three-day gladiatorial show, which they say “surpassed all memory of prior shows.”²³⁰ This is echoed by the *curiales'* concluding statement that they wish to equal his “willingness,” his willingness to give that is. The second motivational clause reads: “and because of his blamelessness and splendour, as well as incomparable love towards his own native city” (*obque eius innocentiam splendoremque et in patriam suam incomparabilem amorem*). While *splendor* is sometimes found describing the quality of benefactions,²³¹ it is also found indicating high status, particularly of

²³⁰ *ob magnificentiam gladiatorii muneris quod civibus suis triduo edidit quo omnes priorum memorias supergressus est*, App. H.77-78.

²³¹ The decurions of Lepcis Magna use *splendor* in both senses: to describe the family of Plautius Lupus in their dedication of the *biga* to Lupus (*splendorem natalium [s]uorum*, Appendix A lines B10-11) and to attest that he put on a gladiatorial show “most splendidly” (*splendidissime munus edi curaveri[t]*, line B21). Not enough about the family is known to verify that *splendorem natalium* is specifically referring to equestrian status.

equestrians engaged in a military career.²³² As argued above, the language of love more accurately denotes the positive quality of a long-term relationship than the benefactions that result from that relationship. It is unlikely, therefore, that the second motivational clause is referring to the gladiatorial show specifically. Rather, it contains the *curiales'* general assessment of Celerinus.

The references to *innocentia* in these cases are connected to benefactions, but not tied to them. They seem to be rounding out the picture of the honorees, indicating that the praise of them is not solely based on benefactions, but also on the dedicators' assessment of the honorees' professional and civic conduct. The difference with Forbis' theory is that she is interpreting the praise of *innocentia*, *integritas*, and *abstinentia* as speaking directly to the benefactions, contrary to the grammar and despite the fact that the words could be addressing the honorees' conduct in the administrative posts they are said to have held. The words say more about the dedicators' desire to justify as well as possible the honour than the nature of the honorees' benefactions. Again, there seems to have been a certain embarrassment over using statues to reward acts of euergetism.

This desire to present a well-rounded picture of honorees comes out more clearly with the statue the *ordo* and *curiae* set up to L. Caecilius Athenaeus. They provide two main reasons for the honour: because of (A) “the marked mildness of his morals and liberality towards each and every citizen and his harmless administration of the duumvirate;” (B) “the singular provision of entertainments on account of the office of his son Caecilius Donatus Aufidianus, *flamen perpetuus*.”²³³ Part (A) occurred well in the past. The inscription records that, after his

²³² See, for example, Pliny's letter of recommendation regarding a young man (Sherwin-White 1966: 268-269): “I ask that you make this person more splendid with a military tribunate lasting six months, both for himself and for his uncle,” (*hunc rogo semestri tribunatu splendidiorem et sibi et avunculo suo facias*, Plin. Ep. 4.4.2). For further discussion on the social ramifications of the word *splendor*, see: Pflaum 1978: 21-22; Lefebvre 1994: 161-162.

²³³ *ob insignem morum clementiam et erga singulos universosq(ue) cives liberalitatem et administrationem Ilviratus*

duumvirate,²³⁴ Athenaeus went on to an equestrian military career,²³⁵ from which he progressed to a procuratorial career (*eq(uiti) R(omano) a militiis proc(uratori) Aug(usti) n(ostris) ab [epistulis(?)]*).²³⁶ It was only after he returned, when his son was old enough to hold the most prestigious position in the colony, that he provided the immediate reason for the statue: the entertainments. By singling out the harmlessness of his duumvirate, it seems that the decurions and *curiales* were reaching far back into Athenaeus' career to help rationalise why they erected this “eternal testament of their thanks” (*aeternum gratiarum suarum testimonium*). Benefactions alone seem to have not sufficed.²³⁷

Therefore, praise of *innocentia* (and to a lesser extent *integritas*) sometimes served to round out the public image of benefactors, because it was closely connected to the self-control of officials. That *innocentia* was an ancillary cause rather than the main point of the honour could suggest that *innocentia* was unimportant. That would be an extreme interpretation, however. It should be kept in mind that the Oeenses and Sabrathenses' only recorded motivation for travelling 548km and 617km respectively to honour a procurator was his *innocentia* (App. H.169, 170; cf.

innocuam et singularem voluptatum editionem obque fili(i) eius Caecili Donati Aufidiani fl(aminis) p(er)p(etui) honorem . . ., App. H.150.

²³⁴ Pflaum says that Athenaeus began his career with the *militiae equestres* (“Le cursus de L. Caecilius Athenaeus . . . débute par les milices équestres . . .”; 1960: 824 #319), but Jarrett (1958: 145) and Devijver (1991: 146) are more surely right that he had held the civic magistracies prior to his posts in the military. Devijver observes that local civic offices were often the starting point for equestrian posts in the military (1991: 133, 175; cf. Saddington 1996 esp. p.168).

²³⁵ The inscription states that, after the duumvirate, Athenaeus was *a militiis*, a phrase which Devijver interprets as referring solely to the legionary tribunate (1991: 146). Devijver observes that the phrase was especially widespread in North Africa and served to “underscore the social status of the knight to whom it applied, irrespective of the number of *militiae* he had actually held” (1973: 564-565=1989: 71-72; cf. 1990: 129-130=1992: 153).

²³⁶ Jarrett 1958: 145.

²³⁷ Cf. the statue the *curiae* set up to L. Rasinius Saturninus Maximianus, “because of the singular example of his morals and reliable mildness in both grades of office, and the provision of games for the priesthood of his sons and constant liberality towards each of his own citizens” (*ob singulare{m} morum eius exemplum et in utroque honoris gradu clementiam filiorumque eius sacerdotii editionem ludorum et adsiduam erga singulos cives suos liberalitatem*, App. H.105). The “both grades” refers to the *duumviratus quinquennalis*, which the inscription states he held, and either the aedileship, which is also listed, or an unlisted regular duumvirate. Whatever the specific reference was, the *curiae* believed it desirable to cite Maximianus' civic career as justification for the honour, as well as the games which likely launched the process.

App. H.108). Those inscriptions which record *beneficia* as the immediate cause for the honour are demonstrating that *beneficia* generated more leverage, not that *innocentia* was unimportant. The dedicators still undertook the trouble and expense to inscribe their praise, after all. It is understandable that an office well administered is less able to be negotiated for an honorific statue in public space than a grand spectacle.

(2) The Connection of *innocentia* and *integritas* to the Idea of Mildness: The administrative connotations of *innocentia* extended to etiquette. An inscription from Theveste records that the *curiae* and *Augustales* honoured a certain Iulianus, whom they describe as an equestrian, *pontifex*, and *munerarius*. The stated reason is “his sincere good faith and blamelessness with which he deals with the citizens” ([- - ob si]ncceram fidem et inno[centiam] qua cum civibus agit, App. H.114). The phrasing is unique, complicating the interpretation. The text places the emphasis on Iulianus' conduct, yet he is not said to have held a magistracy or other office with administrative or judicial responsibilities.²³⁸ The praise of Iulianus' “sincere good faith” raises the possibility that he kept his word in some matter or otherwise responded dutifully, but it is pointless to speculate about the exact activities underpinning the praise. What is clearer is that the *curiae* and *Augustales* – two groups lower down the civic social hierarchy – were praising this prominent citizen for how he interacts with them.

Praise for “blameless” interaction in an unofficial manner may also lay behind the one known instance of a civic group lauding a woman for *innocentia* in Proconsularis. In the first half of the third century, the *ordo* and *populus* of Utica honoured their consular patron, Q. Octavius Volusius Thuscenius, and his wife Geminia Vulcacia. For the former, no words of praise survive

²³⁸ There is a small lacuna in the part of the inscription listing his offices. The lacuna, however, is between *pontif(ici)* and *[m]uner(ario)*, which would be an unexpected place to insert a magistracy.

and likely were never inscribed. The latter, however, they describe as a woman “of wonderful goodness and exceptional blamelessness” (*mirae bonitatis et eximiae innoc[entiae] - -*), App. H.157). The adjective *mirus* rarely appears in inscriptions of honorific statues in the second and third centuries, found just one other time in Proconsularis and then dating to the late third century (App. H.32). It is more common on fourth century Christian epitaphs, where it sometimes modifies *innocentia* or *bonitas*.²³⁹ In these cases, *innocentia* indicates baptism and acceptance into heaven.²⁴⁰ Vulcacia was likely a pagan, however. Her husband was a Salian priest, which is not proof in itself, since religiously mixed families are known (Tert. *De Ux.* 2.6-7; *Pass. Perp.* 3, 6). Yet there is precedent for a pagan woman being honoured for her *mira innocentia*. At an unknown date, the *capulatores* (those who draw the oil from oil presses) of Tibur set up a statue to Saufeia Alexandria, a Vestal Virgin, on account of “her wonderful blamelessness.”²⁴¹

The praise of Vulcacia's *mira bonitas et eximia innocentia*, thus, should not be read as a reference to Christianity. That would be quite surprising on a public inscription set up by the decurions and *populus* of a city in the early third century. There is another possibility that the reference to Vulcacia's *innocentia* refers to her conduct as Thuscenius' wife, that is her blamelessness within the home. Certainly *innocens* is an epithet infrequently found on pagan epitaphs (without a clear meaning).²⁴² But this interpretation requires the assumption that the

²³⁹ All at Rome: *mirae innocentiae adq(ue) eximiae bonitatis hic requiescit Leopardus lector de Pudentiana qui vixit . . .*, *ICUR.* 1.3200=*ILCV.* 1270; *mir(a)e bonitatis et totius innocentiae` Libera quae vixit . . .*, *ICUR.* 4.9564=*ILCV.* 4328; *mirae boni[t]atis et innocen[tia]e` F`l(avio) Cassio B[a]si`li`o mar`i`to incomparabili . . .*, *ICUR.* 4.11904; *mir<a>e bonitati et totius innocentiae domin<a>e matri . . .*, *ICUR.* 7.17699.

²⁴⁰ Sigismund Nielsen 2001: 173.

²⁴¹ *Saufeiae Alexandriae v(irgini) V(estali) Tiburtium cap(u)latores Tiburtes mirae eius innocentiae quam vi<v>ae decreverant post obitum posuerunt l(ocus) d(atu)s s(enatus) c(onsulto)*, *CIL XIV 3677=Inscr.It.* 4.1, 218=*ILS* 6244.

²⁴² *Innocentia* and its cognates are also found on pagan epitaphs. For Carthage, see: *AE* 2011, 1723=*CILPCarth.* 235 (third century); for Utica, see: *CIL VIII* 25409; for elsewhere in Africa Proconsularis, see, for example: *AE* 2004, 1796; *CIL VIII* 11665=*ILTun.* 452; *CIL VIII* 25700. Regarding Ostia and Portus: Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1981: 59 n.11; for Roman Spain: Curchin 1982: 181, who says that such adjectives of propriety “are naturally confined to women.” For Italy: Sigismund Nielsen 2001: 170-171. This usage of *innocentia* is rare, however. In another study of funerary epitaphs by Sigismund Nielsen, *innocens* does not make the list of most numerous terms (1997: 176,

curiae and *Augustales* felt it prudent to claim knowledge about Vulcacia's private life and to memorialise it publicly. The most likely – but still uncertain – interpretation is that they are commenting on the quality of this consular woman's interaction with them, who are of much lower status. The use of *innocentia* here could be similar to the usage by the *curiae* and *Augustales* of Theveste regarding Iulianus, as proposed above.

The two above inscriptions suggest that *innocentia* had the connotation of not using social prestige to cause “harm” to people, even if that “harm” is little more than insult from arrogance. The evidence does not permit anything more precise to be said. It suffices, however, to make the many associations of *innocentia* (and *integritas*) with mildness more understandable.

Greeks and Romans alike considered mildness to be a marker of civilisation and an administrative virtue.²⁴³ There is a long history of pairing the virtue with *innocentia*. At Lepcis Magna in the Diocletianic period, *innocentia* is found with *mansuetudo* (“gentleness”) once and *lenitas* (“softness”) twice.²⁴⁴ As noted above, the Senate had also praised Cicero for his *mansuetudo* and *innocentia*. The orator himself claims to have won over the provincials of Cilicia after the abuses of his predecessor through mildness and integrity. As noted in Chapter 3.5, moreover, Plutarch in his Πολιτικά παραγγέλματα presents πραότης (“mildness”) as the chief characteristic of the σώφρων (“prudent”) statesman, for that is the quality which allows the statesman to confront issues and push for necessary changes without rousing enmity.²⁴⁵

In Proconsularis, the term for “mildness” found on the inscriptions of honorific statues is

178, 180).

²⁴³ Mildness as a marker of civilisation: Strabo 3.2.15, 3.4.20 with Ando 2012: 119-120; *humanitatem homini daret*, Plin. *NH* 3.39 with Woolf 1998: 55, 59-60. Cf. Tac. *Agr.* 21 and Caesar's succinct evaluations of peoples in Gaul according to their *humanitas*: *BG* 1.3, 47.4; 4.3.3; 5.14.1. Mildness as an administrative virtue: Cic. *Fam.* 15.1.3; *Att.* 5.18.2; Caes. *BG* 2.14.5, 34.4, 35.1; 8.21.2; Tac. *Agr.* 16; *Ann.* 2.56.4, 11.25.3; Herod. 5.1.2-3.

²⁴⁴ Christol 2005c: 143. *IRT* 522, 544, 575, 610.

²⁴⁵ H. Martin 1960: esp. 67-68, 70, 73; Panagopoulos 1977: 217.

clementia. Five references to *clementia* survive, four of which come from the city of Sufetula. Three of the inscriptions also contain praise of *innocentia* or *integritas* (two at Sufetula, one at Thubba). Another of the five inscriptions cites the honoree's *probitas* (App. H.104), a virtue which, like *innocentia* and *integritas*, signifies “honesty in politics.”²⁴⁶ It seems, thus, that people associated the virtues together in a shared vision of the ideal notable.

Broadly speaking, this association is natural. *Clementia* too is a virtue of restraint. In his early work the *De inventione*, Cicero lists *clementia* under the heading of *temperantia* and defines it as “that through which minds that happened to be incited to the odium of laying hands on another are restrained by courtesy” (*clementia, per quam animi temere in odium alicuius iniiectionis concitati comitate retinentur*, *Inv.* 2.224). Its antonyms are *ira*, *crudelitas*, and *severitas* (e.g. *miscuit irae et clementiae signa*, *Tac. Ann.* 3.22.2; *non crudelitatem, non clementiam*, *Tac. Ann.* 6.5.6.3, cf. 12.32.2; *clementiae simul ac severitatis*, *Tac. Ann.* 3.50.2, 6.30.2; cf. *Sen. Clem.* 1.1.4, 1.6.1, 1.22.2). *Clementia* is typically demonstrated by the superior in an asymmetrical relationship. The superior has the power to punish, harm, or otherwise employ harsh methods with justification, but either foregoes the opportunity entirely or selects the most mild of possible actions. Consequently, the virtue was considered during both the late Republic and the Principate as a source of harmony in communities (*Livy* 3.58.4-5; *Sen. Clem.* 1.1.8; *Calp. Ecl.* 1.54-62).²⁴⁷

In literature, however, *clementia* is typically cited in situations beyond the scope of an individual provincial city long since incorporated into the empire. It appears most frequently as

²⁴⁶ Hellegouarc'h 1963: 286.

²⁴⁷ The *Senatus Consultum de Pisone Patre* also presents the *domus Augusta*, specifically Tiberius and Augustus before him, as the preserver of the empire's peace through practice of *clementia*, *pietas*, *iustitia*, *moderatio*, *animi magnitudo*, and society's emulation of them (lines 90-92, 132-133; Cooley 1998: 207-208; Potter 1999: 76).

the cause for a general to spare the life of a defeated barbarian²⁴⁸ or for an emperor to pardon the insult of a senator.²⁴⁹ Indeed, *clementia* is best known as an imperial virtue, the one which Seneca advocated Nero continue to exercise in his *De clementia*.²⁵⁰ His definition of the virtue in the second book of the treatise is located purely in a judicial or para-judicial context (*Clem.* 2.3.2-3).²⁵¹ There, *clementia* is “the temperance of the mind” (*temperantia animi*), the “mildness of a superior towards an inferior” (*lenitas superioris adversus inferiorem*), or “the inclination of the mind towards mildness” (*inclinatio animi ad lenitatem*), but only in exacting revenge or imposing punishments. To paraphrase, Seneca observes that on one point all agree: that a clement judge imposes the mildest punishment out of a range of possible just punishments.²⁵² If one relies on the surviving parts of the *De clementia* and other works focussed on the emperors, then one is going to have a narrow understanding of *clementia*.

None of the inscriptions from Proconsularis draw a direct link between *clementia* and *iustitia*. The closest instance comes from Thubba, where the *ordo*, following a petition of the *populus*, honoured P. Cluvius Felix Tertullianus, a *flamen perpetuus* of either Carthage or Thubba, for having administered with an “incomparable sense of justice [and] with integrity, goodness, mildness” ([- - - *inco*]mparabili *iustitia i[n]tegrita]te bonitate clemen[tia] administrata*, App. H.152). Just what he administered is lost in a lacuna, but it must have been a civic magistracy at Thugga or the curatorship of the city to have generated enough enthusiasm for

²⁴⁸ E.g. *clementiae Romanae*, Tac. *Ann.* 1.57.2, 4.50.2; Tac. *Ann.* 1.58.5, 2.10.1, 11.32.2, 12.37.3, 12.52.2, 12.55.2, 14.23.1, 14.38.3.

²⁴⁹ E.g. *clementia principis*, Tac. *Ann.* 3.68.2; Octavian: *RG* 34.2; Vel Pat. 2.86.2, 2.100.4; Tac. *Ann.* 3.24.2; Tiberius: Tac. *Ann.* 4.31.2; Claudius: Tac. *Ann.* 11.3.1 (ironic); cf. 12.11.2; Nero: Tac. *Ann.* 13.11.2, 15.35.3; Calp. *Ecl.* 1.59-62; cf. Caesar: Vel. Pat. 2.55.2, 56.3. Hellegouarc'h 1963: 262-263; Griffin 2003a: 177.

²⁵⁰ Griffin 1976: 125, 144, 149-150.

²⁵¹ Griffin 1976: 150-151; 2003a: 171.

²⁵² “On this all agree that *clementia* is that which avoids what could be imposed with merit” (*atqui hoc omnes intellegunt clementiam esse, quae se flectit citra id, quod merito constitui posset*, *Clem.* 2.3.3). Griffin 1976: 164; 2003a: 172.

the citizens to demand the honour and for it to have been paid with collected money. *Iustitia*, the virtue signifying fairness in the application of justice,²⁵³ also appears in the motivational clause of the honour, but it is not even set next to *clementia*, let alone directly tied to it. *Clementia* appears to be independent of *iustitia*. They are only related by the fact that they are said to have been demonstrated by Tertullianus' administration.

The link between *clementia* and justice is even less direct in the other four inscriptions. The inscription for the statue of L. Rasinius Saturninus Maximianus, a former aedile and *duumvir quinquennalis*, has already been discussed at the beginning of this chapter (App. H.105). In this case, the *curiae* of Sufetula honoured Maximianus for his morals and for his reliable *clementia* “in both grades of office” (*ob . . . et in utroque honoris gradu fidam clementiam*). The cited *clementia* could be referring solely to the judicial functions of the magistracies, but there is no indication of that. It could also – seemingly as with Tertullianus – be referring to the mildness of his administration as a whole.

The possibility of the latter interpretation is seen with L. Caelius Plautius Catullinus, whom the *curiales* of Sufetula honoured for “marked clemency” and for his *innocentia*, which they link to his “generous regulation regarding the grain supply” (*innocentia(m) quam circa frumentariae rei largam moderationem*, App. H.102). Being a *curator rei publicae* of the city, Catullinus did not have judicial powers. The most he could do was forward cases to the governor.²⁵⁴ Of particular interest is the note concerning his “singular pre-eminence” (*pr(a)estantiam singularem*). It signals that the *curiae* were particularly aware of the unrivalled stature the senator enjoyed in the small community. By highlighting Catullinus' *clementia* and

²⁵³ Atkins 1990: 264, 281-282; Griffin 2003a: 174.

²⁵⁴ Jacques 1984: 291. On the responsibilities and powers of the *curator rei publicae*, see Chapter 1.4.

innocentia out of “all” of his virtues (*omnium virtutum viro*), the *curiae* may be making a general statement about his tact and understanding as he rooted out bad financial practices, instituted new ones, check abuses of public funds, and dealt with other pressing needs of the city.

The issue becomes clearer with the two other inscriptions from Sufetula mentioning *clementia*. Both honorees have already been discussed: L. Caecilius Athenaeus and P. Aelius Satorius. The inscriptions do not just praise the *clementia* of these former *duumviri*, but the *clementia* of their *mores* (*insignem morum clementiam*, App. H.150; cf. H.104). The genitive case of *mores* does not remove the possibility that the honorees exercised *clementia* in regard to revenge or punishment (whether judicial or extra-judicial), but it is plainly not addressing that possibility either. Rather, the focus is squarely on the general virtuousness of the honoree, much like Catullinus is also said to have been a “man of all virtues” (*omnium virtutum viro*). Indeed, Maximianus, in addition to the praise for his “reliable *clementia* in both grades of office,” was also lauded for the “singular example of his morals” (*ob singulare{m} morum eius exemplum*, App. H.105). It is likely that all uses of *clementia* at Sufetula (and probably Thubba) referred to the *clementia* of the honoree's *mores* rather than of punishments.

The phrase *morum clementia* recalls Cicero's *mansuetudo morum* in the *De officiis*. When mild morals are combined with a reputation for *liberalitas*, *beneficentia*, *iustitia*, *fides*, and *facilitas*, the orator states, a notable can win over the people.²⁵⁵ Seneca makes much the same case for the mildness of Nero's character (*animi tui mansuetudo*) causing “upright morals” to return to the empire (*in totum orbem recti mores revertentur*, *Clem.* 2.2.1). The usages speak to the general disposition of the notable, much like Plutarch's *πρᾶος* statesman.²⁵⁶ This sense of

²⁵⁵ *vehementer autem amor multitudinis commovetur ipsa fama et opinione liberalitatis, beneficentiae, iustitiae, fidei omniumque earum virtutum, quae pertinent ad mansuetudinem morum ac facilitatem*, *Off.* 2.32.

²⁵⁶ Griffin (1976: 149, 155-156; 2003a: 171) and Konstan (2005: 344) both note that *clementia* is considered a suitable translation of *πρᾶότης*. Griffin's view that *πρᾶότης* is the Greek equivalent for the aspect of *clementia*

clementia is rarer in literature, but it goes as far back as Terence's *Adelphoe*, where Micio is said to lead an easygoing life (*ego hanc clementem vitam urbanam atque otium secutus sum*, lines 42-43) and to be easygoing himself (*ill' suam semper egit vitam in otio, in conviviis, clemens, placidus*, lines 863-864). The bridge between *clementia* and *mansuetudo* is provided by Livy, who has one of the consuls of 189 BCE, Cn. Manlius Vulso, describing an indigenous people of Thrace as having a “clement nature,” their ferocity having been “made mild” (*clementibus accolarum ingeniis omnis illa, cum qua venerant, mansuefacta est feritas*, 38.17.17).

This does not mean that the honorees of Sufetula and Thubba were naturally easy-going spendthrifts, like Terence's Micio. Rather, cues should also be taken from Cicero's above-mentioned definition of *clementia* in the *De inventione* that has *temperantia* (“temperance”) as the source and *comitas* (“courtesy”) as the guide of the virtue.²⁵⁷ A similar combination of ideas lie behind the statue the decurions of Ammaedara set up to a well-educated (*studia*) equestrian provincial priest. Although socially and culturally preminent, he was also moral, restrained, and compliant towards the citizens (*ob . . . mores modestiam et obsequia erg[a] cives suos*, App. H.4). Despite the ability to capitalise on one's power, one forces oneself to conform to expectations of good conduct. Tacitus, for example, writes that Germanicus, despite his anger at Piso, hid his true feelings in order not to seem threatening (*ira*, *Ann.* 2.57.3). He really was, Tacitus assures us, “mild” (*Germanicus ne minari crederetur; et erat, ut rettuli, clementior*, *Ann.* 2.57.2; cf. 2.73.3). The suitability of its pairing with *innocentia* – literally “harmlessness” – seems evident (cf. *ab*

that is “willingness to overlook injuries to oneself and to spare the enemy in foreign or civil war” seems too narrow (1976: 155-156). Plutarch's treatment of the virtue is broader, applying it to the statesman who interacts with his fellow citizens in a civil fashion. Griffin notes that Seneca and members of the late Stoa associated *πραότης* with *φιλανθρωπία*, but the passage of Seneca cited is still narrow: sparing the life of another (*Ep. Mor.* 88.30).

²⁵⁷ Griffin (1976: 127) argues that *comitas* for an emperor meant interactions with his subjects that were “easy and free of arrogance and coldness.”

innocentia clementissimus, Cic. *S. Rosc.* 85).

(3) The Relative Popularity of *innocentia* among the *Curiae*: The close association of *innocentia* with good administration and mildness helps to explain its appeal to the *curiae* of Proconsularis. Several Roman authors directly articulated this point regarding administration. Early in the *De clementia*, Seneca addresses Nero in panegyric mode and tells him that he can proclaim that “all which has come into your good faith and guardianship is being held safe; that, through you, the state is not deprived of anything by force or stealth” (*omnia, quae in fidem tutelamque tuam venerunt, tuta haberi, nihil per te neque vi neque clam adimi rei publicae*, *Clem.* 1.1.5). You, the philosopher observes, have coveted the “rarest praise” (*rarissimam laudem*): *innocentia*. Because of this “singular goodness of yours” (*bonitas ista tua singularis*), Seneca continues, “thanks are given to you. No one person was ever so dear to [any] one person than you to the Roman people” (*refertur tibi gratia; nemo unus homo uni homini tam carus umquam fuit, quam tu populo Romano*; cf. *Ben.* 4.22.3). While the words of Seneca are hardly objective, they are evidence that *innocentia* demonstrated through good administration could be considered a source of popularity in the imperial period.

Another example closer to the political circumstances of the cities of Proconsularis comes from Cicero's speech on behalf of Cn. Plancius. The orator observes that, when voting, the people are not making fine judgements of skill sets and lineage, especially not with *sapientia* (*Planc.* 9, 62). Rather, “it is customary that virtue, uprightness, and integrity in a candidate be sought, not professional skill or specialised knowledge” (*virtus, probitas, integritas in candidato, non linguae volubilitas, non ars, non scientia requiri solet*, *Planc.* 62, cf. 50; Cic. *Leg. Man.* 2, *Mur.* 15; Val. Max. 6.9.7). The *populus*, rather, “is content with their virtue and blamelessness” (*sin minus, virtute eorum et innocentia contentus est*, *Planc.* 62). As when choosing a manager for a

farm, they are simply looking for “overseers of the *res publica*” (*sic populus Romanus deligit magistratus quasi rei publicae vilicos*, *Planc.* 62). In other words, specialised knowledge is a bonus; blamelessness and integrity are the core qualifications for magistracies. The essence of Cicero's message is that voters' first concern is that candidates will do no harm as magistrates.

Cicero's observations of the electorate at Rome – made in a court setting – were designed to be advantageous to his client, who was accused of winning the aedileship through bribery. In order to validate the observations, one could appeal to the frequently made claim that forensic oratory needed to win the support of the jury and, hence, could not have strayed too far from the truth. While plausible, such scholarly rationalisations-by-logic are unsatisfying on their own. Luckily, there is more evidence. In Pompeii, some supporters presented their candidate of choice as blameless. As shown in Table 5.7, seven electoral *programmata* between the years of 50 and 79 CE associate blamelessness with candidates.²⁵⁸ Another supporter (*CIL* IV 1080), declares his vote for Vatia to be “blameless,” which ultimately makes the same point: that he casts his vote without worry that Vatia would do harm as aedile. A further two supporters (Table 5.8) praise the integrity of their candidate.

Table 5.7: *Innocens and Innocuus in Electoral Programmata at Pompeii*

Citation	Text	Translation ²⁵⁹
<i>CIL</i> IV 597 = <i>ILS</i> 6433	<i>Suettios Certum Ilvir(um) i(ure) d(icundo) / Verum aed(ilem) Celsum collegam rog(at) / quorum innocentiam / probastis / Elainus dissign(ator) rog(at)</i>	Elainus asks (on behalf of) the Suetii: Certus as <i>duumvir iuri dicundo</i> , Verus as aedile, and Celsus as his colleague. Their blamelessness you [all] have experienced. Elainus the seat-assignor asks this.
<i>CIL</i> IV 720 = <i>ILS</i> 6424a	<i>L(ucium) Popidium Secundum N[- - -] / aed(ilem) iuvenem innocuae aetatis d(ignum) r(ei) p(ublicae) c[- - -]uius [- - -]um cupit / [- - -]o facit</i>	[- - -] desires and makes L. Popidius Secundus [- - -] aedile, a youthful man of harmless age; he is worthy of the <i>res publica</i> .

²⁵⁸ That is, these are all so-called *programmata recentiora*; Mouritsen 1988: 126-159.

²⁵⁹ I was aided in the translation of these *dipinti*, particularly the first one, by Rex Wallace's *An Introduction to Wall Inscriptions from Pompeii and Herculaneum* (Wauconda: Bolchazy-Carducci, 2005). Allison Cooley also translates a few of the inscriptions (e.g. *CIL* IV 3741) in her *Pompeii: A Sourcebook* (London and New York: Routledge 2004), but I translate the Latin more literally than she.

Citation	Text	Translation
CIL IV 1080	<i>Vatiam aed(ilem) / Verus²⁶⁰ innoce(n)s facit / Papilio</i>	Verus blamelessly makes Vatia aedile, with Papilius.
CIL IV 3467	<i>Sabinum aed(ilem) / innocent(em) iuvenem</i>	Sabinus as aedile! A blameless youthful man.
CIL IV 7143	<i>Veientonem aed(ilem) o(ro) v(os) f(aciatis) / et Vettium innocentes</i>	I beg that you make Veiento aedile and Vettius, blameless men.
CIL IV 7482	<i>L(ucium) Ovidium / aed(ilem) / o(ro) v(os) f(aciatis) d(ignum) r(ei) p(ublicae) innocentem iuven[em]</i>	I beg that you make L. Ovidius aedile; he is worthy of the <i>res publica</i> , a blameless youthful man.
CIL IV 7681	<i>L(ucium) Popidium aed(ilem) o(ro) v(os) f(aciatis) / Secundum innocentem</i>	I beg that you make L. Popidius Secundus aedile, a blameless man.
CIL IV 7793	<i>[A(ulum) Vettium C]aprasium / [Felicem iuvenem] innocente[m]</i>	[A. Vettius C]aprasius [Felix], a blameless [youthful man]

Table 5.8: Integer in Electoral Programmata at Pompeii

Citation	Text	Translation
CIL IV 671	<i>Rufum Ilvir(um) / iuvenem integrum</i>	Rufus as <i>duumvir</i> ! A youthful man of integrity.
CIL IV 3741	<i>Claudium Verum / Ilv(irim) i(iure) d(icundo) o(ro) v(os) f(aciatis) iuvenem integr[um]</i>	I beg that you make Claudius Verus <i>duumvir iure dicundo</i> , a youthful man of integrity.

Political *programmata* from Africa Proconsularis do not survive for a direct comparison to the Pompeian evidence. A less direct comparison to the inscriptions of honorific statues set up by individuals is still possible, however. Under the Severi at Vallis, friends (*amici*) honoured C. Egnatius Felix, whom they describe as a “most blameless aedile” (*aedili in[no]centissimo*, CIL VIII 14783=ILS 5075). Later that century in the forum of Madauros, the children and grandchildren of a *flamen perpetuus* and former centurion set up a statue to him. Its inscription describes him as a “man of glorious blamelessness and of proven good faith” (*viro gloriosae innocentiae probatae fidei*, ILAlg. 1.2118; cf. CIL VIII 5367=17496=ILAlg. 1.288). At Hippo Regius, moreover, M. Ulpius Felix Charidius erected a statue to his close friend, who, Charidius says, “completed all offices most blamelessly” (*omnibus honorib(us) innocentissime functo*, AE

²⁶⁰ The reading of this inscription is difficult, for 'Verus' could be an adjective (i.e. “he who is truly blameless . . .”). Mouritsen (1988: 169), however, identifies 'Verus' here as the *rogator* Sextilius Verus.

1955, 153). It seems, thus, that people in Africa Proconsularis too were eager to cultivate an association in the public's imagination between their friends or relatives and the blameless execution of public duties.

Therefore, Cicero's argument, when coupled with the Pompeian evidence, suggests why the *curiae* of Proconsularis were disproportionately frequent users of the term *innocentia*. Key is Cicero's remark that the *populus* "is content with . . . blamelessness." The implication is that members would have preferred their magistrates to have more skills and qualities, but that, at a minimum, they expected integrity in the magistrates they elected. They wanted to feel confident that the circumstances of themselves and their community would not worsen through the actions of the people they elected.

A possible reason is that the *curiales* felt vulnerable, particularly the large majority who did not have the wealth and prestige to enter the *ordo decurionum* and for whom the *curiae* were the only institution available for participating in public life. To illustrate, one point where the sense of vulnerability might have manifested is with the five days of manual labour citizens of colonies and *municipia* were required to provide to the community every year. The decurions themselves were exempt, since they provided different *munera* based on their education and financial resources. Yet it was they who decided the purpose and length of the physical *munera*.²⁶¹ The jurist Papinian in his *Responsa* twice calls them *munera sordida*, "dirty duties," which suggests the disdain wealthier members of the community might have held towards manual labour (*Dig.* 50.1.17.7, 50.5.8.4). Over the first century CE, this elitist disdain arising from actions affecting the body became formalised in law with the "dual-penalty system" that

²⁶¹ *LCGI* 98 only prevents exacting work from *coloni* and *incolae* who are "unwilling" (*invito*), if they are under fourteen or over sixty years of age. *LI* 83 raises the minimum age to fifteen. It too explicitly gives the aediles or whomever the decurions place in charge of the work the right and power to enforce the day's work and to seize a pledge from or to fine the unwilling. For the civic, personal, and patrimonial *munera* of decurions, see *Dig.* 50.4.

prescribed corporal punishment for *humiliores*, a term which encompassed the bulk of the free population, and less harsh penalties such as deportation for men of *dignitas*, that is *honestiores*, of whom decurions formed the lowest rank.²⁶² As with the *munera sordida*, notables could exploit the mere potential for corporal punishment as a basis for social prejudice. The jurist Callistratus, for instance, had to confirm in his *De cognitionibus* that people liable to be flogged should not be ignored as *viles personae*, let alone those who actually have been flogged (*Dig.* 50.2.12). They, he says, are able to enter the decurionate, which suggests the local social prejudice he was resisting.²⁶³ Even he, however, next agrees that it is “dishonourable” (*inhonestum*) for such people to be admitted into the *ordo*, “especially” (*et maxime*) in communities that boast an “abundance of honourable men” (*copiam virorum honestorum*).²⁶⁴

Although they were the annual electors, the *curiae* did not have day-to-day control over the magistrates, the decisions of the decurions the *duumviri* facilitated, nor, as a result, the finances and other resources of the community, which included themselves. They were particularly vulnerable to spendthrift, greedy, or high-handed magistrates and decurions, who did not look after the interests of the whole city. The one formal channel of address available to *curiales* was as individual citizens, not as a group. The civic statutes often allow any *municeps* or *colonus* to make an accusation that could lead to a fine against magistrates or other citizens acting contrary to the statute.²⁶⁵ Such an individual, however, faced a high burden of proof, since it often

²⁶² E.g. Callistratus, *De cognitionibus*, *Dig.* 47.14.3, 47.21.2. On the “dual-penalty system,” see Garnsey 1970: 152-172. For further discussion of the distinction between *honestiores* and *humiliores*, see Chapter 1.2.

²⁶³ Jacques 1984: 589, cf. 601-602.

²⁶⁴ Wealthy men of illegitimate birth faced similar opposition to entry into the decurionate (*Dig.* 50.2.3.2, Ulpian).

²⁶⁵ *TH* lines 107, 125; *LCGI* 73 lines 7-8; *LCGI* 74 lines 15-16; *LCGI* 75 lines 21-22; *LCGI* 81 lines 28-29; *LCGI* 93 lines 25-26; *LCGI* 97 lines 21-22; *LCGI* 104 line 19; *LCGI* 125 lines 26-28; *LCGI* 126 lines 45-47; *LCGI* 128 lines 29-31; *LCGI* 129 lines 36-38; *LCGI* 130 lines 50-51; *LCGI* 131 lines 12-13; *LCGI* 132 lines 31-33; *LI* 26 line 51; *LI* I lines 6-7; *LI* J lines 22-23; *LM* 58 lines 4-5; *LI* 62 lines 6-47; *LI* 67 lines 42-45; *LI* 72 lines 29-30; *LI* 74 line 53, lines 1-2; *LI* 75 lines 7-9; *LI* 96 lines 16-18.

had to be established that the accused was acting *sciens dolo malo*.²⁶⁶ Seemingly, ignorance was an acceptable excuse for bad administration. It is understandable, thus, that *curiales* “loved” it when magistrates and other civic notables showed themselves to be harmless by what they did not do and by what they did do on their behalf.

5.6 CONCLUSION

Time and again this chapter has pushed back against a tendency in scholarship to attribute the virtues found on inscriptions and the public honours themselves almost entirely to euergetism. Honorific statues were indeed often triggered by (exceptional) benefactions, but their inscriptions often refer to more than the gifts themselves. Scholars, for example, tend to treat the language of civic love as shorthand for acts of euergetism. In fact, it describes how the gift was given, its motivation. The virtues of *integritas* and *innocentia*, moreover, do not describe the conduct of benefactors as they gave, but their conduct in other aspects of their lives, principally as magistrates. Public dedicators were interested in more than attending spectacles and receiving distributions. *Honestas* and its cognates are a good test case, since the five known instances from Proconsularis all modify benefactions. Yet as argued, the concept addressed broader concerns found in both literature and the civic statutes: mainly that the donors are seeking to bribe the electorate and will disrupt communal concord.

In other words, these laudatory terms were reacting to prejudices, fears, and ideals circulating around benefactions, not just to the benefactions themselves. They reveal the dedicators' awareness of the community as a whole and their place in it, which in turn implies

²⁶⁶ E.g.: within five days of being elected at Irni, magistrates had to swear that they “will not knowingly and with wrongful intent do anything contrary to this statute or to the common good of the *municipes* of that *municipium*” (*neque adversus h(anc) l(egem) remve communem municipum eius municipi fac[turum scientem] d(olo) m(a)lo*), LI 26 lines 44-46).

that the dedicators believed that people read the inscriptions. Thereby, they reveal the dedicators' awareness of the epigraphic medium itself. As argued in Chapters 1.3, 3.1, and 3.4, more about the honour was likely said during the speeches motivating the honour. That these were the sentiments the drafters (whether they be the dedicators alone or also the honoree) chose to commemorate in stone suggests the particular light in which they wanted readers to interpret the honour. The virtues we read today are unlikely to have been a random selection devoid of significance.

With this self-awareness, comes a sense of nervousness. The inscriptions present as earnest, which is a result of the anxiety that underlies them. There is a certain defensiveness in insisting that commemorated benefactions were exceptional or honourable. If “love” truly formed the foundation of the relationship between dedicator and honoree, then there should be no need for nervousness. If the honorees were indeed blameless and mild, then why did the dedicators seem worried about how they and their honorees were interacting? That they composed the texts for the eyes of Roman officials alone seems unlikely, since the rhetoric is spread over dozens of communities, many of which probably experienced long periods between visits from Romans in positions of authority. The praise seems designed more for internal audiences and for a political context that allows collective action, but action dependent on individual initiative and action that is heavily structured – that of the decurions by the intricate provisions of the civic statute and that of the *populus/curiae* by the statute, the decurions, and their social, political, and financial inferiorities. Public dedicators found themselves in the position of needing to motivate what civic ideology told them should need no motivation: generosity and good conduct.

Conclusion

This dissertation demonstrates that honorific statues were a venue for negotiation in the public life of the cities of Africa Proconsularis. Five factors are argued to have contributed to their interactive nature: (1) in comparison to buildings, a wider range of social and political groups could and consistently did pay for honorific statues and obtain permission from the decurions to dedicate them in public locations; (2) the decision making process could include multiple participants, stages, and speeches, as well as a public vote; (3) the payment process could involve a generous third-party donor, canvassing for funds, or negotiating with the honoree or relative; (4) the dedication, which, in addition to a probable ceremony of some type and (just perhaps) more speeches, could also become the centre-piece of a virtual festival, if the honoree or another person decided to provide a banquet, spectacle, and/or distribution; (5) on the base of the statue was mounted an inscription, which records the honoree and dedicators, other technical details, and often comments on the honoree's family, character, virtues, achievements, and benefactions that stimulated the honour. These comments were ideologically charged. They tapped into evolving cultural traditions made authoritative by the Romans' many lasting victories.¹

Scholars today often encounter just the inscription, usually as represented by two-dimensional images (transliterated and photographic). It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that statues viewed solely through the surviving inscriptions are so frequently interpreted in a binary fashion:

¹ Regarding the cultural destabilization within provincial populations caused by Roman victories, see Woolf 1998: 32, 73-74, 239; Ando 2000: 304, 337.

public reward for an individual's benefaction. Yet honorific statues had four dimensions: height, width, depth, and time. From the point of view of the inhabitants of the cities of Proconsularis, the awarding of statues was a process punctuated by several points of celebration that maintained momentum for the honour. Afterwards, statues continued to perform functions in the community by serving as landmarks and as guardians of public ideals and of civic and familial memories. They animated the spaces containing them.

Given the centrality of honorific statues in civic life, their inscriptions were likely carefully drafted. As noted in Chapter Five, this does not mean that they should be taken literally. What the inscriptions present is a gleaming edifice, an ideal picture of civic life. Words were chosen to highlight the perceived positive and to pass over the perceived negative. It is the rare inscription that gives even an impression of indecision and conflict within the community. The possible “hard edge” discernible in the statue M. Lorenus Lorenianus erected to his son in the forum of Avula is one such example (Table 3.2.28). That he is said to have petitioned for the statue and/or its prestigious location and then put his own name at the top of the inscription suggests that selfish motivations might have been evident to onlookers.

The selective positivity of this gleaming edifice requires one to read backwards into the evidence, in order to detect the vast bulk of the lived experience that once lay behind it. A sense of how people experienced honorific statues and, more generally, the politics of their city is all that is possible to recover. Preparation for this methodology is the point of the first two chapters. They describe the rules, procedures, and practices that the various civic groups followed at the time the statues were authorised and dedicated.

When the first two chapters are compared to the following three, a dynamic of nullification is revealed. As captured in the inscriptions, the laudations accompanying honorific

statues almost serve to cancel out the many rules and procedures that protected communal resources and harmony. Terms like *honestas*, *integritas*, and *innocentia* suggest that those rules and procedures were not necessary for this particular honoree. He controls himself. The metaphorical language of civic love, meanwhile, attempts to shift the context of the relationship between the dedicators and honoree from the public realm to the private. To imply that love is all a community needs to function well is to ignore the obligations citizens owed to each other, the mechanisms enforcing those obligations, and the social, financial, and political disparities between citizens. It omitted the pressures citizens placed on each other and sought to collapse the distance between them.

This point finds its physical manifestation in remittances, where the honoree or a relative returned the proposed funds – often carefully regulated public funds –, in order to use his or her own. As argued in Chapter 3.5-3.6, remittances were procedural theatre designed to highlight the remitters' self-control and modesty. In all of these cases, it is almost as if the expression these honorees lived by was not 'rules are made to be broken,' but 'rules are made to be followed innately.' The honorees and the citizens who praised them were suggesting that the honorees are the embodiment of the ideals which inform the rules needed to check the behaviour of the rest of the population. The rules and the rhetoric and customs of public life came from the same ideological source.

A similar mismatch between presentation and political and social realities are found with the *curiae*. As discussed in Chapter Two, evidence suggests that they asserted their identities – both collective and individual – through the dedication of statues and buildings, the appointment of patrons, and the support of particular members for priesthoods and other offices. It was even suggested several times that local city councils respected this independence of the *curiae* to an

extent, such as when the decurions of Simitthus did not impose the regulations on the Curia Iovis, but allowed it to adopt them through a curial vote (*CIL* VIII 14683). Nonetheless, all glimpses of the *ordo* and *curiae* together present the image of harmony and due order. The senior decurions receive *sportulae*, while the junior *curiales* receive less prestigious *epula*; a foundation is set up for the benefit of the *curiae*, but the decurions administer it. Tension between the two institutions must have existed from time-to-time; Kotula's question of just why the Curia Iovis adopted those regulations late in 185 is a good one that can never be answered. Tensions, however, were left in perishable forms; they were not inscribed, perhaps to limit transmission across generations.

Only the impression of tension remains and it comes in the form of word preference. That the *curiae* disproportionately employed *innocentia* to praise their honorees – a word whose literal purpose is to note the lack of wrongdoing – suggests the vulnerability *curiales* felt vis-à-vis the notables who controlled public life. Social prejudices and legal disparities were two suggested sources of this vulnerability and they are but starting points. Further investigation is needed to explore fully the implications of this observation. Suffice it for the moment to say that it is with *innocentia* that another goal of inscriptions and the statues they commemorate comes to light: shaping the behaviour of notables. Rewarding behaviour with prestigious statues and publishing the reason through the permanent medium of inscriptions shows that statues had a subdued role of public advocacy.

That statues were an animating element in the public life of the cities of Proconsularis seems by now clear. Not only did they provide many opportunities for interaction, but their long tradition in the Greco-Roman world and ostensible positivity made them an acceptable medium for political messages. We can read these messages in only a very general way, but it is possible that contemporary readers, immersed in the life of that community, could read more pointed

messages in the names honoured and reasons given. As such, despite presenting an ideal picture, the inscriptions of honorific statues are the best window available for looking into the political culture of these cities.

The findings of this dissertation permit theorising on the nature of that culture. It is tentatively identified as 'civic intimacy,' which can be characterised by the inhabitants of cities spending the majority of their physical and conceptual lives locally. They lived, worked, and socialised almost entirely within their city and with the same people and families. Accordingly, their thoughts were focused mostly on their relatives and fellow inhabitants; they observed each other closely. One result is that citizens knew each other well, either personally or by reputation. This intense, locally bound style of living meant that citizens needed long-term strategies for stable cohabitation. This reality, when combined with the fact that each adult male had at least some political influence – whether individually or collectively through a political institution –, resulted in the privileged few still having to respond to the expressed desires of the collective less privileged and in the less privileged being expected to limit their desires according to social norms.

The factors that generated this intimacy were abundant and can be organised into different categories. (1) There is the hierarchical organisation of the civic political institutions. In the *ordo* (and to a lesser and less certain extent in the *curiae*), each member knew his place, yet was encouraged by the civic *lex* to monitor the others. Required *munera* and the *summae honorariae* for entry into the decurionate, magistracies, and priesthoods caused each member to have a good idea of families' financial resources. (2) Collective actions. *Postulationes* (whether popular or decurional), collections of money, and unanimous decisions required cooperation between citizens and often planning. They were typically interpreted as acts of consensus. (3) Social

activities. Banquets, spectacles, and distributions brought large groups together and sometimes the entire community in a festive and visibly hierarchical fashion. The energised atmosphere these events created and the opportunities they provided to all social groups for challenging and reinforcing social norms and a common identity have been well studied.² (4) The vibrant curial life extended many of the above activities down to the popular level of society. In addition to internal curial meetings, banquets, and other activities, the participation of the *curiae* in the moral education of *curiales* and in the funerals of needy families suggests that the encouragement of a common culture extended to the fundamental layers of the cities.³

This is not the ossified social system envisioned by François Jacques and especially Paul Veyne, where notables gave almost instinctively as compensation for monopolising political power and where the people had little to do but receive, the accompanying rituals having faded to pleasantries.⁴ Public honours, according to Veyne, were the reward of notables to their fellows in order to reinforce the standards of their order and to define themselves further against the masses.⁵ It was argued in Chapter Three, however, that honorific statues were not just symbolic links between citizens, but allowed participants to refine their public persona by providing a venue for them to demonstrate acceptance of social values through their words and actions. The statues acted as a transition point to a further stage in citizens' relationships. In addition, the

² Banquets: D'Arms 1984: 344; 1990: 319; 1999: 313-314; Donahue 2003: 438; Dunbabin 2003: 83-84; cf. 88, 99; Ascough 2008; distributions: Mrozek 1987: 105-106; spectacles: Yavetz 1969: 18-19, (for the bond between plebs and emperor) 24, 102, 137-139; Edmondson 1996: 97-112; 1999: 89-91.

³ Cf. Dunbabin 2003: 101, who finds that the aspiration of luxury and conviviality “trickled down in Roman society from the upper classes to those below them.”

⁴ Veyne 1976: 122-129, 201-278. Jacques, for example, concludes his discussion of honours asserting that the *populus'* role in civic politics was to distinguish notables who had been particularly generous. According to him, the people did not have an ideology of their own; they did not support “perfect defenders of the plebs, but perfect notables” (1984: 424-425). Cf. Garnsey 1991: 168, who concludes his review of *Le pain et le cirque* (the 1990 English translation, but also the original and other publications of Veyne) with the observation that Veyne's “euergetism in its 'pure' form, as essentially symbolic and devoid of functional significance, seems a rather empty concept.”

⁵ Veyne 1976: 277-280.

analysis of Chapter Four shows that civic groups tended to use more precise dedicatory terms for local honorees than for emperors and other non-local honorees, e.g. *ordo*, *curiae*, *populus* rather than *civitas* and *Lepcitani*. The large majority of these local honorees were civic notables with whom their honourers would have interacted regularly. What is more, when these same civic groups added information to the inscription that implied personal knowledge of the honoree, such as details of family, character, or benefactions, the honoree again tends to be of local origin and generally a civic notable. Extra information is already a rarer occurrence on the inscriptions of statues to emperors and their relatives, but even when found it tends to be formal and reverential. This is true also of the statues the *curiae* and other civic groups at Lepcis Magna dedicated to the Severi, their supposed fellow citizens. This is strong evidence that people had familiar relationships with their fellow inhabitants of the city and that they believed their most important political relationships to be at the local level, not at the imperial level.

One ramification of these findings is that imperial ideology and the charisma of the emperor need to be less emphasised in current scholarship as bonding agents of the empire. This idea has been current since the early twentieth century;⁶ the study behind its most recent iteration is Clifford Ando's 2000 *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*.⁷ He argues that provincials gradually gave their willing loyalty to the emperor, because of daily exposure to imperial claims of divine support, good government, and justice, which were reinforced by sporadic interactions with various manifestations of Roman government that underlined those imperial messages (e.g. the census, the judicial system, and imperial

⁶ See, for example, M.P. Charlesworth's 1937 study of imperial virtues, whose conclusion is similar to Ando's: that "Rome" enjoyed the goodwill of the empire's inhabitants, because "her propaganda had been one not merely of words but of beneficent action" (1937: 127).

⁷ For the influence of Ando's book and the trend Ando represents, see, for example: Lobur 2008; Noreña 2011: esp. 318; Manders 2012: 24-25.

benefactions).⁸ As with this dissertation, Ando focusses on ritualised interactions, such as the “continuing dialogue” between emperor and provincials through embassies, the provincials’ *adoratio* of imperial letters, and the *aurum coronarium*.⁹ The end result, he concludes, was that the empire came to act like one big *domus* with the emperor as its *pater*.¹⁰

Ando’s conclusion recalls the language of civic love, which projected just that feeling of intimacy Ando implies existed at the imperial level. Yet as observed in Chapter 5.4, the language of civic love in Proconsularis existed solely at the local level in cities of both Roman and indigenous origin. It described the relationship between civic groups and civic notables or members of the imperial elite from the community, not the relationship between civic groups and the emperor.

The problem seems to lie with Ando’s methodology. First, he defines loyalty – a quality that is outwardly expressed and not necessarily tied to belief – solely as an “ideological construct”¹¹ and then seeks to explain this tangible quality through discourse analysis. Second, the engine of his argument is the theories of modern sociologists and anthropologists, such as Max Weber, Pierre Bourdieu, and especially Jürgen Habermas.¹² For example, he cites the Marxist Louis Althusser to make the exaggeration that the ubiquitous image of the emperor created the belief in provincials of a personal relationship with the emperor, “subconsciously sundering their

⁸ This is Ando’s concept of “consensual validity,” i.e. that Roman law, imperial ceremonies, and bureaucracy, as well as the emperor’s victories and rescripts, made Roman promises and claims tangible to provincials (2000: 66, 78).

⁹ Ando 2000: 190.

¹⁰ Ando 2000: 398-403.

¹¹ Ando 2000: 5, cf. 409-410.

¹² Cf. T.D. Barnes’ criticism: “Ando’s almost total neglect of the crucial role of local notables in running the Roman Empire seems to me largely to vitiate the thesis of his book” (2001: 884). In a letter to the editor three months later, Ando (2002: 248) suggests that Barnes’ “lacks sympathy for, or simply acquaintance with, the theoretical tradition on which I draw.” His theory-centred response only fuels the suspicion that Ando was overly reliant on theory to substantiate the claims of his book.

relations with each other and reconstituting them as the community of a benevolent Rome.”¹³ Ando then finds evidence, but it is disparate (spanning many genres and expanses of time and space), without a particular focus – such as honorific statues – to ground the interpretation of the other sources.

This is not to suggest that the citizens of cities in Proconsularis did not have any sense of connection with the emperor, but it was likely more formal and weaker than their connection to those whom they saw every day and with whom they had to interact regularly, whether or not they actually liked or respected them. Ando's theories, thus, only partially explain the development of loyalty towards Rome among provincials. They are useful for explaining the circulation of ideas in the empire, but are not complex enough to account for the many layers of relationships spanning the civic and imperial levels of society involved in developing loyalty to Rome. When analysing the functioning and stability of the Roman empire, scholars need to give more attention to the agency of the citizens of provincial communities, particularly that of non-decurional citizens.

For example, that the non-decurional citizens of cities – referred to in inscriptions as the *populus* or *curiales* – recorded on the bases on honorific statues their sentiments about the honoree and the various ways they participated in the honouring process suggests that they were very much a part of “epigraphic culture.”¹⁴ Traditionally, however, only those of high social status, such as the emperors, senators, and decurions, and those closely connected to them, like freedmen, are considered to have constituted the inscribing classes. This is because studies have

¹³ Ando 2000: 212.

¹⁴ Focussing on the epitaphs of Gaul from the second to fourth centuries CE, Woolf asserts that writing Latin expressed power and observes that the bulk of the free urban populations were uninscribed, which is to imply their powerlessness (1998: 93-94, 100-104). Bénabou makes much the same claim for the cities of North Africa (1976: 394).

focussed on individuals' names, mostly on epitaphs.¹⁵ Yet, if non-decurional citizens could collectively manipulate the traditions and customs of public honours, they must have also understood them. Even if the most pessimistic stance is taken – that the honoree's friends had stimulated the petition and that other notables had represented the *populus* or *curiae* in the collection, negotiations, and ceremonies –, that would not fully negate the citizens' investment in those events. Besides, this most pessimistic stance is unlikely; being an officer of a *curia* seems to have been within the reach of the average person, for example. In intimate cities, many citizens might have been content to belong to a group that would outlive them and whose engraved name would endure even longer.

A further implication is that no matter how rich and cultured notables became, they still belonged to the same cultural milieu as the rest of their fellow citizens. This fact points to complexity, rather than simplicity. On the one hand, dedicators sometimes explicitly took pride in their honorees' connections to Rome, such as their membership in the senatorial class, positions in the army or imperial bureaucracy, and in their Roman *doctrina*.¹⁶ On the other hand, it has long been understood that identification with Roman culture, membership in Roman institutions (even simply Roman citizenship), participation in empire-wide social networks, and the resultant increase in wealth and status distanced these same notables from their community of origin.¹⁷ The

¹⁵ E.g. Bénabou 1976: 515-578; Woolf 1998: 100-104; cf. Meyer (1990: 78-91), who focuses on the acquisition of Roman citizenship rather than social status.

¹⁶ E.g. from the *res publica* of Uchi Maius: *M(arco) Attio Corneliano praefecto praetorio eminentissimo viro civi et patrono ob incomparabilem erga patriam et cives amorem*, App. H.199; from the *ordo* of Gigthis: *[. Cae]cilio Cla[udia]no Aeliano [aed]ili flamine p[r]o v[er]i[nci]a[e] et patriae [. .] NI [. .] IMO [- - -]bus in [- - -] de[cu]rion[atus] - - - func]to hono[- - -] ordo G[ig]thensiu]m ob [le]gat[i]o[n]e]s [magna cum in]dustri[a] ges[ta]s - - -] quibus pietatem eius et studium clarissimi viri consulares plenissimo testimonio prosecuti sunt, App. H.18; from the *decuriones universi* of Bulla Regia: *patrono et alumnis ob benefici[a] quae in] universos municipes suos adsidue confer[t]*, App. H.10; from the *universae curiae* of Bulla Regia to a praetorian: *patrono et alumno coloniae*, App. H.72.*

¹⁷ Millett 1990a: 101; Woolf 1998: 33-47; Bénabou 1976: 390, 515-535, 586. I am here focussing on these scholars' analyses of cities and not their overall presentations of provinces, which are more complex because of the presence of soldiers and rural populations. Further, I reserve judgement on the implication that the Romans deliberately used Roman culture and institutions as tools to separate notables from their local population. Woolf

average citizen, thus, was in a bind. They needed their notables to navigate the intricate social conventions of Roman high society; they desired benefactions from them; and, no matter the state of their relationship, they had to live with them and/or their family in these small cities. They might have seen few viable options beyond divisive and unreliable legal processes for checking the mistreatment and misdeeds of notables. Rewarding a few through honorific statues and using the process to heighten that honour could have often been the preferred strategy for encouraging good conduct from notables. Still, that does not necessarily mean that the citizens' expressed pride in their honorees was insincere and forced. It may be better to conceive of the relationships between individual notables, their peers, and the *populus* as variable, going through phases as needs and circumstances changed.

Civic communities in Africa Proconsularis involved a network of relationships of varying and overlapping types. This dissertation has focussed on those between civic groups and their local honorees. Even when the honorees enjoyed prestigious far-off careers in the army or imperial bureaucracy, civic dedicators claimed them as their fellow citizens. They emphasised the emotional bonds between them, finding striking expressions and actions to stress their sincerity. This was not done just to praise or just to stimulate future benefactions, but also because in intimate cities, where political initiative was heavily circumscribed, positivity that one could memorialise in bronze and stone went further than negativity, which was best forgotten.

1998: 45, 75, 104-105, 242-243. Bénabou 1976: 390 (cf. 413, 425): "The gift of the right of Roman citizenship . . . was, in effect, used as [an] instrument of selection. Far from being the norm, it remained, at least until Septimius Severus, a favour reserved for an elite. . . . [I]t could only be, thus, since the start of romanisation, a factor in social division and the object of rivalries." Cf. Noreña 2011: 311-312, who finds that emperors and local notables were ideologically unified and that it was ultimately unimportant what the average person thought, since they were caught up in the ideological constructs of the more powerful.

Appendix A: IRT 601: Award of a Statue in a Two-horse Chariot (*biga*) to (Ti.) Plautius Lupus (Rufinus)

FACE A	FACE B	FACE C
1 [- - - flam]ini pon[tifici - - -]	1 [Q]uod expostulantibus universis decurio-	1 [Quod expost]ulantibus uni-
2 [- - - univers]us ordo qua[- - -]	2 nibus uti Plautio Lupo o(ptimo) o(rdinis) n(ostri) vir(o) biga de pub(lico)	2 [versis] dec]urionibus uti Plau-
3 [- - -]uas ob muni]ficentiam - - -]	3 collocetur q(uid) d(e) e(a) r(e) f(ieri) p(laceret) c(ensentis) L(uci) Cassi Longini II-	3 [tio Lupo] [IIvi]r(o) anni praeteriti ob
4 [- - -]uit in verba is[- - -]	4 vir(i) desig(nati) q(uid) p(laceret) c(irca) i(d) f(ieri) dec(uriones) i(ta) c(ensuerunt) cum Plautius Lupus	4 si[ngu]larem integritatem et mod-
5 [- - -]nus ex testam[ento]	5 o(ptimus) o(rdinis) n(ostri) vir cum flamonium consensu	5 es[tiam s]imulque ob munificentiam
6 [- - - d]e suo [- - -]	6 omnium sibi delatum libenter suscepis-	6 ei[us p]roximam bigam ei de publ(ico) po-
	7 set opulentissimos ludos ediderit sing-	7 n[er]et]ur Acilius Pompeianus IIvir
	8 u(lariter)q(ue) magnificentissima liberalitate pro-	8 v(erba) f(ecit) q(uid) d(e) e(a) r(e) f(ieri) p(laceret) cum Plautius Lupus secundu[m]
	9 meruerit in IIviratus quoq(ue) honore om-	9 v[er]e]c[u]ndiam suam v(erba) f(ecerit) ne onerare-
	10 nia secundum splendorem natalium	10 t urbem c[uius] pubes fid(em) studium
	11 [s]uorum dignitatemq(ue) col(oniae) n(ostrae) egerit et	11 in[- - d]ecurionum adoraret
	12 [e]ffusissimis adfectibus iterum splen-	12 co[n]t[en]tumq(ue) auctoritate
	13 didissimos ludos ediderit nec contentus	13 ip[s]orum de suo si permit-
	14 his liberalitatibus cellam thermar(um)	14 t[er]ent positurum adq(ue) ita in
	15 marmorib(us) Numidicis et opere musaeo ex-	15 s[e]ntentiam M(arci) Rufi flam-
	16 ornaverit omni deinde occasione singu]l(ariter)	16 i[ni]s perpetui q(uid) p(laceret) c(irca) i(d) f(ieri) dec(uriones) ce[n]-
? [- - -]QAÇA[- - -]	17 [p]romeruerit et proxime cum ad munus publ(icum)	17 s[u]erunt ut Plautius Lu-
? [- - - i]nter ceteras [- - -]	18 [e]x t(estamento) Iuni Afri c(larissimae) m(emoriae) viri edendum curator e-	18 pus sibi bigam quo loco
? [- - -]m TII[- - -]	19 le[c]tus esset sollicitudini labori q(ue) suo non pe-	19 vellet de suo poneret
	20 percerit et observata amplissimi senatus	
	21 voluntate splendidissime munus edi curaveri[t]	
	22 debentque huiusmodi adfectus	
? [- - -]adit	23 remunerari ut reliqui quoque ad eandem volup-	

? [- - -] sint quo	24	[tat]em sollicitari possint placere Plautio Lupo		
? [- - - sententia]m dixit fide	25	o(ptimo) o(rdinis) n(ostri) v(iro) [bi]gam de publ(ico) ubi volet collocari pos-		
	26	[se Plau]tius Lupus de suo collocaturum se dixit		

TRANSLATION

FACE B

1	Whereas all decurions are demanding that a <i>biga</i> at public expense
2	be erected to Plautius Lupus, best man of our order,
3	on the opinion of L. Cassius Longinus, <i>duumvir</i> designate, something should be agreed to be done
4	on this matter. About what should be done the decurions decided the following: since Plautius Lupus
5	is the best man of our order, and since he had willingly taken up
6	the flamine conferred on him by universal consent
7	[and] put on most lavish games and uniquely,
8	by most magnificent liberality, earned respect
9	[and] likewise in the office of the duumvirate did all things
10	according to the splendour of his family
11	and the status of our colony; and,
12	with a great outpouring of enthusiasm, he once again
13	put on most splendid games; and, not content
14	with these liberalities, he decorated a chamber of the

FACE C

1	Whereas all decurions are demanding
2	that to Plautius Lupus,
3	<i>duumvir</i> of the previous year, because of
4	his unique integrity and restraint and,
5	at the same time, because of his munificence,
6	a <i>biga</i> resembling him as much as possible be set up
7	at public expense, Acilius Pompeianus, <i>duumvir</i> ,
8	made the statement that something should be agreed to be done on this matter: since Plautius Lupus,
9	according to his modesty, made the statement that he would not
10	burden the city, whose people, [and whose] trust,
11	zeal and [- - -] of the decurions he reveres,
12	and that, content with their resolution,
13	he, if they permit,
14	would set it up at his own expense, and so,

15	baths with Numidian marbles and mosaics. On	15	after the opinion of M. Rufus <i>flamen</i>
16	every occasion, thereafter, he uniquely earned respect; and	16	<i>perpetuus</i> , about what should be done the decurions
17	most recently, since he had been selected as manager for putting on	17	decided that Plautius Lupus
18	a public [gladiatorial] show in accordance with the will of Iunius Afer, a man of illustrious memory,	18	should set up the <i>biga</i> to himself
19	he did not spare care and his own labour	19	at any place he wants at his own expense.
20	and, because he observed the will of a very full senate,		
21	he took care that the show was put on most splendidly;		
22	and [since] enthusiasm of this sort ought to be remunerated		
23	so that others may also be stirred to the same desire,		
24	it is agreed that to Plautius Lupus, the best man of		
25	our order, a <i>biga</i> can be erected at public expense where he wants.		
26	Plautius Lupus said that he would erect it at his own expense.		

Appendix B: Terms of Praise Found in the Inscriptions of Honorific Statues in Africa Proconsularis, from the First Century BCE to the Third Century CE

TERMS OF PRAISE	DEDICATORY TERMS									TOTAL
	<i>Ordo</i> or <i>Decuriones</i>	<i>Curia(e)</i>	<i>Populus</i>	<i>Ordo</i> and <i>Populus</i>	Juridical Status	Juridical Denominative	Demonym	<i>Res Publica</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	
PERSONAL QUALITIES										
<i>abstinentia</i>			1						2	3
<i>aequitas</i>	1									1
<i>bonitas</i> / <i>bonus,a,um</i>	4	1	1	3	1				1	11
<i>clementia</i>	1	3		2						6
<i>disciplina</i>	1	1								2
<i>eloquens, -ntis</i>					1					1
<i>fidelissima</i>				1						1
<i>fides</i> and cognates	1	3		1				1		6
<i>honestas</i> and cognates	2	1		2					1	6
<i>humanissimus</i>	1									1
<i>indoles</i>	1							1		2
<i>indulgentia</i>						1				1
<i>industria</i> and cognates	2									2
<i>innocentia</i> / <i>innocuus,a,um</i>	3	11		3			3		1	21
<i>integritas</i> and cognates	5	2		1					1	9
<i>iustitia</i>	2		1	2						5
<i>liberalis</i>		1								1
<i>moderatio</i>	1									1
<i>modestia</i>	2									2
<i>mores</i>	3	2		1						6
<i>pietas</i> and cognates	1				1				1	3
<i>probus,a,um</i>	3	1								4
<i>quietus,a,um</i>		1								1

TERMS OF PRAISE	DEDICATORY TERMS									TOTAL
	<i>Ordo</i> or <i>Decuriones</i>	<i>Curia(e)</i>	<i>Populus</i>	<i>Ordo</i> and <i>Populus</i>	Juridical Status	Juridical Denominative	Demonym	<i>Res Publica</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	
<i>religio</i>		1								1
<i>sanctitas</i>	1									1
<i>simplicitas</i> and cognates	2	2		1						5
<i>sincerus, a, um</i>		1								1
<i>sollicitudo</i>	2									
<i>studia</i>	1									1
<i>verecundia</i>	1									1
<i>virtutes (omnium v. viro)</i>		1								1
STATUS										
<i>defensor</i>	1								1	2
<i>dignus, u, um</i>	1									1
<i>incomparabilis, e</i>	4	3	2	1		2		1		13
<i>optimus, a, um</i> and <i>optime</i>	2	3				1	1	1	3	11
<i>praecurrens, -ntis</i>				1						1
<i>praestantia</i> and cognates	1	2								3
<i>primus, a, um</i>	3	5		3					2	13
<i>servator</i>	1									1
<i>solus, a, um</i>	1									1
<i>splendor</i> and cognates	2	2							2	6
CIVIC LOVE										
<i>adfectio</i> and cognates	6	3	1	2	1	1		1		15
<i>adfectus, us</i>	2									2
<i>alumnus, a</i>	3	1	1					1	1	7
<i>amicitia</i> and cognates		1					1			2

TERMS OF PRAISE	DEDICATORY TERMS									TOTAL
	<i>Ordo</i> or <i>Decuriones</i>	<i>Curia(e)</i>	<i>Populus</i>	<i>Ordo</i> and <i>Populus</i>	Juridical Status	Juridical Denominative	Demonym	<i>Res Publica</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	
TERMS OF QUANTITY, VALUE, AND OTHER MODIFIERS										
<i>admirabilis,e</i>							1			1
<i>adsiduus,a,um</i> and cognates	2	2								4
<i>ampliata</i>	1									1
<i>amplus,a,um</i> and <i>ampliter</i>				1					1	2
<i>bene</i>	1			1					1	3
<i>effusissimis</i>	1									1
<i>egregius,a,um</i>	2				2			1		5
<i>examinatus,a,um</i>				1						1
<i>eximius,a,um</i>	10	5		1	2	1	1	1	2	23
<i>frequens, -ntis</i>		1								1
<i>inimitabilis,e</i>	1									1
<i>inlustris,e</i>	1									1
<i>innumerabilis,e</i>				1				1		2
<i>insignis,e</i>	5	5	2	5	2		1	2	3	25
<i>magnus,a,um</i>	1		1					1		3
<i>mirus,a,um</i>	1			1						2
<i>multiformis,e</i>	1			1						2
<i>multiplex, -licis</i>				2						2
<i>multus,a,um</i>	1			4				1		6
<i>nimius,a,um</i>							1			1
<i>novus,a,um</i>		1								1
<i>nudus,a,um</i>			1							1
<i>numerosus,a,um</i>				1					1	2
<i>opulentissimos (ludos)</i>	1									1
<i>plenus,a,um</i>		1								1

TERMS OF PRAISE	DEDICATORY TERMS									TOTAL
	<i>Ordo</i> or <i>Decuriones</i>	<i>Curia(e)</i>	<i>Populus</i>	<i>Ordo</i> and <i>Populus</i>	Juridical Status	Juridical Denominative	Demonym	<i>Res Publica</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	
<i>plures,a</i>		1								1
<i>proprius,a,um</i> (<i>propria liberalitas</i>)				1						1
<i>sacer,cra,crum</i>						1				1
<i>sedulus,a,um</i>				1						1
<i>sempiternus,a,um</i>	1									1
<i>singularis,e</i>	11	9	1	7	1		2			31
<i>summus,a,um</i>	1							1		2
<i>tantus,a,um</i>		1								1
<i>tot</i>		1								1
<i>universus,a,um</i> (<i>universa officiorum</i>)				1						1
<i>vere</i>	1									1
OTHER										
<i>comprobatus,a,um</i> (spelling: <i>-bito</i>)				1						1
<i>concordia</i>									1	1
<i>exemplum</i>	3	3						1		7
<i>meritus,a</i> and cognates	20	20	3	13	5	3		2	6	72
<i>promereo</i>	1	1		1						3
<i>ornamentum</i> (= honoree)						1				1

Appendix C: The Usages of *Merita* and Cognates

Honoree (citation)	Place	Date	Dedicator								
			Local	ordo	ordo and populus	populus	Juridical Denominative	curia(e)	res publica	Juridical Status	Unknown
Members of the Imperial Elite											
consul, <i>comes Augusti</i> , and son (App. H.146)	Mactaris	250/ 299, maybe 253/268	◆		*						
consular patron, <i>pontifex dei Solis</i> (App. H.214)	Madauros	274									*
senator, <i>legatus Augusti</i> , patron (App. H.99)	Segermes	175/225						*			
senator, patron (App. H.156)	Ureu	250/299	◆		*						
senatorial <i>curator rei publicae</i> (App. H.102)	Sufetula	222/250						*			
equestrian <i>dux per Africam, praefectus classis</i> , patron (App. H.9)	Bisica			*							
equestrian <i>praefectus fabrum, patronus pagi</i> , son (App. H.220)	Thugga	166/169	◆								*
equestrian <i>procurator Augusti</i> (App. H.34)	Sicca Veneria	175/180	◆	*							
wife of <i>procurator Augusti</i> (App. H.69)	Althiburos	161/192	◆					*			
equestrian <i>advocatus fisci, sacerdos Lanuvinus</i> (App. H.197)	Thugga	260/268	◆						*		
Civic Notables											
<i>flamen perpetuus</i> , patron, equestrian father of senatorial boy (App. H.3)	Avedda	150/299	◆	*							
son of equestrian, (adopted?) brother of senatorial boy (App. H.62)	Ureu	200/250	◆	*							
<i>curator rei publicae</i> , decurion of Carthage, local(?) <i>duumvir quinquennalis</i> (App. H.46)	Thimida Regia	286 at latest		*							
decurion at Carthage, <i>patronus pagi</i> (App. H.128)	Uchi Maius	125/174	◆			*					
daughter of Carthaginian decurion (App. H.192)	Thibaris	228							*		
patron (App. H.183)	Thugga	138 at latest	◆							*	
son, brother of patron (App. H.182)	Thugga	138 at latest	◆							*	
provincial priest of Africa, <i>duumvir, flamen perpetuus</i> (App. H.153)	Thubursicu Numidarum	112/180	◆		*						
<i>duumvir quinquennalis, flamen Augusti perpetuus</i> (App. H.12)	Calama	c.211	◆	*							
<i>flamen perpetuus</i> , patron (App. H.53)	Thugga	205/206	◆	*							
<i>flamen perpetuus, duumvir quinquennalis</i> , maternal uncle (App. H.66)	Vaga		◆	*							

Honoree (citation)	Place	Date	Dedicator								
			Local	ordo	ordo and populus	populus	Juridical Denominative	curia(e)	res publica	Juridical Status	Unknown
<i>flamen perpetuus, duumvir</i> (App. H.91-97; seven near identical inscriptions from different <i>curiae</i> of Sabratha)	Sabratha	100/299	◆ x7					* x7			
<i>flamen perpetuus, duumvir</i> (App. H.122)	Ammaedara	150/211	◆			*					
<i>flamen perpetuus, duumvir</i> (App. H.129)	Bulla Regia	225/274	◆		*						
<i>flamen perpetuus, duumvir</i> (App. H.132)	Gigthis	138/161	◆		*						
<i>flamen perpetuus, duumvir</i> (App. H.133)	Gigthis	138/161	◆		*						
<i>flamen perpetuus, duumvir</i> (App. H.134)	Gigthis	150/199	◆		*						
<i>flamen perpetuus</i> and wife (App. H.143)	Gigthis		◆		*						
<i>flamen perpetuus</i> (App. H.41)	Sufetula		◆	*							
<i>flamen perpetuus</i> (App. H.27)	Limisa	200/299	◆	*							
<i>flamen perpetuus</i> (App. H.185)	Thugga	180/192	◆							*	
<i>flaminica perpetua</i> (App. H.118)	Thubursicu Numidarum		◆					*			
<i>flaminica perpetua</i> , daughter (App. H.203)	Calama	161/169 or 198/217	◆								*
<i>flaminica perpetua</i> (App. H.73)	Capsa		◆					*			
<i>flamen perpetuus Augusti</i> (App. H.180)	Thugga	50/99	◆							*	
<i>flamen divi Augusti</i> (App. H.25)	Lepcis Magna	109/200	◆	*							
<i>curator aquae</i> , father of equestrian <i>flamen perpetuus</i> (App. H.127)	Thugga	205/211	◆			*					
two sons of a <i>flamen perpetuus, duumvir</i> , patron (App. H.158)	Vallis		◆		*						
equestrian son of <i>flamen perpetuus</i> (App. H.120)	Uthina	117/138	◆					*			
equestrian <i>duumvir quinquennalis designatus</i> (App. H.165)	Sabratha	190/299					*				
<i>duumvir</i> , patron (App. H.61)	Ureu	161/ c.193	◆	*							
daughter of equestrian (App. H.3)	Ammaedara	193/35	◆	*							
<i>duumvir</i> , military tribune, <i>praefectus cohortis</i> , son (App. H.33)	Sabratha	100/199	◆	*							
<i>duumviralis, sacerdos Liberi</i> (App. H.117)	Thubursicu Numidarum	209/211	◆					*			
<i>duumvir</i> (App. H.100)	Simitthus	138/192	◆					*			
<i>duumvir</i> (App. H.82)	Madauros		◆					*			
<i>duumvir</i> (App. H.142)	Gigthis		◆		*						

Honoree (citation)	Place	Date	Dedicator								
			Local	ordo	ordo and populus	populus	Juridical Denominative	curia(e)	res publica	Juridical Status	Unknown
<i>duumvir</i> (App. H.148)	Madauros		◆		*						
aedile post mortem (App. H.14)	Carthago		◆	*							
civic magistrate or possibly <i>magister curiae</i> (App. H.76)	Henchir Zian (Zita)	138 at earliest	◆					*			
<i>sacerdos</i> (App. H.208)	Carthago	1/199	◆								*
legionary tribune (App. H.49)	Thuburnica	c.138/193		*							
<i>antistes curiae, patronus curiae</i> (App. H.79)	Lepcis Minor	90/199	◆					*			
<i>benefactor</i> (App. H.135)	Gigthis	150/199	◆		*						
deceased father of a benefactor (App. H.185)	Thugga	166/168	◆							*	
father-in-law (App. H.167)	Suas						*				
Unknown Status											
patron, benefactor? (App. H.58)	Uchi Maius	230/299		*							
<i>munerarius</i> (App. H.119)	Thysdrus	286/305	◆					*			
mother (App. H.68)	Zama Regia		◆	*							
a woman (App. H.19)	Gigthis			*							
man and two youths? (App. H.113)	Theveste	193/235						*			
a man (App. H.161)	Chaouat						*				
(App. H.63)	Ureu	200/299, likely 200/235	◆	*							
(App. H.24)	Hippo Regius			?							*
(App. H.144)	Gigthis				*						
(App. H.203)	Belalis Maior										*
Total 72			56	20	13	3	3	20	2	5	6

Citing one's merit is easily the most frequent form of praise. Typically, it is found in the prepositional clause *ob merita* or, a few times, *ob meritum*, but other formulations exist with the same general point. At Lepcis Magna, the *ordo* erected a statue to a “deserving” *flamen* of the divine Augustus (*merenti*, App. H.25). At Avedda, the honoree was “truly deserving” (*vere meren[ti]*, App. H.5). In Ureu, two honorees were described as *bene meritis*, which is translated

best as “well deserving” (*AE* 1975, 877, 880). Finally, in Thugga the *populus* honoured a *curator aquae* “for his merits” (*pro meritis eius*, App. H.127), a phrase which was amplified at Simitthus: “for so many and so great merits” (*pro tot ta[n]tisque meritis ei[u]s*, App. H.100).

There were sometimes qualifications. The *merita* could be “exceptional” (*eximia*)¹ or “many” (*multa*).² Some inscriptions indicate that the *merita* were directed at the community. For example, the *ordo* of Sabratha honoured a military tribune of local origin “because of his exceptional merits towards the *res publica*” (*ob merit(a) eius erga rem publicam ex[im]ia*], App. H.33) and the *populus* and *ordo* of Bulla Regia state that they honoured a *flamen perpetuus* partly because of “his other merits with respect to everyone” (*praeter cetera eius iuxta omnes merita ob editionem lusionis primo*, App. H.129).

This last point in particular gives weight to Sabine Lefebvre's observation that praise of merit had a local quality in the provinces of Baetica, Lusitania, and Mauretania Tingitana. She observes that mostly local notables were praised for their merits or, less frequently, imperial officials with a connection to the community, like a *curator rei publicae*.³ The local nature is inherent in the very vagueness of the phrase, she argues, for it assumes that readers would know the honorees well-enough to understand the exact virtues, services, or benefactions alluded to by the word. As will be seen, however, the vagueness might have been serving a different purpose.

For Proconsularis, this local nature can be detected in other ways. First, the usage of the term is heavily weighted towards individuals of local origin, mostly civic notables. As seen in the above table, fifty-six of the seventy-two honorees can be identified as local. Second, individuals could be honoured not because of their own merit, but that of a relative. The shortest inscription

¹ Limisa: App. H.27; Sabratha: App. H.33.

² Ureu: App. H.62; Gigthis: App. H.132, 138, 142; Madauros: App. H.141.

³ Lefebvre 1994: 276, 279; 1996: 1494-1495.

(from Chaouat) simply says: “To M. Plotius Verus, the citizens, due the merits of his father” (*M(arco) Plotio Vero cives ob patris merita*, App. H.161). At Thugga, two brothers, one of whom was a patron, were also honoured because of their own merits and those of their father (*ob merita et ipsius et patris eius*, App. H.182-183). Most notably, the statue at Ureu to L. Octavius Gallus Atticus Concessus was due to the “many merits of his father and grandfather towards their native city and the *res publica* and their honourable acts of munificent liberality” (*ob multa merita patris atque avi eius in patriam et in rem p(ublicam) et honestas eorum munificentias liberalitates*, App. H.62). The focus here is on the (probably) deceased relatives. Given that his brother is called a “boy,” Concessus was likely young himself and had yet to enter politics. The decurions' honour, thus, is based on their memory of Concessus' family and perhaps on hope for future benefactions.

Elizabeth Forbis has tried to add some structure to the phrase, by placing it within a patron-client framework. She equates it with the much rarer term *beneficia* (found once in Proconsularis), asserting that the dedicators preferred using *merita* for it placed the focus on earning recognition rather than on the benefactions.⁴ In other words, for Forbis the use of *merita* masked the transactional nature of many honorific statues. When the adjective is found alone without further information, she asserts, the “merits” denoted “generosity”⁵ and “had primarily financial connotations for its Roman audience.”⁶

Generosity was the message sometimes in Proconsularis. At Thugga, an inscription organised into two columns is headed by the announcement that the honour is *ob meritum* (App. H.187). While extremely lacunose, the columns seem to record a major benefaction to the city,

⁴ Forbis 1996: 21.

⁵ This is likely the source of Crété's criticism that Forbis treats *merita* like a virtue (2010: 210). This criticism is unnecessary, however, for Forbis' main point is that the term *merita* denotes acts of beneficence.

⁶ Forbis 1996: 17.

which the honoree had ordered in his will. The cited “merit,” therefore, would seem to be the deceased honoree's generosity. Moreover, at Uthina the *curiae* honoured C. Egnatius Cosminus Vinicianus for the merits of his father, which are specified as legacies to the city (*ob meritum patris eius qui inter cetera quae rei p(ublicae) testamento suo legavit*), the principal one being 75 *denarii* to each *curia* in order to feast publicly on his birthday (App. H.120). Thus, when the *ordo* and *populus* of Gigthis praised Q. Satrius Lupercus for his “many merits towards the *res publica*,” as well as his administration of the duumvirate, they might have been distinguishing between his conduct as *duumvir* and certain unspecified financial gifts to the community (*ob multa in rem p(ublicam) merita et insignem Ilviratus administrationem*, App. H.142).

Generosity could not have been the message in every case, however. *Merita* could also be praise in addition to the munificence of the honoree. The *ordo* of Calama honoured a *flamen perpetuus* “because of his merits and munificence” (*ob merita et munificentiam eius*, App. H.12) and at Gigthis the “senate” and *populus* honoured the Servaei brothers Firmus and Fuscus “because of [their] merits towards the *res publica* and singular munificence towards each and every one” (*ob merita in rem p(ublicam) et singularem in sing(ulos) universosq(ue) munificentiam*, App. H.134, 135). The separation of *munificentia* from *merita* suggests that the drafters intended *merita* to cover virtues and acts distinct from the benefaction. In another inscription from Gigthis, the “many merits” that M. Servilius Draco Albucianus (App. H.132) and M. Iulius Puteolanus (App. H.138) showed to their community are connected to embassies to Rome they undertook at their own expense (*amplissimum munificentiae studium*), but also to the (eventual) success of the mission.⁷ The “merits,” thus, point not just to their generosity, but also

⁷ *tandemq(ue) feliciter renuntiaverit*, App. H.132; *ac feliciter [a]dminis[travit]*, App. H.138. Another honour to Albucianus, which might be connected to the same set of embassies (since the *populus* similarly insisted on dedicating it despite his remittance), simply says *ob merita* (App. H.133).

to their leadership skills, faithful administration, and persuasiveness.

Merita are also associated with the language of civic love. It was argued in Chapter 5.4.A that the terms *amor*, *adfectio*, *adfectus*, *benevolentia*, and *studium* are connected to benefactions, but that they specifically address the positive attitude of donors and the healthy relationship that existed between them and the city. At Sabratha, for example, an equestrian *duumvir quinquennalis* designate is called an *amator patriae*, while the honour itself is said to be “because of his merits” (*amatori patriae [c]ives ob merita*, App. H.165). Similarly, the Roman and peregrine *ordines* of Thugga declare that they are repaying “the merits of a good citizen and patron” (*uterque ordo [rem]uneratus boni civis et [p]atroni merita*, App. H.53). Just above in the inscription, these merits are explained as “exceptional love towards the citizens and goodness towards his native city” (*[ob exi]mium amorem [in ci]ves et in patriam [bon]itatem*). At the end, the decurions expand on these sentiments by declaring the statue to be an “eternal memory of their mutual love” (*ob amoris mutui memoriam sempiternam*). It seems unlikely that only financial benefactions were on their minds.

The clearest instance of the separation of *merita* from benefactions is found at Simitthus. There, the *curiae* declare at the top of an inscription that they are honouring Veturius Fortunatus for “incomparable administration of the *duumvirate* and singular blamelessness demonstrated with the public interests and advantages” (*[o]b . . . et admini[stration]em IIViratus in[comp]arabilem et inn[ocen]tiam singularem [uti]litatibus publicis commodisque exhibitam*, App. H.100). Yet at the bottom, they say that the statue is “for so many and so great merits” (*pro tot ta[n]tisque meritis ei[u]s*). The latter would seem to gloss the former. It would be surprising if financial benefits to the city were not included among these merits, but the inscription is clear that Fortunatus' personal qualities and conduct while *duumvir* are also at point.

In summation, “merit” was a purposefully malleable term that could gloss any service, benefaction, or virtue. In a sense, it merely repeats the implied message of the honorific statue itself: that this person deserved the recognition (cf. *Rhet. ad Herr.* 3.3.4). When no more information is provided, there is no way to know to what the *merita* refer. In some cases, benefactions alone could be meant or possibly just good conduct, but in many cases the *merita* probably referred to a mixture of virtues, services, and benefactions.

The vagueness of the praise makes interpretation difficult. From the point of view of the honourers, however, this might have been the strength of phrases like *ob meritum*. It remains possible that few exceptional benefactions, services, or virtues underlay their usage. Several times, the very vagueness of the citation of merit almost seems to give the praise a cursory quality. In Calama, an inscription commemorates a statue that (perhaps) the *ordo* dedicated to Annia Aelia Restituta for the construction of the city's theatre (App. H.206). It also notes that the *cives* had honoured her father – a *flamen perpetuus* of the Augustus – *ob merita*. The focus on Restituta is confirmed by another inscription, which records that the *ordo* decreed five statues to her because of the theatre (App. H.11). She is clearly the important person here and likely the stimulus for the *cives'* honour to her father. His *merita* might be glossing a long list of positive acts and qualities, but just as potentially not. Since the active years of his career were likely behind him, less and less citizens would have known for sure.

Similarly, the *pagus* and *civitas* of Thugga decreed a post-mortem statue to Q. Marcius Maximus “because of the munificence of L. Marcius Simplex, his son, and because of his own merits.” The munificence was no less than the building of the Capitolium of the city (*ob munificentiam L(uci) Marci Simplicis fili(i) eius et ob ipsius merita*, App. H.185). Simplex himself received a statue for this munificence (*ob egregiam ei[us munifi]centiam*, App. H.186),

which was also the cause of a third statue to his deceased brother (*ob munificentiam L(uci) Marci Simplicis fratris eius et honorem memoriae ipsius*, App. H.184). The *merita* of Maximus seem to have been beside the point. It is not that he did not have them. Rather, it was only his son's construction of the Capitolium that made them worthy of commemoration.

Appendix D: Quorums, Majorities, and Numbers of Decurions Present

Table 1: Quorum and Size of Majority Required for Decurions to Conduct Certain Business

CITATION	QUORUM	MAJORITY	PROCEDURE	SUBJECT
LI 29	2/3			granting of guardian
LI 31	2/3			day for choosing replacement decurions
LI A		majority		issues not discussed elsewhere in <i>lex</i>
LI D	2/3	3/4		to annul, void, or erase decree
LI G	2/3			to check and confirm accounts of colonist handling public money
LI L	2/3			establishment of <i>curiae</i>
LI 61	2/3	majority	oath & ballot	adoption of patron
LCGI 97, 130	50	3/4	ballot	adoption of senator as patron
LI 62	majority			demolition of roofed building inside the city not to be rebuilt in one year
LCGI 75	50			demolition of building within the city without immediate rebuilding
TH lines 32-38	none			demolition of building
LI 64	2/3			concerning <i>praedes, praedia, cognitores</i>
LI 67	2/3			to commission someone to check and confirm accounts of public money
LI 68	2/3			to determine who will plead the public cause concerning public funds
LI 69	2/3		oath & ballot	to hear, judge, and fix penalty in cases concerning municipal funds
LI 70	2/3			to vet and appoint person to bring action or sue in name of the <i>municipes</i> or to defend in name of the <i>municipes</i>
LCGI 96	majority	majority		to begin investigation or judgement about public money
LI 72	2/3	2/3		manumission of public slaves
LI 73		majority		appointment of public scribes
LI 76	2/3			to raise question of inspecting territories and revenue sources of the <i>municipium</i>
LI 77		majority		funds for religious observances, games, banquets for the <i>municipes</i> , decurions, or both together
LI 79	3/4		oath & ballot	to raise and decide on distribution and other matters concerning public funds
LI 79	1/2			to raise question of and decide on sums to be spent on religious observances, games, dinners for decurions or <i>municipes</i> , building and repair work

CITATION	QUORUM	MAJORITY	PROCEDURE	SUBJECT
LCGI 64	2/3	majority		to raise question of number of days for festivals, public sacrifices, and who should perform the sacrifices
LI 78	<i>quam fr[e]quentissimos poterit</i>	majority		assignment of business to public slaves
LI 80	3/4		ballot	to decide on public loans
LI 83	3/4	2/3		to decide on public building, which requires labour from the <i>municipes</i>
LCGI 98	majority	majority		to decide type of public building required each year and amount of labour adult male inhabitants owe to colony
LCGI 69	20			to determine the procedure for assigning and paying sums to public contractors
LCGI 69	30			to pay contractor before procedure set
LCGI 92	majority	majority		to send of an embassy
LI G		2/3		to send someone on embassies whose accounts of public money have yet to be checked and confirmed or to send some who is commissioned with auditing these accounts
TH lines 142-56		majority		whom to send to Rome with census results
LCGI 13	25			concerning the <i>praedes</i> and <i>praedia</i> a magistrate-elect must give before entering office
LCGI 99	2/3	majority		where to build aqueduct
LCGI 100	40	majority		for colonist to access public overflow water
LCGI 103		majority		<i>duumvir</i> leading out <i>coloni</i> , <i>incolae</i> , and <i>contributi</i> under arms and the limits of his power to punish the men under arms
LCGI 126	50			seating arrangement at stage shows
LCGI 131		majority		to raise question of adopting a senator as a <i>hospes</i>
LOTB I.2	40	majority		for magistrate to swear in the <i>comitium</i> that he is prohibiting an assembly of the people for the common good of the <i>res publica</i> , rather than out of enmity or influence
Dig. 50.9.3, Ulpianus <i>libro tertio de appellationibus</i>	2/3			states that the <i>lex municipalis</i> requires minimum quorum of 2/3 for decurions to meet

Table 2: Epigraphic References to Number of Decurions Present at a Vote of an Ordo

CITATION	CITY	DATE	NUMBER PRESENT	SUBJECT
<i>CIL</i> X 1783 = Serk 1970, 34	Puteoli	?	92	remittance of <i>solarium</i> to <i>vir probissimus</i>
<i>CIL</i> XIV 2466 = Serk 1970, 54	Castrimoenium	31 CE	26	that a man and his descendents be given a plot of land

Appendix E: References to the Civic *Curiae* in the Roman Empire

	City (and civic status) ¹	Number of <i>curiae</i>	Names of <i>curiae</i>	Other References
ITALY				
1	Lanuvium ²		Clodia Firma (<i>CIL</i> XIV 2126)	<i>CIL</i> XIV 2114; <i>CIL</i> XIV 2120
2	Tarentum			<i>LT</i> 1.15
SARDINIA				
3	Colonia Turris Libisonis ³	twenty-three (<i>CIL</i> X 7953)		
BAETICA				
4	Colonia Genetiva Iulia	twenty-four (see names of <i>curiae</i> column)	Acilia, Aemilia, Albania, Antonia, Asinia, Aurelia, Caecilia, Calpurnia, Camerina, Ersilia, Fabia, Fulvia, Hortensia, Ilia, Iulia, Iunia, Licinia, Martia, Salutaris, Scribonia, Tituria, Troia, Valeria, Veneria (<i>LCGI</i> 15)	<i>LCGI</i> 16
5	Municipium Flavium Irnitantum	up to eleven (<i>LI</i> L)		<i>LI</i> 59 (partially restored)
6	Municipium Flavium Malacitanum			<i>LM</i> 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59
AFRICA PROCONSULARIS				
7	Ammaedara (<i>colonia</i>)	ten (perhaps, <i>AE</i> 1999, 1792) ⁴		<i>CIL</i> VIII 23261; <i>AE</i> 1999, 1796
8	Bulla Regia (<i>colonia</i>)			<i>AE</i> 1964, 178
9	Capsa (<i>municipium</i> , probably)	ten (? <i>AE</i> 1996, 1700) ⁵		
10	Cillium (<i>colonia</i>)			<i>CIL</i> VIII 210+p.925,2353=11299; <i>CIL</i> VIII 23207
11	Curubis (Caesarian <i>colonia</i>)		Poblicia (<i>ILAfr.</i> 320)	
12	Hippo Regius (<i>colonia</i>)			<i>AE</i> 1958, 144 (as reconstructed); <i>CIL</i> VIII

¹ At time of references to *curiae*.

² See the following note.

³ Amodio calls these “phantom” *curiae* (as well as those of Lanuvium), meaning twenty-three *collegia* which simply used the term *curia* (1998: 238-239 with n.50). She did not have *LCGI* 16 for comparison, however, which bestows a similar number on the Colonia Genetiva. Thus, her rejection of the Italian and Sardinian evidence as unrelated to the *curiae* in civic *leges* turns out to be premature.

⁴ The stone is lacunose and has been reconstructed as “X [*curiae col(on)iae*] Fl(*aviae*) Aug(*ustae*) Emeritae Ammaedarensium].

⁵ The stone is lacunose, but the traditional restoration is: [*curial*]es curi[ae dece]m. Khanoussi (1996: 1342-46) suggests that it could also be restored as [*curial*]es curi[arum dece]m, or curi[ae Septi]m(iae) or as curi[ar(um) omniu]m.

	City (and civic status)	Number of <i>curiae</i>	Names of <i>curiae</i>	Other References
				5276a=17454a= <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.95; <i>CIL</i> VIII 5276b=17454b= <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.96
13	Lepcis Magna (<i>colonia</i>)	eleven known (see names)	Augusta (<i>IRT</i> 405, 416); Dacica (<i>IRT</i> 413, 541); Germanica (<i>IRT</i> 391, 417); Iulia (<i>IRT</i> 406, 417); Marciana (<i>IRT</i> 417); Matidia (<i>IRT</i> 411, 436); Nervia (<i>IRT</i> 411, 414); Pia (Severiana) (<i>IRT</i> 416, 420); Plotina (<i>IRT</i> 411); Traiana (<i>IRT</i> 413); Ulpia (<i>IRT</i> 416, 421)	
14	Lepti Minus (<i>colonia</i>)		Augusta (<i>CIL</i> VIII 22900); Ulpia (<i>CIL</i> VIII 22901)	
15	Mactaris (<i>colonia</i>)			<i>CIL</i> VIII 629; <i>CIL</i> VIII 11813+p.2372; <i>CIL</i> VIII 11814+p.2372
16	Madauros (<i>colonia</i>)			<i>AE</i> 1931, 40; <i>AE</i> 1931, 41; <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.2130; <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.2145
17	Neapolis (<i>colonia</i>)		Aelia (<i>CIL</i> VIII 974+p.1282)	
18	Pupput (<i>municipium</i> or <i>colonia</i>)			<i>IL Afr.</i> 315
19	Sabratha (<i>colonia</i>)		Augusta (<i>IRT</i> 118); Caelestis (<i>IRT</i> 119); Faustina (<i>IRT</i> 120); Hadriana (<i>IRT</i> 121); Jovis (<i>IRT</i> 122); Mercuri (<i>IRT</i> 123); Neptuni (<i>IRT</i> 124)	<i>IRT</i> 125
20	Simitthus (<i>colonia</i>)		Germanica (<i>AE</i> 1955, 126= <i>AE</i> 1993, 1759), Martia (<i>AE</i> 1955, 126= <i>AE</i> 1993, 1759); Caelestia (<i>CIL</i> VIII 14613); Iovis (<i>CIL</i> VIII 14683)	<i>CIL</i> VIII 1261+p.980=10594=14612;
21	Sufetula (<i>municipium</i> and <i>colonia</i>)			<i>CIL</i> VIII 240=11344; <i>CIL</i> VIII 11332; <i>CIL</i> VIII 11340+p. 2354; <i>CIL</i> VIII 11345; <i>CIL</i> VIII 11348; <i>CIL</i> VIII 11349; <i>CIL</i> VIII 23226; <i>IL Afr.</i> 134; <i>IL Afr.</i> 137; <i>IL Afr.</i> 138
22	Thizika (<i>colonia</i>)			<i>AE</i> 1952, 41
23	Thuburbo Maius (<i>municipium</i> and <i>colonia</i>)	eleven (<i>ILTun.</i> 728)		<i>IL Afr.</i> 271; <i>IL Afr.</i> 282
24	Thuburnica (Augustan <i>colonia</i>)			<i>AE</i> 1988, 1116

	City (and civic status)	Number of <i>curiae</i>	Names of <i>curiae</i>	Other References
25	Thysdrus (<i>colonia</i>)			<i>CIL</i> VIII 22852
26	Uthina (Augustan <i>colonia</i>)		Valeria (<i>AE</i> 2004, 1833)	<i>CIL</i> VIII 10523=12424; <i>CIL</i> VIII 24017
27	Vallis (<i>colonia</i> , maybe <i>municipium</i>)			<i>ILTun.</i> 1282
28	Althiburos (<i>municipium</i>)	ten (<i>CIL</i> VIII 1827+p.2722=16472; <i>CIL</i> VIII 1828+p.2722)		<i>CIL</i> VIII 1830=16468; <i>CIL</i> VIII 16473
29	Djebel Chaouat (<i>municipium</i>)			<i>CIL</i> VIII 25371
30	Furnos Minus (<i>municipium</i>)			<i>AE</i> 1961, 53
31	Gigthis (<i>municipium</i>)			<i>CIL</i> VIII 22721
32	Municipium Aurelium C[- -]			<i>CIL</i> VIII 826+p.1271; <i>CIL</i> VIII 829=12348; <i>CIL</i> VIII 12353; <i>CIL</i> VIII 12354; <i>CIL</i> VIII 12356+p.2421
33	Municipium Cincaritanum			<i>CIL</i> VIII 14769+p.2553
34	Mustis (<i>municipium</i>)		Augusta (<i>AE</i> 1968, 588, 593)	<i>CIL</i> VIII 16417= <i>AE</i> 1968, 609; <i>AE</i> 1968, 591, 593
35	Pheradi Maius (<i>municipium</i> , perhaps also as <i>colonia</i>)			<i>CIL</i> VIII 23056; <i>AE</i> 1932, 34; <i>AE</i> 2003, 1933; <i>ILTun.</i> 250
36	Segermes		Aurelia Antoniniana (<i>AE</i> 1992, 1794)	
37	Thagaste (<i>municipia</i>)			<i>CIL</i> VIII 5146+p.1634= <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.876
38	Thubursicu Numidarum (<i>municipium</i>)			<i>ILAlg.</i> 1.1295; <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.1298; <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.1301
39	Thugga (at transition to <i>municipium</i>)			<i>CIL</i> VIII 26591
40	Ureu (<i>municipium</i> probably)			<i>AE</i> 1975, 877
41	Zawiet el Laala			<i>CIL</i> VIII 12434+p.2434
42	Gurza (<i>civitas</i> or <i>municipium</i>)			<i>CIL</i> VIII 72=23021
43	Zucchar (probably <i>municipium</i> , maybe			<i>CIL</i> VIII 924+p.2338=11201

	City (and civic status)	Number of <i>curiae</i>	Names of <i>curiae</i>	Other References
	<i>civitas</i>)			
44	Henchir Bir el Achmin		Salinensis ? (<i>CIL</i> VIII 12258) ⁶	
45	Muzuca			<i>CIL</i> VIII 12096
46	Henchir Zian		Faustina (<i>CIL</i> VIII 11008)	
NUMIDIA				
47	Lambaesis (<i>colonia</i>)	at least ten (see names)	Antoniniana (<i>CIL</i> VIII 3293); Augusta (<i>CIL</i> VIII 3293); Aurelia (<i>CIL</i> VIII 3293); Hadriana Felix veteranorum legionis III Augustae (<i>CIL</i> VIII 18214; <i>CIL</i> VIII 18234; <i>AE</i> 1916, 22; <i>AE</i> 1968, 646); Iovia (<i>CIL</i> VIII 3302); Iulia (Felix) (<i>CIL</i> VIII 2596=18094; <i>CIL</i> VIII 3516+p.955,1742) Papiria (<i>CIL</i> VIII 2712; <i>CIL</i> VIII 3293); Sabina (<i>CIL</i> VIII 2714=18118); Saturnia (<i>CIL</i> VIII 3293); Traiana (<i>CIL</i> VIII 3293; <i>CIL</i> VIII 3516+p.955,1742)	<i>CIL</i> VIII 3298; <i>AE</i> 1914, 40
48	Diana Veteranorum (<i>municipium</i>)	10? (<i>AE</i> 2009, 1789) ⁷		
49	Lamsorti		Plutonis? (<i>AE</i> 1901, 115) ⁸	
50	Mascula		Neptunalis <i>CIL</i> VIII 17705	
51	Thamugadi (<i>colonia</i>)		Commoda (<i>CIL</i> VIII 2405=17825); ⁹ Commodiana (<i>AE</i> 1982, 958); Marcia (<i>CIL</i> VIII 17906); Traiana vet[er]anorum] leg(ionis) II[I Aug(ustae)] (<i>AE</i> 1913, 119); Plotina (<i>AE</i> 2009, 1765)	<i>CIL</i> VIII 17829; <i>CIL</i> VIII 17831; <i>AE</i> 1901, 191; <i>AE</i> 1941, 46; <i>AE</i> 1954, 154

⁶ Caballos Rufino 2006: 237 n.324.

⁷ Dupuis (2009: 108) restores the inscription to read “[*curiis*] *decem*.”

⁸ The inscription reads: *Plutoni August[o] Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aurelio Pii f(ilio) Antonino Aug(usto) Medi(co) Ger(manico) max(imo) tr(ibunicia) [p]ot(estate) patri patriae templum per vetusta[tem] dilabsum curia eius a solo ampliato de sua pec(unia) restitu[it] idemq(ue) dedic(avit)*. Kotula (1968: 40, n.77) logically argues that “*eius*” refers to Pluto rather than M. Aurelius. *AE* 1909, 126 reprints the text, but, instead of *curia eius*, it has *cura eius*. The Clauss-Slaby database unfortunately follows this misspelling. The 1908 publication, however, preserves the original wording of *curia eius* found in *AE* 1901, 115 (1908, *Recueil des notices et mémoires de la Société archéologique de la province de Constantine*, p. 279 #30).

⁹ Léon Renier (1855: 241), the original discover of the inscription, writes that the words *Cur(iae) Commodae* (lines 9-10) “are engraved in a recess of about 5mm of depth. The name of this *curia* was, thus, erased, then engraved again, which gives us the date of the year 197 of our era, when Septimius Severus, after his victory over Albinus, had re-instituted on monuments the name of Commodus, which had been erased by order of the Senate.” This explains why the name Commodiana is untouched, since its inscription dates to 211 (*AE* 1982, 958), and it leads to the possibility (which will need to be further considered later) that the two *curiae* were one and the same.

	City (and civic status)	Number of <i>curiae</i>	Names of <i>curiae</i>	Other References
52	Theveste (<i>colonia</i>)			<i>CIL</i> VIII 1882+p.1576 = <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.3075; <i>CIL</i> VIII 1887 = 16510 = <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.3066; <i>CIL</i> VIII 1845 = 16501 = <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.3017; <i>CIL</i> VIII 1888 = <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.3068; <i>CIL</i> VIII 1889+p.1576 = <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.3072; <i>CIL</i> VIII 16530+p.2731 = <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.3032 ; <i>CIL</i> VIII 16555 = <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.3069; <i>CIL</i> VIII 16556 = <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.3064; <i>CIL</i> VIII 16557 = <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.3065; <i>CIL</i> VIII 16558 = <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.3067; <i>CIL</i> VIII 16559 = <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.3070; <i>CIL</i> VIII 16560 = <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.3071; <i>AE</i> 1933, 233
53	Tubunae		curia Victoriae Antonini (<i>AE</i> 1901,2)	
54	Verecunda (<i>municipium</i>)			<i>CIL</i> VIII 4202=18494
MAURETANIA CAESARIENSIS				
55	Mopt(h)i (<i>municipium</i>)	at least ten (<i>AE</i> 1942/43, 58)	sexta Nerviana (<i>CIL</i> VIII 8655); X Caelestina (<i>AE</i> 1942/43, 58)	

Appendix F: *CIL* VIII 14683=*ILS* 6824: The Regulations Adopted by the Curia Iovis of Simitthus, 27 November 185 CE

A (front face of base; 60x42cm)	B (right face of base; 39x42cm)	C (left face of base; 70x42cm)
1 Curia Iovis acta 2 V K(alendas) Decembres 3 Materno et [A]ttico co(n)s(ulibus) 4 natale civi[t]atis quot 5 bonum faustum felicem 6 placuit inter e'o's et conve- 7 nit secundum [d]ecretum 8 publicum [o]b[s]ervare 9 si quis flam[en e]sse volue[rit] 10 d(are) d(ebebit) vini amp(horas) III p[raeterea] 11 pane(m) et sale(m) et ci[baria] 12 si quis magister [- - - d(are) d(ebebit)] 13 vini amp(horas) II [si quis qu<a>estor] 14 [d(are)] d(ebebit) X II	1 Si quis flamini maledixerit 2 aut manus iniecerit d(are) d(ebebit) X II 3 si magister qu<a>estori imp[e]- 4 raverit et non fecerit d(are) d(ebebit) 5 vini amp(horam) si in concilium 6 pr<a>esens non venerit d(are) d(ebebit) ç (ongium) 7 si qu<a>estor alicui non n[u]- 8 ntiaverit d(are) d(ebebit) X I si a[liquis] 9 de ordine decess[erit - - -]	1 Si quis at vinu(m) inferend(um) ierit 2 et abalienaverit d(are) d(ebebit) duplu(m) 3 si quis silentio qu<a>estoris 4 aliquit donaverit et ne[g]- 5 [ave]rit d(are) d(ebebit) duplum 6 [s]i quis de propinquis deces- 7 serit at miliarium VI et cui 8 nuntiatur non ierit d(are) d(ebebit) X II 9 si quis pro patre et 10 matre pro socrum [pr]- 11 o socra[m d(are)] d(ebebit) X V i[t]em qu[i] 12 propin'q'u<u>s deces[s]erit 13 d(are) d(ebebit) X III qu<a>estor [- - -] 14 maioribus at fe[- - -] 15 (vac.) 16 [. . P]ompeius Tu[- - -] 17 [.]id[- - -]

A6 *eis*; Cagnat: *interest* | B6 Schmidt: possibly *q(uadrantal)* | B8 Cagnat and Schmidt: *q* could also be 'n' or 'm[agister]' | C11 Schmidt: (*non ierit*) | C12 *propinuous*; Schmidt: (*et ad eius exequias non ierit*)

TRANSLATION

Face A	Face B	Face C
<p>1 The Curia Iovis, minutes [of a meeting held] 2 5 days before the Kalends of December 3 in the year Maternus and Atticus were consuls, 4 on the birthday of the city. May [this 5 undertaking] be good, favourable, and fruitful. 6 It was agreed among them and decided, 7 in accordance with a public decree, 8 to observe [the following]: 9 if anyone wants to be flamen, 10 he is to give 3 <i>amphorae</i> of wine together with 11 bread, salt, and food stuff. 12 If anyone [wants to be] <i>magister</i>, he is to give 13 2 <i>amphorae</i> of wine. If anyone wants to be 14 <i>quaestor</i>, he is to give 2 <i>denarii</i>.</p>	<p>1 If anyone speaks ill of or lays hands 2 on the flamen, he is to give 2 <i>denarii</i>. 3 If the <i>magister</i> gives an order to the <i>quaestor</i> 4 and he does not do it, he is to give 5 an <i>amphora</i> of wine. If he does not come in person 6 to a meeting, he is to give a <i>congium</i> [of wine]. 7 If the <i>quaestor</i> does not announce [it] to someone, 8 he is to give a <i>denarius</i>. If someone 9 from the group dies . . .</p>	<p>1 If anyone goes to bring in wine 2 and sells it, he is to give double. 3 If anyone gives something for 4 the <i>quaestor</i>'s silence and 5 denies it, he is to give double. 6 If any relative dies up to the 6th mile stone 7 and he, to whom it is announced, does not 8 go, he is to give 2 <i>denarii</i>. 9 If anyone [does not go] for the sake of a father, 10 mother, father-in-law, [or] mother-in-law, 11 he is to give 5 <i>denarii</i>. Likewise, whichever 12 relative dies, 13 one is to give 4 <i>denarii</i>. The <i>quaestor</i> . . . 14 ancestors to the [- - -] 15 [- - - - -] 16 Pompeius Tu [- - -] 17 [.]id[- - -]</p>

Appendix G: The Curia Iovis and Voluntary Associations: Member Conduct towards the Deceased

Curia Iovis (<i>CIL</i> VIII 14683= <i>ILS</i> 6824)	Voluntary Associations	Translation ¹
C6-11: <i>[s]i quis de propinquis decesserit at miliarium VI et cui nuntiatur non ierit d(are) d(ebebit) (denarios) II si quis pro patre et matre pro socrum [pr]o socra[m d(are)] d(ebebit) (denarios) V</i>	IG II² 1275 lines 4-7, Piraeus, Attica, 325-275 BCE: [- - - εἰὰν δέ τις αὐτῶν ἀπογίγνηται, φράσ]ει ἢ ὕδ[ς ἢ μήτηρ? ἢ π]ατήρ ἢ ὃς ἂν οἰκειότατος εἴ τοῦ θιάσου, τοῦ δ' ἀπογιγνομένου ἰέναι ἐπ' ἐχφορὰν καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἅπαντας	“If any of them (θίασῶτοϊ) should pass away . . . a son, [a mother?], a father, or anyone who is close kin in the association, they and all friends are to go to the carrying-out of the deceased.”
	P.Cair.Dem. 30606, Tebtynis, Egypt, 158-157 BCE (original Demotic):	“If one of our members will not mourn him, the fine will be 5 debens, except in the cases enumerated above. . . . If one of our members whose father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, or wife dies, we shall mourn that one and escort him to the necropolis and we shall levy for him 20 shares. If one of our members will not mourn with him, the fine is 5 debens, except in the cases enumerated above. If one of our members has a son who dies at a tender age, we shall drink beer with him and comfort his heart.” ²
	P.Mich. V 243 lines 9-12, Tebtynis, Egypt, 14-37 CE: ἐάν τις τῶν συνοδειτῶν τελευτήσῃ, ξυράσθωσαν πάντες καὶ ἐστιάτωσαν ἡμέρ(αν) α, ἐκάστου παραχρῆμα εἰσφέροντος (δραχμὴν) α καὶ κάκεις δύο, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρωπίνων ἐστιαν ἡμέρ(αν) α. ὁ ἐπὶ	“If a member should die, all shall be shaved and banquet for one day, with each member straightaway contributing one drachma and two loafs(?). For the deaths of other men, a one day feast. He who does not shave his head, let him pay 4 drachmas. He who is not polluted [by attending the funeral] for any [deceased

- 1 All Greek translations made in consultation with the editors of the texts and with R. Ascough et al. 2012. *Associations in the Greco-Roman World: A Source Book*. Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press and De Gruyter. Translation of *CIL* XIV 2112 made in consultation with Bendlin 2011: 213-214.
- 2 Translated (from the French translation *ad P.Cair.Dem.* 30606) by John S. Kloppenborg in R. Ascough et al. 2012. *Associations in the Greco-Roman World: A Source Book*. Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press and De Gruyter. #299, p.181.

Curia Iovis (<i>CIL</i> VIII 14683= <i>ILS</i> 6824)	Voluntary Associations	Translation
	κεφαλικοῦ μὴ ζυρησάμενος ζημιο(ύσθω) (δραχμὰς) δ. ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων μὴ μίανθεις μηδὲ [στέ]μμα καταστήσας ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον ζημιο(ύσθω) (δραχμὰς) d.	member] or does not place a wreath on the tomb, let him be fined 4 drachmas.”
	P.Mich. V 244 lines 16-17, Tebtynis, Egypt, 43 CE: εἰάν τις κεφαλεωτῆς τελευτήσῃ <ῆ> πατὴρ ἢ μήτηρ ἢ γυνὴ ἢ τέκνον ἢ ἀδελφὸς ἢ ἀδελφὴ καὶ μὴ μίανθῃ τις τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων ἀνδρῶν ζημιούσθωι ὁ τοιούτος εἰς τὸ κ<οι>νὸν ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τέσσαρες.	“If a leader should die or [his] father, mother, wife, child, brother, or sister and one of the under-signed men does not pollute himself, let such a person be fined 4 drachmas of silver, [payable] to the treasury.”
	<i>CIL</i> XIV 2112=<i>ILS</i> 7212 lines 1.26-33, Lanuvium, Italy, 134 CE: <i>item placuit quisquis a municipio ultra milliar(ium) XX decesserit et nuntiatum fuerit eo exire debebunt electi ex corpore n(ostro) homines tres qui funeris eius curam agant et rationem populo reddere debebunt sine dolo m[al]o et siquit in eis fraudis causa inventum fuerit eis multa esto quadruplum quibus [funeraticium] eius dabitur hoc amplius viatici nomine ultro citro sing(ulis) HS XX n(ummi) quod si longius [a municipio su]pra mill(iarium) XX decesserit et nuntiari non potuerit tum is qui eum funeraverit testa[tionum tabel]lis signatis sigillis civium Romanor(um) VII et probata causa funeraticium eius sa[tis dato ampli]us</i>	“Likewise, it was agreed that, if anyone dies beyond 20 miles from the <i>municipium</i> and it is announced, three men ought to depart for that place chosen from our body, who will take care of his funeral and ought to render an account to the <i>populus</i> without deceit. And if anything is found amounting to fraud, let the fine to them be quadruple. His <i>funeraticium</i> will be given to them and, additionally as a travel allowance both here and there, 20HS more. But if he dies farther, over 20 miles from the <i>municipium</i> , and it is not possible to report it, then he who provided the funeral, once the tablets of testimonies have been stamped with the seals of 7 Roman citizens and [once] the matter has been approved, let him seek for himself the <i>funeraticium</i> from the <i>collegium</i> with expenses and the obsequies deducted in accordance with the <i>lex</i> of the <i>collegium</i> , under sufficient security that no one will seek more. Let

Curia Iovis (<i>CIL</i> VIII 14683= <i>ILS</i> 6824)	Voluntary Associations	Translation
	<i>neminem petiturum deductis commodis et exequiario e lege collegi(i) dari [sibi petito a co]llegio do l'us malus abesto</i>	there be no bad faith.”
	IG II² 1368 lines 159-163, Athens, 164-165 CE: ἐὰν δέ τις τελευτήσῃ ἰόβακχος, γεινέσθω στέφανος αὐτῷ μέχ<ρ>ι Χ ε΄, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιταφίσασι τιθέσθω οἴνου κεράμιον ἓν, ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐπιταφίσας εἰργέσθω τοῦ οἴνου.	“If a Iobacchus should die, let a crown worth up to 5 drachmas be produced for him; to those present at the funeral, let one jar of wine be given; but let he who was absent be shut out of the wine.”

Appendix H: Inscriptions of Honorific Statues in Africa Proconsularis Containing Words of Praise, from the First Century BCE to the Third Century CE

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
ORDO/DECURIONES AS STATED DEDICATOR						
1	Abbir		<i>duumvir</i> , priest of Ceres at Carthage	<i>Cn(aeus) Apertius L(uci) fil(ius) Gaetulicus // duoviralis vir Cerealicius splendidissimae col(oniae) Karthaginis // humanissimus in singulos cives et in patriam liberalissimus // ad ornamentum civitatis // ordo [- - -] statuam de sportulis suis faciendam decrevit quam in foro loco [- - -] cum basi constituit l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	[- - -] most civilised towards each citizen and most liberal towards his native city [- - -], for the adornment of the city [- - -]. ¹	<i>AE</i> 1992, 1800
2	Abthugni	193/235	equestrian aedile at Carthage, <i>curator rei publicae</i>	<i>C(aio) Iulio Maximo equo publico / exornato aedilicio quaesto/rio splendidissimae col(oniae) Iul(iae) / Aureliae Antonianae Kartha/ginis curator rei publicae / splendidis[simi m]unicipii Ab/thugnitatorum ob insignem / eius erga rem publicam et or/dinem et universos cives ad/fectionem et simplicitatem / ordo sua pecunia posuit</i>	To C. Iulius Maximus, decorated with the public horse, former aedile [and] quaestor of the most splendid Julian Aurelian Antonian Colony of Carthage, <i>curator rei publicae</i> of the most splendid <i>municipium</i> of the Abthugnitani, because of marked affection towards the <i>res publica</i> , <i>ordo</i> , and all citizens and [because of his] plainness, the <i>ordo</i> set it up with its own money.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 23085 = <i>ILS</i> 6815
3	Ammaedara	193/235	daughter of equestrian	<i>[Flaviae(?) - - -] / T(iti) Flav[i - - -] / e(gregiae) m(emoriae) f(iliae) ob me[rita et insig]/nem singu[larem q(ue)] / munificen[tiam eius] / in ordinem et po[pulum] / coloniae Amma[eda]/rensis patriae suae [de]/curiones colla[ta pe]/cunia posuer[unt d(ecreto?) d(ecurionum?)]</i>	[To Flavia? - - - the daughter of] Titus Flavius [a man of] excellent memory, because of her merits and marked and singular munificence towards the <i>ordo</i> and the <i>populus</i> of the colony of Ammaedara – her native city –, the decurions set this up with collected money [on decree of the decurions?].	<i>AE</i> 1977, 853 = <i>Bardo</i> 36
4	Ammaedara	200/240	equestrian <i>sacerdos provinciae</i>	<i>M(arcum) Cornelium Procu/leianum Corneli Rogati/ani eq(uitis) R(omani) filium eq(uitem) R(omanum) sacer/dotalem p(rovinciae) A(fricae)</i>	The most splendid <i>ordo</i> , by its own decree, heaps the honour of a statue on M. Cornelius Proculeianus, son of Roman equestrian	<i>CIL</i> VIII 357 = 11546 = <i>ILS</i> 6810

¹ The inscription has yet to be fully edited and published. Beschaouch (1991: 141) has reported the bolded part of the text, although in the nominative case when the accompanying picture shows it to be in the dative case. *AE* 1992, 1800 pieces together the above text from Beschaouch's article, but I feel it improper to translate any more without a secure reading of the inscription.

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
			<i>Africae 'Veteris'</i>	<i>v(eteris) ob stu/dia mores modesti/am et obsequia erg[a] / cives suos splendi/dissimus ordo de/creto suo statuae / honore cumula/vit / l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	Cornelius Rogatianus, [himself a] Roman equestrian, priest of the province of Africa Vetus, on account of his studies, ² morals, restraint, and services towards his own citizens; location provided by decree of the decurions.	
5	Avedda	150/ 299	<i>flamen perpetuus, patron, equestrian father of senatorial boy</i>	<i>M(arco) Munio Primo [O]ptatiano eq(uiti) Rom(ano) / flam(ini) perp(etuo) patri / M(arci) Muni Primi / Statiani c(larissimi) p(ueri) civi / et patrono splendi/[di]ssimus ordo / municipii Aved/densium primo / [civi]um(?) vere meren[ti]</i>	To M. Munius Primus Optatianus, Roman equestrian, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , father of M. Munius Primus Statianus, most illustrious boy, citizen and patron, the most splendid <i>ordo</i> of the Aveddensens to their premier [citizen], the truly meriting.	<i>ILAfr</i> : 438
6	Avedda		aedile, grandson	<i>Left Side: T(ito) Sextio Felici / Bullatiano T(iti) / Sexti Hon[orati] / Bullatian[i] fil(io) / T(itus) Sextius [Felix] / Bullati[anus] / fl[am(en)] perpet(uus) / [ne]poti / amantissimo</i> <i>Right Side: [T(ito)] Sexti[o] Felici Bullatia]/[no ae]dilita[te in mun(icipio) suo] / [fun]cto cfivi bono ob clemen/ti[am et liberalitatem] / [e]ius et adfectionem [in] / [p]atriam et amorem quem / universis civib(us) exhibuit / condecutiones statuam / sua pecunia fecerunt³</i>	To T. Sextius Felix Bullatianus, [the son] of Sextus Honoratus Bullatianus, T. Sextius [Felix] Bullatianus, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , to a most loving grandson. To Titus Sextius Felix Bullatianus, [having completed the aedileship in his own <i>municipium</i>], [a good citizen, because of his mildness and liberality] and affection towards his native city and the love he shows to all citizens, his fellow decurions made the statue with their own money.	<i>AE</i> 1973, 605
7	Avitta Bibba	153/ 159	<i>sacerdos Cereris at Carthage</i>	<i>Q(uinto) Agrinio Q(uinti) fil(io) Arn(ensi) / Sperato Speratiano / sacerdoti Cerer(is) c(olonia) I(ulia) K(arthagine) / anni CLXXXVII / cui cum ordo statuam / ob porticum efius] / liberalitat(e) n[ovam] / exstructam decrevis/set de suo posuit d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	To Q. Agrinius Speratus Speratianus, the son of Quintus, of the Arnensis tribe, priest of Ceres in the Julian colony of Carthage in 197 th year [of the priesthood]; ⁴ although the <i>ordo</i> had decreed a statue to him because of a new portico constructed by his liberality, he set it up at his own expense by decree of the decurions.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 805 = <i>ILS</i> 4464

² *Studia* could be referring to more general “pursuits,” but on inscriptions it usually refers to the study of literature and other subjects (cf. Bradley 2012b: 160-161).

³ Louis Maurin and Jean Peyras (1971: 72) warn that the restoration is “sometimes hypothetical.”

⁴ For discussion of the dating system of the priests of Ceres, see Chapter 4 n.7.

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
8	Bisica	130/ 139	senator, patron, <i>flamen perpetuus</i>	<i>P(ublio) Ennio T(iti) f(ilio) Quir(ina) / Saturni[n]o Karo c(larissimo) v(iro) / aedili cur[u]li desig(nato) / ab actis se[na]tus q(uaestori) urb(ano) / flamini p(er)p(etuo) alumno civi / patrono [m]unicipii / [d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia)] p(ublica)</i>	To P. Ennius Saturninus Karus, the son of Titus, of the Quirina tribe, most illustrious man, curule aedile designate responsible for the minutes of the Senate, urban quaestor, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , alumnus, citizen, patron of the <i>municipium</i> ; [by decree of the decurions with] public money.	<i>AE</i> 1979, 657
9	Bisica		equestrian <i>dux per Africam</i> , <i>praefectus classis</i> , patron	<i>M(arco) Cornelio Oc(taviano) v(iro) p(er)fectissimo praef(ecto) / classis praet(oriae) Misen(atium) / duci per Africam / Numidiam Maureta(niam)que splendi/dissimus ordo / municipi(i) Bisicensis / patrono incompara(bili) ob merita</i>	To M. Cornelius Octavianus, most perfect man, prefect of the praetorian fleet at Misenum, leader for Africa, Numidia, and Mauretania, the most splendid <i>ordo</i> of the <i>municipium</i> of Bisica to an incomparable patron because of his merits.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 12296 = <i>ILS</i> 2774 = <i>ILTun.</i> 660
10	Bulla Regia	198/ 211	(1) equestrian <i>procurator Augusti</i> , <i>duumvir</i> , <i>flamen perpetuus</i> ; (2) wife (?); (3) his sons	<i>M(arco) Rossio M(arci) fil(io) Pupin(i)a Vitulo e(gregio) v(iro) proc(uratori) Augg[[g(ustorum)]] III p(ublicorum) pr[ov(inciae) Af(ricae) pr]oc(uratori) Augg[[g(ustorum)]] tract(us) Kart(haginiensis) proc(uratori) XX her(editatium) ad centena / proc(uratori) ann(onae) ob exped(itionem) felicis(simam) Gall(icam) proc(uratori) XX her(editatium) trans P(adum) Ligur[iae] et Aem[jiliae] et Venetiae proc(uratori) arc(ae) exp(editionalis) praef(ecto) coh(ortis) II Hisp(anorum) trib(un)o / leg(ionis) XXX Ulpiae trib(un)o leg(ionis) II Adiut(ricis) praepos(ito) gentis Onsor[um] donis militarib[us] donato] ob expeditionem felicissimam Quador(um) et Marcomann(or[um]) / praef(ecto) alae praet(oriae) c(ivium) R(omanorum) praep(osito) ann(onae) exp(editionis) felicis(simae) urbicae decurioni fl(amini) p(er)[p(etuo) et - -]eia et Rossiis Iusto Procliano et Vitulo Iuliano fili(i)s / eius decuriones universi col(oniae) Bul(lensium) Reg(iorum) patrono et alumnis ob benefici[a] quae in] <i>universos municipes suos adsidue confer`t` de suo</i></i>	To M. Rossius Vitulus, the son of Marcus, of the Pupinia tribe, excellent man, procurator of the Augusti for the 4 public funds of the province of Africa, procurator of the Augusti for the region of Carthage, procurator of the 5% tax on inheritances at the one-hundredth level, procurator of the food supply with regard to the successful Gallic expedition, procurator of the 5% tax on inheritances on the other side of the Po in Liguria and Aemilia and Venetia, procurator for the expedition treasury, prefect of the 2 nd Cohort of the Hispani, tribune of the 30 th Legion Ulpia, tribune of the 2 nd Legion Adiutrix, placed in charge of the Onsi people, given military gifts regarding the successful expedition against the Quadi and Marcommani, prefect of the praetorian squadron of Roman citizens, placed in charge of the food supply during a successful expedition to the City, decurion, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , [and to - - -]eia and to the Rossii: Iustus Proclianus and Vitulus Iulianus, his sons, all decurions of the colony of the Bullenses Regii set this up at their	<i>ILTun.</i> 1248 = <i>IL Afr.</i> 455 = <i>Bardo</i> 250

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<i>posuerunt</i>	own expense to their patron and alumni, because of the benefits which he constantly contributes to all of his fellow citizens.	
11	Calama	161/ 169 or 198/ 217	<i>flaminica perpetua</i>	<i>Anniae Aeli/ae L(uci) fil(iae) Restit[u]/[t]ae flam(inicae) Augg(ustorum) [p(er)]/p(etuae) ob egregiam in / [s]uos cives libera/[l]itatem theatro / pecunia sua exor/nanda[e pat]riae / s[p]onte p[rom]isso / ad referendam gr[a]/tiam ordo univ[er]sus statua[s] n(umero) quinq(ue) de pu[bl](ico) facie[n]d[as] / decrevit</i>	To Annia Aelia Restituta, the daughter of Lucius, <i>flaminica perpetua</i> of the Augusti, because of her excellent liberality towards her own citizens with a theatre, promised of her own accord to decorate her native city with her own money, to pay thanks to her the whole <i>ordo</i> decreed making statues to the number of five at public expense.	<i>CIL VIII 5366 = ILAlg. 1.287</i>
12	Calama	c.211	<i>duumvir quinquennalis, flamen perpetuus</i>	<i>[- - -] / L(uci) fil(io) Papir(ia) / Rufino / flam(ini) Aug(usti) perp(etuo) / IIIIvir(o) Ilvir(o) quinq(uennali) / primo ordo Ca/lamensium ob / merita et munif[ic]entiam eius / aere conlato</i>	<i>[- - -]</i> Rufinus, the son of Lucius, of the Papiria tribe, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> of the Augustus, <i>quattuorvir</i> , the first <i>duumvir quinquennalis</i> , the <i>ordo</i> of the Calamenses, because of his merits and munificence, with collected money.	<i>CIL VIII 5368+p.1658 = ILAlg. 1.289</i>
13	Calama	211/ 275	consular <i>curator rei publicae, patron</i>	<i>L(ucio) Suanio Victori / Vitelliano omnibus / honoribus functo c(larissimo) v(iro) / et consulari viro / curatori rei pub(licae) et pa/trono coloniae ob insi/gnem iustitiam et in/tegritatem eius erga / rem publicam pari/ter et cives splendi/dissimus ordo Kala/mensium pecunia / publica decrevit / et posuit</i>	To L. Suanius Victor Vitellianus, having completed all offices, most illustrious man, a consular man, <i>curator rei publicae</i> and patron of the colony, because of his marked sense of justice and integrity in equal measure towards the <i>res publica</i> and citizens, the most splendid <i>ordo</i> of the Calamenses decreed and set this up with public money.	<i>CIL VIII 5356 = 17494 = ILAlg. 1.283</i>
14	Carthage		aedile post mortem	<i>[Quod] postulantibus universis decurionibus / [Pompeius Faustin]us v(ir) c(larissimus) p(atronus) c(oloniae) Ilvir q(uin)q(uennalis) v(erba) f(ecit) de s[tatua] / [de publico ponen]da Aelio Maximo o(ptimo) v(iro) q(uid) de [e(a) r(e) f(ieri) p(laceret)] / [de e(a) r(e) i(ta) c(ensuerunt) magnitu]dinis nostrae congruens [col(oniae)] / [Karthaginis] meritos viros testimon[ium pro] / [bitatis esse] iampridem Aelio Ma[ximo] statua / [ponenda esset qui] honorem aedilitati[s func]/[tus</i>	[Whereas all the decurions are making the demand, Pompeius Faustin]us, most illustrious man, patron of the colony, <i>duumvir quinquennalis</i> , made a speech about a s[tatue] being set up at public expense] to honour Aelius Maximus, best man; with regards to what should be agreed to be done on this matter, on this matter the decurions decided that, since it is in keeping with our [stature] that deserving men [of the colony of Carthage] be a testimony [of	<i>ILTun. 1066 = AE 1977, 851</i>

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<i>erit insigni in[nocentia] in anno [Ilvirat(us)] / [spectaculum etia]m gladiatoru[m et African(arum)] / [amplius summae legitim]ae cum [HS - - mil(ia) n(ummu)] / [promississet ediderit propter quod statuam] / [ei publice ponendam decuriones decreverunt]</i>	uprightness], for a long a time [a statue should be set up] to Aelius Maximus, [who completed] the office of aedile with [marked] blamelessness; in the year [of his duumvirate, he also provided a spectacle of] gladiators [and African beasts], since [he had promised - -HS more than the statutory sum and provided it; because of this, the decurions decreed setting up a statue to him publicly.]	
15	Chiniava		duumviralis at Carthage (prob.), patron	<i>M(arco) Iulio Probato C(ai) / Iuli Probi f(ilio) Sabiniano / Carthag(iniensi) omnib(us) hono/ribus in patria sua / functo ob eximiam / eius circa se et in/lustrem benevolen/tiam ordo Chini[a]/vensium peregrin[orum] / patrono</i>	To M. Iulius Probatius Sabinianus, the son of C. Iulius Probus, a Carthaginian, having completed all offices in his own native city, because of his exceptional and brilliant goodwill towards them, the <i>ordo</i> of the peregrine Chiniavenses to their patron.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 25450
16	Cillium		citizen	<i>M(arco) Alumno Iai/ae civi incompa/rabil[i] o[r]do p(osuit) p(ecunia) / sua d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) l(ocus) d(atu)s</i>	To M. Alumnus Iaia, an incomparable citizen, the <i>ordo</i> set this up with its own money, location provided by decree of the decurions.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 23209
17	Civitas Saraditana	154/160	father of sacerdos Cereris at Carthage	<i>P(ublio) Iulio P(ubli) f(ilio) Arn(ensi) Gibbae / ob singularem eius erga / rem publicam adfectum / cum ordo statuam publice / ponendam decrevisset / P(ublius) Iulius Gibba sacerdos Cerer(is) / c(oloniae) C(oncordiae) I(uliae) K(arthaginis) anni CXCVIII et L(ucius) Iulius / Maximus et C(aius) Iulius Urbanus / et M(arcus) Iulius Felix fili(i) patri / piissimo honore contenti / posuerunt</i>	To P. Iulius Gibba, the son of Publius, of the Arnensis tribe, because of his singular enthusiasm towards the <i>res publica</i> , although the <i>ordo</i> had decreed to set up a statue publicly, P. Iulius Gibba, priest of Ceres of the Concord Julian colony of Carthage in the 198 th year [of the priesthood], and L. Iulius Maximus and M. Iulius Felix, sons to their most dutiful father, content with the honour, set it up.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 23820

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
18	Gigthis ⁵		flamen of province and city, <i>duumvir</i>	[. Cae]cilio Cla/[udia]no Aeliano / [aed]ili flami p[r]o'v'i/[ncia]e et patriae [. .] NI / [. .] IMO [- - -]/bus in [- - -] de[cu]/rion[atus - - - func]/to hono[- - -] / ordo G[igthisiu]m ob / [le]gat[i]o[n]e[s] [magna cum] / [in]dustri[a] ges[ta]s - - -] / [- - -] quibus pieta/tem eius et studium cla/rissimi viri consula/res plenissimo testi/monio prosecuti sunt / statuam ponendam cen/suit ipse decreti honore / contentus s(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciendum) c(uravit)	To [.] Caecilius Claudianus Aelianus, aedile, flamen of the province(?) and native city [- - -], [- - -] the decurionate [- - -], having completed all offices, the <i>ordo</i> of the Gigthenses, on account of the embassies he conducted [with great] industry [- - -], whose sense of duty and zeal most illustrious men of consular rank followed up with a very full testimony, decided to set up a statue; he, content with the honour of the decree, took care to make it with his own money.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 31+p.2293 = 11032 = <i>Bardo</i> 13
19	Gigthis		a woman	Aemilia[e - - -]/tae ob m[eri]/ta ord[o sta]/tuam [- - -]d[- - -] / vi[- - -]m / [- - -]ov / [- - -]	To Aemilia [- - -], because of her merits, the <i>ordo</i> [decreed setting up] the statue [- - -].	<i>CIL</i> VIII 11036
20	Giufi	228/ 299	equestrian curator rei publicae, duumvir (quinquennalis?) probably from Carthage ⁶	[- - -]boncio MA[- - -] / [e]q(uiti) R(omano) cur(atori) rei p(ublicae) [- - -] / municipi(i) Alex(andriani) G[iu]fitani / decurioni du(u)m[virali(?)] - - -] / splendidiss(imae) col[oniae] - - -] / cur(atori) multar(um) civit(atum) [ob amorem] / et iustitiam singul(arem et) / [com]moda rei p(ublicae) et c(ivibus) / [aucta? - - -] ordo de suo po[suit - - -]	[To - - -]boncius Ma[- - -], Roman equestrian, curator rei publicae of the [- - -] Alexandrian municipium of Giufi, decurion and former duumvir of the most splendid colony [- - -], curator of many cities, [because of his love?] and singular sense of justice and advantages to the <i>res</i> <i>publica</i> and citizens [- - -], the <i>ordo</i> set it up at its own expense [- - -].	<i>CIL</i> VIII 865+p.2425
21	Gor	175/ 225	flamen perpetuus, father	Mario Marino Felicis fil(io) / fl(amini) p(er)p(etuo) ob insignem in patria(m) et ci/ves suos liberalitatem qui testamen/to suo r(ei) p(ublicae) suae Goritanae HS XII mil(ia) / n(ummum) dedit ex cuius usuris die natali / suo Idibus	To Marius Marinus, the son of Felix, flamen perpetuus, because of marked liberality towards his native city and his own citizens, who in his own testament gave 12,000HS to the <i>res publica</i> of his own Gor, from whose interest every year	<i>CIL</i> VIII 12422+p.2432

⁵ S. Reinach and E. Babelon assert (*ad BCTH* 1886: 45) that various pieces of evidence "hardly permit placing the monument before the end of third century or start of the fourth," a date range which places the inscription outside of the temporal boundaries of this study. The evidence is the "*consulares*," which Reinach and Babelon arbitrarily suggest to be proconsuls of Byzacena (after it became a separate province in probably 303, Di Vita-Evrard 1985: 168-175), the lack of Aelianus' tribe, and the form of the letters. Out side of the letter forms, there is no clear indication of date and it is impossible to judge the basis for Reinach and Babylon's estimation of the letter forms. Besides, Reinach and Babelon go on to suggest that the *consulares* could be *propraetores* of Numidia, who, they say, were called *consulares* in the second and third centuries. So their late dating of the letter forms cannot be firm.

⁶ Jacques (1982: 93) notes that Carthage is not the only colony in the region, but it is the only one from which *curatores rei publicae* in Proconsularis are known to have come.

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<i>Septembr(ibus) quodannis / decuriones sportulas acceper`i`nt et / gymnasium universis civibus obque / liberalitatem eius cum ordo de publico sta/tuam ei decrevisset Maria Victoria fil(ia) / heres eius titulo et loco contenta [s(ua) p(ecunia)] / posuit et cum Ofelio Primo su[fete] / fl(amine) p(er)p(etuo) suo ordini epulum dedit</i>	on his birthday – the Ides of September – the decurions should receive <i>sportulae</i> and oil [should be provided] to all citizens, and although the <i>ordo</i> had decreed to him a statue at public expense because of his liberality, Maria Victoria, his daughter and heir, being content with the inscription and location set it up [with her own money] and, with Ofelius Primus <i>sufes</i> [and] <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , gave a banquet to her own <i>ordo</i> .	
22	Henchir Zian (Zita)		a man	<i>Lucretio [- - -] / et fortis[simo - - - cum] / ordo statu[am - - - de]/crevisset ob m[erita - - -] / s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit) et lu[dis editis dedicavit]</i>	To Lucretius [- - -] / and very strong, although the <i>ordo</i> had decree the statue [- - -], because of his m[erits - - -], he(?) made it with his own money and [dedicated it with a presentation of games?].	<i>CIL</i> VIII 11009
23	Hippo Diarrhytus		aedile, <i>flamen perpetuus</i>	<i>M(arco) Porcio Fl[ami]nalis fil(io) Quir(ina) / Dext[ria]no [ae]di[l]icio f(lamini) p(erpetuo) qui / s[i]ngula[ritate]? . . .]TEI [- - -]P[- - -] pa/triae sua[e HS - - -]I n(ummum) legavit / ita ut ex [usuri]s sestertiorum / ducentorum mil(ia) ludi scae/nici quodannis natali / eius [ede]rentur et decuri/o[nib]us singulis sportulae / [x qu]ini darentur d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i>	To M. Porcius Dextrianus, the son of Flaminalis, of the Quirina tribe, former aedile, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , who singular[ly(?) - - -] bequeathed [- - -HS] to his own native city, so that out of the interest on 200,000HS theatrical shows could be provided each year on his birthday and that <i>sportulae</i> worth [five <i>denarii</i>] apiece could be given to each decurion; on decree of the decurions with public money.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 14334 = 25428 = <i>ILTun.</i> 1190
24	Hippo Regius			<i>[- - - pro dignitati]one patris ei[us] et[i]a[m ob propria] / merita ponendam censuerat qu[o] / testificatio[n] manifestiorque es/set singulorum adfectio viri/tim aere conlato posuit</i>	[- - - out of respect for the status?] of his father, [also because of his own] merits, the [<i>ordo</i> ?] had decided to set this up, so that the affection of each person is better attested and more evident, [their group] set it up with money collected man-by-man.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 5231+p.962 = 17416 = <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.12 = <i>Libyca</i> 1954 p.398
25	Lepcis Magna	109/200	<i>flamen divi Augusti</i>	<i>Ti(berio) Iulio Papir(ia) / Frontino / flam(ini) divi Aug(usti) / univer[s]us ordo / col(oniae) Lepcis Magn(ae) / merenti statuam / decrevit / Ti(berius) Iulius Ti(beri) f(ilius) Fronto / honore contentus</i>	To Ti. Iulius Frontinus, of the Papiria tribe, <i>flamen</i> of the divine Augustus, the whole <i>ordo</i> of the colony of Lepcis Magna decrees the statue to a deserving person; Ti. Iulius Fronto, the son of	<i>IRT</i> 598

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<i>indulgen/tissimo [p]atri de suo posuit</i>	Tiberius, being content with the honour, set it up to a most kind father at his own expense.	
26	Lepcis Magna	190/210	<i>flamen, pontifex, duumvir</i>	See Appendix ***	See Appendix ***	IRT 601 a,b,c
27	Limisa	200/299, likely 211/299	<i>flamen perpetuus</i>	<i>Palladi / L(ucio) Iunio P(ubli) fil(io) Pap(iria) / Proculo Felici(a)/no flam(ini) Aug(usti) perp(etuo) / municipii Limisens(ium) / cui cum ordo ob exi/mia eius merita pu/blice statuam de spor/tulis ponend(am) censuisset / honore muneris oblati / content(us) sua pec(unia) p(osuit) l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	Palladius! ⁷ To L. Iunius Proculus Felicianus, the son of Publius, of the Papiria tribe, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> of the Augustus for the <i>municipium</i> of the Limisenses, although the <i>ordo</i> had decided to set up the statue to him publicly from <i>sportulae</i> because of his exceptional merits, he, content with the honour of the offered gift, set it up with his own money; location provided by decree of the decurions.	ILLimisa 7 = AE 2004, 1679
28	Madauros			<i>[- - - ob mu]/nificen[t]ia[m] / b[on]itatem / ordo splendi/dissimus Ma/daurens[i]um / [e]x [spo]rtulis / suis</i>	[- - - because of] munificence (and) goodness, the most splendid <i>ordo</i> of the Madaurenses from their <i>sportulae</i> .	ILAlg. 1.2158
29	Meninx	200/299	<i>duumvir</i>	<i>[- - -] Annio Q(uinti) f(ilio) / [Pa]p(iria) Egnatia/no omni[b(us)] hon(oribus) / funct(o) [de]c(reto) ord(inis) / ob rem [p(ublicam)] in mag(istratu) / indust[r]ie ad/que integre / administratam / impens(am) remis(it) / et [s]portulis / dedicavit⁸</i>	[To - - -] Annius Egnatianus, the son of Quintus, of the Papiria tribe, having fulfilled all offices, by decree of the <i>ordo</i> because he had administered the <i>res publica</i> with industry and integrity during his magistracy; he remitted the money and dedicated this with <i>sportulae</i> .	CIL VIII 44+p.922 = 11058
30	Municipium Aurelium C[- - -]	245/265	equestrian prefect, procurator at	<i>C(aio) Attio Alcimo Felicia/no p(erfectissimo) v(iro) praef(ecto) / annonae praef(ecto) / praet(orio) vice praef(ecto) vig(illum) magistro /</i>	To C. Attius Alcimus Felicianus, most perfect man, prefect of the food supply, acting praetorian prefect, prefect of the watchmen, manager of	CIL VIII 822 = 12345 = 23963 = ILS

⁷ The editors of this inscription consider *Palladi* to be a genitive and translate it as an *agnomen* (“À Lucius Iunius Proculus Felicianus Palladius ...”; *ad CIL* 7). Such a translation is consistent with the interpretation that this type of name is a familial *signum* in the form of a truncated genitive (i.e. *Palladi* for Palladius). More commonly, this type of name is translated as a distinct section heading the inscription: “(The statue) of Palladius” (*NDEAmm.* 22; *Dougga* 70; *Sbeitla* 64 fig.41; *IU* 4-6). Chastagnol (1988: 39-41), however, persuasively argues that traditional *signa* are in the vocative case, being descended from acclamation formulae like *have Dulciti* or *Pulveri veleas*. It is not until the fourth century, he argues, that a trend developed of presenting *signa* as genitives: -ii.

⁸ I follow the reading here of Stylow and Pascual 2001: 109.

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
			Rome, patron of the <i>municipium</i>	<i>summae privatae magistro / summarum rationum curatori / operis theatri proc(uratori) he/reditatum Romae proc(uratori) sacrae / monetae proc(uratori) ferr(ariarum) proc(uratori) ann(onae) / prov(inciae) Narbon{s}ens(is) proc(uratori) privatae / per Salariam Tiburtinam / Valeriam Tusciam proc(uratori) per / Flaminiam Umbriam Picenum item vice / proc(uratori) quadrag(esimae) Galliar(um) proc(uratori) alimentor(um) per / Transpadum Histriam Liburniam ad[v]ocat[o] / fisci provinciar(um) XI ob eximium amorem in / patriam splendidissimus ordo Turcet(anum?) patrono</i>	private wealth, manager of financial accounts, manager of the work on the theatre, procurator of inheritances at Rome, procurator of sacred money, procurator of the iron mines, procurator of the food supply from the province of Narbonensis, procurator of the <i>res privata</i> along the Salarian, Tiburtinian, Valerian, and Etrurian roads, procurator [of the <i>res privata</i>] along the Flaminian, Umbrian, and Picenum roads, ⁹ likewise acting procurator of the 2% tax in the Gauls, procurator of food stuffs throughout the country beyond the Po, Histria, and Liburnia, advocate for the imperial treasury of 11 provinces, because of exceptional love towards his native city, the most splendid Turcetan <i>ordo</i> to their patron.	1347+p.174 = <i>ILTun.</i> 741
31	Pupput	86/101 or 186/201	Carthage(?): <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , <i>duumvir</i> (twice), <i>duumvir quinquennalis</i> (thrice)	<i>[- - -] / Arn(ensi) [- - - aedili] / sacer(doti) Cer[er(is) - - - a(nni)] C[XX]X[- - -] / auguri pont(ifici) Ilvir[o] / bis tertio quinque[n(nali)] / flam(ini) per[p(etuo)] ob munifi/centiam d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica) / post mortem</i>	<i>[- - -]</i> , of the Arnensis tribe, <i>[- - - aedile]</i> , priest of Ceres, <i>[- - -]</i> , augur, <i>pontifex</i> , twice <i>duumvir</i> , for the third time as (<i>duumvir</i>) <i>quinquennalis</i> , <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , because of his munificence, on decree of the decurions with public money after his death.	<i>AE</i> 1995, 1656
32	Pupput	282, May 24	senatorial patron, consular <i>curator rei publicae</i> , patron	<i>Thoraci / mirae integritatis et / innocentiae inimita/bilis exempli viro / Caelio Severo v(iro) c(larissimo) patricio / consulari cur(atori) r(ei) p(ublicae) et patrono / col(oniae) Puppit(anae) qui solus sua libera/litate forum vetustate c[on]lap/sum cum aedibus [et capi]tolio et curia meliori cultu / restituit et dedicavit / [ordo? Puppit(anorum) patr]ono perpetuo</i>	Thoracius! Of wonderful integrity and inimitable blamelessness does this man serve as an example, to Caelius Severus, most illustrious man, patrician, consular, <i>curator rei publicae</i> and patron of the colony of Pupput, who alone by his own liberality restored and dedicated the forum crumbled with age, including (with better refinement) the shrines, Capitolium, and <i>curia</i> ;	<i>CIL</i> VIII 24095 = <i>Bardo</i> 418 = <i>ILS</i> 5361

⁹ For identification of this office, see Pflaum 1960: 845.

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<i>On Side: Dedicata VIII Kal(endas) Iunias / Imp(eratore) [P[rob]o]] Aug(usto) V et Victorino co(n)s(ulibus)</i>	[the <i>ordo</i> of the Puppitani] to their perpetual patron. On Side: Dedicated May 24 when the emperor Probus Augustus and Victorinus were consuls.	
33	Sabratha	100/ 199	military tribune, <i>praefectus cohortis, duumvir</i> , son	<i>[- - - A]vitio Q(uinti) fil(io) Quir(ina) Rufo trib(un)o mil(itum) leg(ionis) VII Gem(inae) F[el(icis)] / [praef(ecto) c]oh(ortis) I Aug(ustae) Thrac(um) proximo tertiae militiae Ilv[iro] / [decre]t(o) ordin(is) ob merit(a) eius erga rem publicam ex[im]ia / [Q(uitus) Avi]tius Lucanus pater titulo et honore [contentus] / [s]ua pecunia posuit</i>	To [- - -] Avitius Rufus, the son of Quintus, of the Quirina tribe, military tribune of the 7 th Legion Gemina Felix, prefect of the 1 st Augustan Cohort of Thracians, about to hold his third military post, <i>duumvir</i> , by decree of the <i>ordo</i> because of his exceptional merits towards the <i>res publica</i> ; Quintus Avitius Lucanus, father, [content] with the inscription and honour, set it up with his own money.	<i>IRT</i> 96
34	Sicca Veneria	175/ 180	equestrian <i>procurator Augusti</i>	<i>Front Face: P(ublio) Licinio M(arci) f(ilio) Quir(ina) / Papiriano procur(atori) / Augg(ustorum) Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aureli / Antonini Aug(usti) Germanici / Sarmatici maximi p(atri) p(atriciae) et / [di]vi Veri a rationibus cui / splendissimus ordo Siccen/sium ob merita eius et cu[ram(?) - - -] / [- - -]m et [- - -] / [- - -] / M[- - -]N[- - -] / [- - -] / [- - -] / [- - -]LEC[- - -] / [- - -]T[- - -] / [- - -]II[- - -]</i> <i>Left Face: Municipibus meis Cirthensibus / Siccensibus carissimis mihi dare / volo HS MCCC(milia) vestrae fidei committo / municipes carissimi ut ex usuris / eius summae quincuncibus quodan/nis alantur pueri CCC et puellae CC pueri{s} / ab annis tribus ad annos XV et accipiant / singuli pueri X II s(emissem) menstros</i>	Front Face: To P. Licinius Papirianus, the son of Marcus, <i>procurator a rationibus</i> of the Augusti: emperor Caesar M. Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Germanicus Sarmaticus Maximus, father of the fatherland, and the divine Verus; to him the most splendid <i>ordo</i> of the Siccenses because of his merits and care(?) [- - -]. Left Face: To my fellow Cirtenses Siccenses ¹⁰ [who are] most dear to me, I want to give 1,300,000HS and I commit to your good faith, my most dear <i>municipes</i> , that, from the interest of 5% of this sum, every year 300 boys and 200 girls will be nourished, the boys from their third year to their fifteenth year, and each boy will receive 2.5 <i>denarii</i> a month; girls [will receive] from their third year to their thirteenth year 2 <i>denarii</i> . Now	<i>CIL</i> VIII 1641+p.1523, 2707 = <i>ILS</i> 6818 = <i>Bardo</i> 367

¹⁰ Sicca Veneria's official name was *Col(onia) Iul(ia) Ven[eria] Cirt(a) Nova Sic[ca]*, *CIL* VIII 16258. Beschtaouch observes that Sicca Veneria was considered a “re-founding” of Cirta in Numidia and argues for close ties between the two colonies (1981: 117-122).

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<i>puellae / ab annis tribus ad annos XIII X II legi / autem debebunt municipes item in/colae dumtaxat incolae qui intra / continentia coloniae nostrae ae/dificia morabuntur quos si vo/bis videbitur optimum erit per / Ilviros cuiusque anni legi cura/ri autem oportet ut in locum ad/ulti vel demortui cuiusque sta/tim substituatut ut semper ple/nus numerus alatur</i>	<i>municipes</i> will need to be selected, likewise <i>incolae</i> as long as the <i>incolae</i> will dwell among the buildings in the confines of our colony. If it will seem good to you, it will be best that they are selected by the <i>duumviri</i> of each year. Now it is necessary that it is seen to [by the <i>duumviri</i>] that [a child] is immediately put in the place of a person [who has become] an adult or has died, so that the full number [of children] will always be nourished.	
35	Sicca Veneria	193/211	equestrian centurion, decurion	<i>Victori / centurioni / legionario / ex equite Romano / ob munificentiam / ordo Siccensium / civi et / condecurioni / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i>	To Victor, legionary centurion, from the Roman equestrian [class], because of his munificence, the <i>ordo</i> of the Siccenses to a citizen and fellow decurion, by decree of the decurions with public money.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 1647+p.1523 = <i>ILS</i> 9192
36	Sicca Veneria	280/330	senatorial patron, <i>curator rei publicae</i>	<i>[S]umm(a)e integritatis adque aequitatis / serva[tor]i [d]i[gn]o ac singularis praestan[ti]ae no]stro patrono [- - -] / [- - -] v(iro) c(larissimo) c[ur] (atori) rei p(ublicae)] ob eius / [- - - obse]q[ue]ntiam e[r]ga universu[m] / ordinem cunctamque plebem Cirtensium Siccensium ordo [- - -] / [- - -]</i>	To a worthy saviour of the highest integrity and fairness and to our patron of singular pre-eminence, [- - -], most illustrious man, <i>c[ur]ator rei publicae</i>], because of his deference to the whole <i>ordo</i> and all plebs of the Cirtenses Siccenses, the <i>ordo</i> [- - -].	<i>CIL</i> VIII 1651 = 15883
37	Sicca Veneria		daughter of a leading decurion	<i>[- - -]O[- - -]IEV[. .]Sf[.]II[- - -]III[- - -] Liciniam Seve]/ram filiam Licini Paterni splendidi et [laudabi]lis viri hodierna die defunctam esse quid et a quib[us] / in memoriam eius honorum in parentum ipsius co[n]/solat[i]o[n]em fieri placeret L(ucius) Calpurnius M[a]/ximus Albinus sententiam interrogatus censuit in v[er]/ba infra scri[pt]a cum Licini Paterni vir de primorib[us] / nostris et vitae moderatio et morum maximum ac practi[c]um testimonium in fovendis etiam rei p[ro]f[er]entib[us] nostrae opibus non / modica</i>	[Whereas - - - the decurions are saddened that ¹² Licinia] Severa, the daughter of Licinius Paternus, a splendid and laudable man, died today, it should be agreed that something honorific be done by them for her memory as consolation to her parents. When asked his opinion, L. Calpurnius Maximus Albinus gave as recommendation the words written below: Since the moderate life of Licinius Paternus, a man among our leaders, and the very great and effective testimony of his morals in fostering the	<i>CIL</i> VIII 15880 = <i>ILTun.</i> 1593

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<p><i>doc[um]e[nta] emic[ent] p[ro]p[ri]etum quoque ac maiorum / ipsius [t]am in a[ed]ificandi[s] excol[e]ndisq[ue] moenibus nostri[s] qu[am] / in sustinendis alendisq[ue] civibus egregia atq[ue] eximia liberalita[s] / eniteat ac per [h]oc tametsi ingentis ac maximi luctus eius[dem] / Paterni minima sint apud eum nostra solacia tamen ad leniend[os] / conpescendosq[ue] do[lor]is [i]mpetus et ad honorandam iam¹¹ / puellae rudimat[ur]ae memoriam cum c[as]u tris[ti]a[bra]ptae e[xi]quio / eius de publ(ico) erogando statuam o[- - -]s pulcherrimo [. .]Q[ui] / celeberrimo publ(ica) pec(unia) eidem Liciniae Severae constituendam [ut] / pietatis ordinis nostri erga Paternum adfecto perpetuo si[t] / contestata / [d(ecreto)] d(ecurionum)</i></p>	resources of our <i>res publica</i> spring forth as the not moderate precedents of her ¹³ parents and ancestors as much in building and embellishing our walls as in supporting and nourishing the citizens, and [since] his excellent and exceptional liberality shines forth too, by this, although our condolences for the vast and very great sorrow of this same Paternus may be very little to him, nevertheless, to soothe and check the violence of his grief and to honour the memory of a just recently matured girl, snatched away by a sad accident, [I recommend that], after her obsequies be paid for completely at public expense, a statue to this same Licinia Severa, [- - -] most beautiful [- - -] and in the most frequented [location], be erected by expending public money so that, by its perpetual mood, it might serve as witness to the sense of duty of our <i>ordo</i> towards Paternus; on decree of the decurions.	
38	Sidi Bu Urqub		senator, pro praetor, maybe consul ordinarius	<p><i>[- - - consuli ordin(?)]ario a sena[tu] destinato] / [leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Aquit]anicae sace[rdoti] - - -] / [- - -]no leg(ato) leg(ionis) VII[- - -] / [curatori viae Labica]nae et Latinae ve[teris] - - -] / [proco(n)s(uli) prov(inciae) Sic]iliae praetori tribu[no pl(ebis) quaestori] / [trib(un)o mil(itum) leg(ionis) - - -] Adiu]tricis P(iae) F(idelis) Xviro s[ol]itibus iudicandis] / [ob</i></p>	[To - - - selected as <i>consul ordinarius</i> ?] by the senate, [propraetorian legate of the Augustus] of the Aquitanian [province], priest [- - -], legate of the [.] Legion [- - -], curator of the Labicanian road] and the Old Latin road, [proconsul of the province of] Sicily, praetor, tribune [of the plebs, quaestor, military tribune of - - - Legion] Adiutrix Pia Fidelis, <i>decimvir</i> [for adjudicating lawsuits,	ILAf: 324 = ILS 8980

¹¹ For the end of Line 15, Cagnat says "*honoradam iam?*" Schmidt (with the help of Mommsen) writes what looks like "*honoranda me tiam*" (the ligature is unclear; *ad Ephimeris Epigraphica* V 628 and *CIL* VIII 15880). The "*me*" as reproduced is out of place, since the '*m*' must complete *honoranda*. Schmidt was working from just a poor quality photograph (provided in Cagnat's edition) and a copy (*ectypum*). The sentence development suggests "*honoradam iam*" to be correct.

¹² The *quibus* of Line 3 suggests a plural subject. The accusative case of 'Severam' and the infinitive *esse* suggests some type of verb setting up an accusative-infinitive construction.

¹³ *Ipsa* is sometimes used "to distinguish the principal personage from subordinate personages" (*NLG* #298 d.3).

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<i>exi]miam eius in se a[d]fectionem] / [- - - pec(unia) pu]bl(ica) ex decr(eto) spl(endidissimi) o[r]dinis]</i>	because of] his exceptional a[ffection] towards them, [- - -] with public money on decree of the <i>ordo</i> .	
39	Simitthus	109/ 111	equestrian praefectus fabrum, sacerdos provinciae Africae	<i>C(aio) Otidio P(ubli) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Iovino / praefecto fabrum / sacerdoti provinc(iae) Afric(ae) / anni XXXVIII qui primus / ex colonia sua hunc / honorem gessit / cui cum ordo pecunia publ(ica) / statuam decrevisset titulo / contentus pecunia sua posuit / curatore Q(uinto) Otidio P(ubli) f(ilio) Quir(ina) / Praenestino fratre praefecto / fabrum</i>	C. Otidius Iovinus, the son of Publius, of the Quirina tribe, praefectus fabrum, priest of the province of Africa for the 39 th year [of the priesthood], who was the first person from his own colony to administer this office, although the <i>ordo</i> had decreed to him a statue from public money, being content with the honour he set it up with his own money, with the curator: Q. Otidius Praenestinus, the son of Publius, of the Quirina tribe, his brother, praefectus fabrum	<i>CIL</i> VIII 14611 = <i>ILS</i> 6811
40	Sufetula	200/ 249	equestrian military tribune	<i>Splendidissimus / Sufetulensis ordo / M(arco) Valgio M(arci) f(ilio) Quir(ina) / Aemiliano eq(uiti) R(omano) / tribuno n(umeri) Pal/murenorum / ob eximiam in rem / publ(ica)m suam liberali/tatem titulum hac / aeternitate signavit</i>	The most splendid <i>ordo</i> of Sufetula to M. Valgius Aemilianus, the son of Marcus, of the Quirina tribe, Roman equestrian, tribune of a Palmyrene unit, because of exceptional liberality towards his own <i>res publica</i> , marks this inscription with this immortality [of memory]. ¹⁴	<i>CIL</i> VIII 11343 = <i>ILTun.</i> 353 = <i>Sbeitla</i> 52
41	Sufetula		flamen perpetuus	<i>M(arco) Magnio / Severo fl(amini) p(er)p(etuo) / civi incom/parabili / ob merita / splendidissimus ordo / Sufetulensis / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i>	To M. Magnus Severus, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , an incomparable citizen, because of his merits, the most splendid <i>ordo</i> of Sufetula, by decree of the decurions with public money.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 11346 = <i>Sbeitla</i> 57
42	Sululos	100/ 192	a citizen of Carthage? ¹⁵	<i>Front FACE: Unrelated inscription to Valentinian (364-375CE)</i> <i>Left Face: [- - - Ca]ecil[i]o - - -] / [- - - R]oga[to(?)] - - -] / [- - -] colon[i] - - -] / [- -</i>	Left Face: To [- - -] Caecilius [- - -] Rogatus(?) [- - -] / [- - -] / [- - -] / [- - -] / [- - -] / [- - -] because of his m[erits](?) - - -] / [- - -] / [- - -] had decreed a statue [- - -] / [- - -] Caecilius Felix and [- - -] / [- - -] being content with the honour [made with	<i>CIL</i> VIII 23942 = 23943 = <i>Bardo</i> 189 = <i>ILTun.</i> 654

¹⁴ See App. H.104 for a fuller version of this ending formula: *titulum memoriae hac aeternitate signarunt*.

¹⁵ The tentative identification of citizenship at Carthage is due to the mention of a *colonia* in the inscription. At the time of the dedication of this statue, Sululos was a peregrine *civitas* in the *pertica* of Carthage. It did not become a *municipium* until 198/211, when Septimius Severus and Caracalla were joint emperors (Gascou 1972, 188).

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				-]isensis [- - -] / [- - - municipi]pibus civ[itatis(?) - - -] / [- - - Sul]ulitanae [- - -] / [- - -]O ob m[erita(?) - - -] / [- - -]IIR CV[- - -] / [- - -]LI statuam [- - -] / [- - - decre]vissent [- - -] / [- - - Cae]cili Felix et [- - -] / [- - - hon]o[re co]n[te]nti / [de suo fecer(unt) et dedica]verunt	their own money?] and dedicated it.	
43	Tepeltensis		flamen perpetuus, decurion of Maxula, aedile	[- - -]o Mascanis f(ilio) Adiu[tor]i flam(ini)] perp(etuo) aedil(i) decurio/[ni in col(onia) Ma]xulit(ana) civi optimo qui / [egregia f]ide maxima sollici[tudine - - - rei p]ubl(icae) nego/[tia gessit aliisq(ue) reb(us) pu]blicis ab / [Imperatore? - - -] praepo[situs - - - q]uique / [- - - t]empla pecu[nia sua restituit et - - - per]iculum con/[- - -]iavit / [et - - -]as / [- - - operis m]usei / [- - - templ]o dedi/[cavit et ludos scaenicos (?) ad]siduo dedit / [statuam quam splendidissim]us ordo p(ecunia) p(ublica) [ponen(dam)] / [decreverat honore contentu]s de suo p[osuit] / [d(ecreto)] d(ecurionum)	To [- - -] Adiutor, the son of Mascanis, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , aedile, decurion [in the colony] of Maxula, the best citizen, who with [excellent good] faith(?) [and] the greatest care conducted business for the <i>res publica</i> and was put in charge of other <i>res publicae</i> by [the emperor?] and who restored [- - -] temples with [his own] money and [- - -] [and - - -] mosaics [- - -] dedicated and constantly gave [<i>ludi scaenici</i> ?], [the statue, which the most] splendid <i>ordo</i> [decreed to set up] with public money, he set up at his own expense [by decree of the decurions].	CIL VIII 12253
44	Thagaste	200/249	equestrian	M(arco) Amullio M(arci) / fil(io) Pap(iria) Optato / Crementiano / eq(uiti) R(omano) singula/ris fidei boni/tatis munifi/centiae vir[o] / ordo splendi/dissimus Tha/gastensium / conlata cer/tatim pecunia / in cuius dedicatione / ss(ertium) C mil(ia) n(ummum) ad opus mu/nificentiae suae patri/ae donavit et curiis / praeter epulas vini e[t] / ludum X quingenof[s]	To M. Amullius Optatus Crementianus, the son of Marcus, of the Papiria tribe, Roman equestrian, a man of singular good faith, goodness, and munificence, the most splendid <i>ordo</i> of the Thagastenses, with money competitively collected, at the dedication of which [statue] he gave to his <i>patria</i> 100,000HS for achieving his own munificence and to the <i>curiae</i> five-hundred <i>denarii</i> for additional banquets of wine and games.	CIL VIII 5146+p.1634 = ILAlg. 1.876
45	Thagaste		equestrian	C(aio) Flavio C(ai) fil(io) / Papiria Hilario / Felici eq(uiti) Rom(ano) cui / cum splendissim]us ord[o municipi]/pii sui [Thag(astensium) sum(?)]/mo su[o consensu(?) in] / patri[s honorem] et hon[orem]	To C. Flavius Hilarius Felix, the son of Gaius, of the Papiria tribe, Roman equestrian, although the most splendid <i>ordo</i> of his own <i>municipium</i> [of the Thugastenses with a high degree of consensus	CIL VIII 5150 = 17205 = ILAlg. 1.880

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<i>pro]/prium [- - -] / QVE IM[- - -] / [- - -]S DO[- - -] / [- - -]TVF[- - -] / [a]c rem [publica]m / statuam loco da[to] / iuxta parentum de/crevisset exemplum / [re]missa pecunia quae / o[ff]erebatur poni curavit</i>	within its ranks] had decreed a statue in a location next to his parents [in honour] of his father and in his own honour [because of services to the - - -] and the <i>res publica</i> , with the money which was being offered remitted, he took care that it was erected.	
46	Thimida Regia	286 at latest	curator rei publicae, decurion of Carthage, local? duumvir quinquennalis	<i>Hymet[i] / C(aio) Iulio Regino decurioni / Karthag(i) aed(ili) Ilvir(i) quin/quennalicio gentis Severi / [- - -] / [- - - cur]ator / splendidissimae rei publicae / Thimidensium Regiorum ord(o) / decurionum ex sportulis suis / ob merita d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	Hymetius! To C. Iulius Reginus, decurion at Carthage, aedile, <i>duumvir</i> , of quinquennialician rank, of the Severan gens, [- - - cur]ator of the most splendid <i>res publica</i> of the Thimidenses Regii, the <i>ordo</i> of the decurions, from its <i>sportulae</i> , because of his merits, by decree of the decurions.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 883 = 12386 = <i>ILS</i> 6816
47	Thuburbo Maius	151/181	brother	<i>C(aio) Caesennio / P(ubli) fil(io) Aucto / ob munificen/tiam Caesenni / Secundionis / fratris eius / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i>	To C. Caesennius Auctus, the son of Publius, because of the munificence of his brother Caesennius Secundio, by decree of the decurions with public money.	<i>ILTun.</i> 724
48	Thuburbo Maius	177/193	equestrian flamen divi Titi at Carthage, sacerdos Aesculapii	<i>P(ublio) Attio P(ubli) fil(io) Arn(ensi) Extri/cationo flam(ini) divi Titi / c(oloniae) I(uliae) K(arthaginis) sacerdoti Aesculapii bis / equo publico adlecto ab / Imp[[p]](eratoribus) Caes[[s]](aribus) M(arco) Aurelio Antoni/no [[et M(arco) Aurelio Commodo]] / [[Antonino Augg(ustis)]] Germa/nici[[s]] Sarmatici[[s]] / ob honestam munificentiam / Iuliae Bassiliae flam(inicae) perpet(uae) / matris eius d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i>	To P. Attius Extricationus, the son of Publius, of the Arnensis tribe, <i>flamen</i> of the divine Titus at the Julian colony of Carthage, twice priest of Aesculapius, enrolled [in the equestrian order] with the public horse by the emperors Caesar M. Aurelius Antoninus and Caesar M. Aurelius Commodus Antoninus, Augusti, Germanici, Sarmatici, because of the honourable munificence of Iulia Bassilla, <i>flaminica perpetua</i> , his mother; by decree of the decurions with public money.	<i>IL Afr.</i> 280
49	Thuburbo Minus	c.138/193	legionary tribune	<i>C(aio) Porcio C(ai) fil(io) / Quir(ina) Saturnino / Iuniori trib(uno) / leg(ionis) XIII Geminae / trib(uno) leg(ionis) XII Fulm(inatae) / ob adsidua in / rem publicam / merita d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i>	To C. Porcius Saturninus Iunior, the son of Gaius, of the Quirina tribe, tribune of the 13 th Legion Gemina, tribune of the 12 th Legion Fulminata, because of his constant merits towards the <i>res publica</i> , by decree of the decurions with public money.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 1175+p.1386

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
50	Thuburnica		<i>duumviralis</i> , father	<i>Arnasi / Q(uinto) Octavio Q(uinti) f(ilio) / Corn(elia) Primo / omnibus hon[o]/ribus in coloni/a sua func/[tis] hui[c] ordo / cum ob eximiam / eius in rem publicam / operam [et] in ci/ves adfectionem / statuam de publi/c(o) c(o)l(oniae) statuendam / censeret C(aius) Octavi/ [u]s Honoratus filiu[s] op[ti]mo p[at]ri s(ua) [p(ecunia) f(ecit) l(ocus)] d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	Arnasius! To Q. Octavius Primus, the son of Quintus, of the Cornelia tribe, having completed all honours in his own colony, although the <i>ordo</i> decided to erect a statue to this man at the public expense of the colony because of his exceptional effort for the <i>res publica</i> and affection towards the citizens, C. Octavius Honoratus, his son, made it with his own money for the best father; location provided by decree of the decurions.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 14703+p.2543
51	Thubursicu Numidarum	102/117	<i>duumvir</i>	<i>[- - -]LECTO et gratuita / [- - -]IMI Iiviratus cuius / [- - -]O / [- - -]C]aes(ari) Aug(usto) Germ(anico) Dacico / [- - -]RO cum expostulant(ibus) / [splendido(?) or]dine et populo I[- - -]E / [- - -]pra]eter[e]a aere conlato / [- - -]summa re(?)]missa rei p(ublicae) cuius honor(em) / [- - -]decuriones N[- - -] / [pecunia prop]ria posu[erunt - - -]¹⁶</i>	[- - - se]lected(?) and freely [undertook? ¹⁷ - - -] whose duumvirate, [- - -] / [- - - by?] Caesar Augustus Germanicus Dacicus [- - -] with the [splendid] <i>ordo</i> and people demanding [- - -] / [- - -] in addition with collected money, [- - - the sum?] having been remitted(?) to the <i>res publica</i> , whose honour the [- - -] decurions [- - -] set up with their own money.	<i>ILAlg.</i> 1.1300
52	Thugga	160/205	son(?) of a patron and defensor causae publicae	<i>[- - -]NIO / [- - -]S / [- - -] M(arci) [Ga]/[bini Cle]mentis Clodi/ani patroni et de/fensoris causae / publicae decurio/nes utriusq(ue) ordinis</i>	To [- - -] / [- - -] / [- - - the son of?] M. Gabinius Clemens Clodianus patron and defender of the public cause, the decurions of both <i>ordines</i> .	<i>CIL</i> VIII 26597 = <i>Dougga</i> 52
53	Thugga	205/206	<i>flamen perpetuus</i> , patron	<i>[- - -]P]apir(ia) / [- - -]f]l(amini) p(erpetuo) civi et patro/[no exemp]lario et h(onestae) m(emoriae) v(iro) / [ob exi]mium amorem / [in ci]ves et in patriam / [bon]itatem uterque ordo / [rem]uneratus boni civis et / [p]atroni merita qua decreti s[u]/[i] auctoritate honoraverant / [s]tatuam equestrem res publ(ica) / mun(icipii) Sep(timi) Aur(eli) lib(eri) Thugg(ensium) posuit /</i>	To [- - -] of the Papiria tribe, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , citizen and exemplary patron and a man of honoured memory, because of his exceptional love towards the citizens and goodness towards his native city, both <i>ordines</i> , to repay the merits of a good citizen and patron, by the authority of their own decree awarded the honour of an equestrian statue; the <i>res publica</i> of the free Septimian Aurelian <i>municipium</i> of the Thuggenses set it up	<i>CIL</i> VIII 26622 = <i>ILTun.</i> 1437 = <i>Dougga</i> 56

¹⁶ Gsell (*ad ILAlg.* 1.1300) believes that 11-12 letters are missing from the left side of the inscription. I have restored the (*ibus*) to *expostulant*. and I have restored the '*splendido*'. I have also restored '*pecunia re-missa*' on the strength of *CIL* VIII 32=11034 (cf. *ILAf*: 424).

¹⁷ Gsell suspects that this line refers to an embassy on which the honoree served at his own expense (*ad ILAlg.* 1.1300).

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<i>ob amoris mutui memoriam / sempiternam</i>	as an eternal memory of their mutual love.	
54	Thugga	205/ 206	(1) <i>flaminica perpetua</i> ; (2) her mother, a <i>flaminica perpetua</i>	<p><i>Left Text: Vibia[ae Asicia]neti / fl(aminicae) perp[etuae] et / disciplina[ae singul]aris / statuam qua[m u]terq(ue) / ordo decre[ve]rat / res publ(ica) mun(icipii) [T]hugg(ensis) / posui[t]</i></p> <p><i>Right Text: Asiciae V[i]ctoriae coniugi [- - -]V[- - -]A[- - -] / ob munifi[c]entiam lib[er]a[le]m et singulare[m in cives suos] / et patriam [su]am quae probo a[ni]mo et exim[io] exemplo prae[ter] summa[m] flamonii perp(etui) sui honorar[ia]m ampliata[m] / etiam filiae [su]ae Asicianes singulari s[plendore ob flam(onium)] / HS C mil(ibus) n(ummum) patriae suae donaverit ex [quorum] reditu dec(urionibus) / utriusq(ue) [o]rdi[ni]s sportulae curiis e[pulas et universo] / populo g[y]mnasia praestentur lu[dique scaenici dentur] / statuam q[u]am uterq(ue) ordo decr[everat] / res p(ublica) mun(icipii) [Se]pt(imi) Aur(eli) lib(eri) Thugg(ensis) pos[uit] - - -]</i></p>	<p>Left Text: To Vibia Asiciane, <i>flaminica perpetua</i> and [a woman] of singular discipline, the statue which both <i>ordines</i> had decreed the <i>res publica</i> of the <i>municipium</i> of Thugga set up.</p> <p>Right Text: To Asicia Victoria, wife of [- - -], because of liberal and singular munificence [towards her own citizens] and her own native city, which along with an upright mind and an exceptional example [led her] to give to her own native city, in addition to the increased fee for her own <i>flamonium perpetuum</i>, another 100,000HS with singular [splendor on account of the <i>flamonium</i>] of her daughter Asicane, from [which revenue] <i>sportulae</i> are to be provided to the decurions of both <i>ordines</i>, banquets to the <i>curiae</i>, and oil to the whole <i>populus</i>, and <i>ludi scaenici</i> are to be given; the statue which both <i>ordines</i> had decreed, the <i>res publica</i> of the free Septimian Aurelian <i>municipium</i> of Thugga set up [- - -].</p>	CIL VIII 26591 = ILTun. 1427 = Dougga 73
55	Thugga		equestrian <i>duumvir</i>	<i>[- - -]sio Pap(iria) Sopa/[tro - - -]Honorato eq(uiti) R(omano) / [- - -]aed[ilicio] Ilviro / [ob] multipl[icem] et proba[ta]m in p[at]riam et ci[ves] affe[ctionem] et / [- - -]m in aedili[tatem] - - -]estam ex / [- - -]em ordo / [- - -]</i>	To [- - -] Sopatrus [- - -] Honoratus, of the Papiria tribe, Roman equestrian, former aedile, <i>duumvir</i> , because of much and proved affection towards his native city and citizens and [- - -] towards his aedileship [- - -], the <i>ordo</i> [- - -].	CIL VIII 26617
56	Thugga		daughter	<i>[- - -]ae T(iti) fil(iae) / [- - -]ae ob sanc[titatem] morum / [- - -]exe[m]plo probo / [- - -]A ETENTV/[- - -]T parentibu[s] / [- - -]ENT decurione[s] / [- - -]M]odius LIB[- - -] / [- - -]S VERII[- - -] / [- - -]or [- - -]I[- - -]</i>	To [- - -], the daughter of Titus, [- - -] because of the scrupulousness of her morals, an upright example, [- - -] / [- - -] her parents / [- - -] the decurions, [- - -] Modius [- - -].	CIL VIII 26611 = IL Afr. 537
57	Thysdrus	200/ 299	praetorian <i>curator rei</i>	<i>[- - -] et A[- - -]AE [pr]aetori has[ta]rio / [curatori rei p(ublicae) Neap]olitan[orum(?) curator]i</i>	To [- - -] praetor presiding over the centumviral court, [curator rei publicae] of the Neapolitani,	AE 1914, 207 = IL Afr. 44 =

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
			<i>publicae</i>	<i>civit[at]is Aufiden[atium] quaest(ori) / in [- - - cu]ratori re[i p(ublicae) Thusdrit]ano[ru]m Tha[e]nit[a]no[ru]m Bara[ri]ta/no[rum - - -]rum ob [sing]ularem eius innoc[entia]m et ampliata[m] / [semper erga singulos u]niversosq[ue ci]ves inc[omparabi]lem adfectio[nem] statuam splendiss[imus] or[do] Thusdri[tano]rum sua] pecu[ni]a posuit</i>	<i>curator</i> of the <i>civitas</i> of the Aufidenates, quaestor in [- - -], <i>curator rei publicae</i> of the Thysdritani, Thaenitani, Bararitani, [and the - - -], because of his singular blamelessness and [ever] increased incomparable affection towards [each and every] citizen, the most splendid <i>ordo</i> of the Thysdritani set up the statue with [their own?] money.	<i>Bardo</i> 80
58	Uchi Maius	230/ 299	patron, benefactor (probably, see <i>dies natalis</i>)	<i>[- - -]ri[- - -] / [- - - sin]gulis qui [- - -] / [- - -]re instituit et d[ie] nata]/[li(?) - - -] repromisit uni[versus] / [o]rdo col(oniae) Marianae Aug(ustae) Uc[hit(anorum)] / Maior(um) patrono ob merita</i>	[- - -] he established and [- - -] guaranteed, the whole <i>ordo</i> of the Marian Augustan colony of the Uchitani Maiores to their patron because of his merits.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 26281 = <i>Uchi</i> -1-Ugh- app 4 = <i>Uchi</i> 2.84
59	Uchi Maius	230/ 235	father	<i>L(ucio) Attio E[x]/orato [p]a/tri Atti Cor[neliani] ob sin[gularem] amo/rem in patriam / et simplicem vi[tam] universus or[do] Uchitanorum / [M]aiorum d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) d(edicavit)</i>	To L. Attius Exoratus, father of Attius Cornelianus, because of singular love towards his native city and his plain life, the <i>ordo</i> of the Uchitani Maiores dedicated this by decree of the decurions.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 26271 = <i>Uchi</i> 2.72
60	Uchi Maius	100/ 299	a descendant of senators?	<i>[- - - ba]/[s]em(?) de suo fieri expostulasset pro / memor(ia) etiam munificentiae domus / eius qua Genium patriae statuis ad/ornasset et epulum ter dedisset / imagines ipsi patri coniugi libe/risq(ue) eius decrevit Pullaienus / Bassus ut adfectibus civium pare/ret epulo quarto a se dato titulo / contentus statuam de suo posuit / itemque dedicavit</i>	[- - -] had demanded that a [- - - and?] base be made at his/its own expense for the memory also of the munificence of his family, by which he had adorned the Genium ¹⁸ of his native city with statues and had given a banquet three times, the [ordo?] decreed images to him, his father, wife, and children; Pullaienus Bassus, in order to yield to the affections of the citizens, with a banquet given by him for the fourth time, set up and dedicated the statue with his own money being content with the inscription.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 26279 = <i>Uchi</i> 2.89
61	Ureu	161/ c.193	<i>duumvir</i> , patron	<i>Q(uinto) Latinio Primoso Pu/nisco Q(uinti) Latini Felicia/ni Ilviralici filio / ordo municipi(i) Uruensis</i>	To Q. Latinus Primus Puniscus, the son of Q. Latinus Felicianus former <i>duumvir</i> , the <i>ordo</i> of	<i>AE</i> 1975, 876

¹⁸ Khanoussie and Mastino say that “probably the monument was dedicated to this deity” (*ad Uchi* 2.89).

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				<i>ci/vi et patrono / ob merita / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i>	the <i>municipium</i> of Ureu to a citizen and patron because of his merits, by decree of the decurions with public money.	
62	Ureu	200/ 250	son of equestrian, (adopted?) brother of senatorial boy	<i>Dynami / L(ucio) Octavio Gallo / Attico Pap(iria) Concesso / Q(uinti) Octavi Galli e(gregii) v(iri) filio / fratri Q(uinti) Octavi Galli / Concessiani c(larissimi) p(ueri) ob / multa merita patris / atque avi eius in patri/am et in rem p(ublicam) et ho/nestas eorum munifi/centias liberalitates splen/didis(simus) ordo mun(icipii) Uruensi(s)</i>	Dynamius! To L. Octavius Gallus Atticus Concessus, of the Papiria tribe, the son of Q. Octavius Gallus excellent man, the brother of Q. Octavius Gallus Concessianus illustrious boy, because of the many merits of his father and grandfather towards their native city and the <i>res publica</i> and their honourable acts of munificent liberality, the most splendid <i>ordo</i> of the <i>municipium</i> of Ureu.	<i>AE</i> 1975, 878
63	Ureu	200/ 299, likely 200/ 235		<i>[- -] MV[- -] publ/[- -] omnes et [- -] / [- -] posteros propa[gator]em / [mun(icipii)] Ureuensis splendidissimus et / flo[re]ntissimus ordo bene merito ci/vi decrevit d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica) ob cuius dedica/tionem decurionib(us) sportulas et epulum / curialib(us) et universis civibus dedit</i>	<i>[- -]</i> all and <i>[- -]</i> / <i>[- -]</i> and those who/which follow, an extender of the [<i>municipium</i>] of Ureu, the most splendid and most flourishing <i>ordo</i> decrees this to a well deserving citizen, on decree of the decurions with public money; to mark its dedication, he gave <i>sportulae</i> to the decurions and a banquet to the <i>curiales</i> and all citizens.	<i>AE</i> 1975, 877
64	Uzali Sar	150/ 199, likely 161/ 181	benefactor	<i>[- - - ob - - -] / larg[itionem] / [- - -] / [- - - et] / in civ(es) [a]m[orem(?) - - -] / universus ordo c[ivita]/tis Uzalitanae Sar d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) s[ta]/tuam decrevit p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i>	<i>[- - -]</i> because of <i>[- - -]</i> gener[osity? - - -] / <i>[and - - - love?]</i> towards the citizens, the whole <i>ordo</i> of the city of Uzali Sar on decree of the decurions decreed the statue with public money.	<i>AE</i> 1973, 583
65	Uzappa	250/ 288	senatorial youth, son of patron	<i>C(aio) Valerio Gallia/[n]o Honoratiano / [i(uveni)] c(larissimo) patroni f[il(io)] / ob amorem eius/ [de]m set [et] Valerior(um) / [G]alliani avi et Rogat[iani] patris et u[- - -] / pa[- - -] frat[ri]s / ordo muni[c(ipii)] Uz[a]p[p]ensis statuam [p(ecunia) p(ublica)?] / [f]acere curavit / [i]demq(ue) dedicavit</i>	To C. Valerius Gallianus Honoratianus, most illustrious [youth], the son of a patron, because of the love of this same person but [also the love] of the Valerii: Gallianus his grandfather, Rogatianus his father, and <i>[- - -]</i> / <i>[- - -]</i> his brother, the <i>ordo</i> of the <i>municipium</i> of Uzappa took care to make this statue [with public money?] and likewise dedicated it.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 11935
66	Vaga		<i>duumvir</i>	<i>M(arco) Iul(io) M(arci) fil(io) trib(u) Fab(ia)</i>	To M. Iulius Maximus, the son of Marcus, of the	<i>CIL</i> VIII 1224

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
			quinguennalis, flamen perpetuus, maternal uncle	Maximo / decurioni adlecto aed[ili ac] / sac(erdoti) anni XIII praef(ecto) iur(e) dic(undo) / Ilvir(o) Ilvir(o) q(uin)q(uennali) fl(aminis) p(er)p(etuo) cui cum / ordo splendidissimus ob / merita eius statuam p(ecunia) p(ublica) / fieri decrevisset / Q(uintus) Agrius Iulius Maximus / Felix av'u'nculo suo magno / pro pietate sua dato sibi / ab ordine loco s(ua) p(ecunia) fecit / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)	Fabia tribe, enrolled as decurion, aedile and priest for the 14 th year, <i>praefectus iure dicundo</i> , <i>duumvir</i> , <i>duumvir quinquennalis</i> , <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , although the most splendid <i>ordo</i> had decreed that a statue to him be made with public money because of his merits, Q. Agrius Iulius Maximus Felix made it for his own uncle – a great man – out of a sense of duty, at a location provided by the <i>ordo</i> , on decree of the decurions.	= 14388
67	Vaga		senatorial granddaughter	Surdin[iae - - -] / nepti Ho[rati Martia]/lis Rufin[i - - -] / c(larissimae) f(eminae) ob insignem atque singula/rem av[i innocentiam et mul]/tiforme[m ipsius liberalita]/tem in un[iversos saepe exhibi]/[tam] decur[iones coloniae - - -]	To Surdina [- - -], the granddaughter of Horatius Martialis Rufinus, a most illustrious woman, because of the marked and singular [blamelessness?] of her grandfather and [because of] her own manifold liberality [often shown to everyone?], the decurions [- - -].	CIL VIII 1223 = 14387
68	Zama Regia		woman	[- - -]m[- - -]/[- - -]e cui cum ordo ob meri/[t]a maiorum eius et indo/[le]m Pomponi Martialis / [O]ctaviani fili(i) eius statu/[a]m de publico ponendam de/[c]revisset ipsa pecunia rei / [p]ublicae remissa loco ab / [ord]ine impetrato de suo p(osuit)	To [- - -] / [- - -], although the <i>ordo</i> had decreed setting up the statue to him at public expense because of the merits of his ancestors and the natural qualities of Pomponius Martialis Octavianus, his son, he, having remitted the money to the <i>res publica</i> , set it at his own expense at the location ordered by the <i>ordo</i> .	CIL VIII 12021
CURIA(AE) AS STATED DEDICATOR						
69	Althiburos	161/192	wife of procurator Augusti	Cominiae [P]a[te]rc[u]/lae T(iti) [f]il(iae) uxori M(arci) Helvi / Melior(is) Pl[a]c[e]n[t]i Sabini/ani Samuniani equo / publ(ico) in V dec(urias) adlecti / fl(aminis) p(er)p(etui) sacerdotal(is) prov(inciae) / Afric(ae) [p]roc(uratoris) Aug(usti) bis / matri Q(uinti) Helvi Melior(is) / Placenti Cominiani / curiales curiarum X / ob merita posueru[nt] / ob quam dedication[em] / [ep]ulaticium actores / [d]ederunt [- - -]	To Cominia Patercula, the daughter of Titus, the wife of M. Helvius Melior Placentius Sabinianus Samunianus – (decorated with) the public horse, enrolled in the 5 <i>decuriae</i> , <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , priest of the province of Africa, twice procurator of the Augustus –, mother of Q. Helvius Melior Placens Cominianus, the <i>curiales</i> of the 10 <i>curiae</i> set this up because of her merits; to mark its dedication, managers gave a banquet [- - -].	CIL VIII 1827+p.2722 = 16472 = <i>ILTun.</i> 1647
70	Althiburos	161/	the procurator	[- - -]al[- - -] / et singu[laris - - -] / integritatis [- - -]	[- - - a man of?] singular [- - - and?] integrity [- - -]	CIL VIII

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
		192	of <i>CIL</i> VIII 1827?	<i>-] / qui temporibus cura[e suae] / inter cetera [beneficia etiam] / ornamentum moenibus / et salutem civibus / perpetu(u)m perductis / fontibus contulerit / populus curiar(um) X / loco ab ordine dato / alteram statuam posuit / et ob dedicationem / decurionib(us) sportulas / curi<i>s epul(um) act[o]res eius / deder(unt)</i>	-, who in the time of his curatorship, among other [things] contributed ornamentation to the walls and perpetual well-being to the citizens with waters brought in, the <i>populus</i> of the 10 <i>curiae</i> set up another statue at a location provided by the <i>ordo</i> and to mark the dedication his managers gave <i>sportulae</i> to the decurions and a banquet to the <i>curiae</i> .	1828+p.2722 = <i>ILTun.</i> 1645 = <i>ILS</i> 5783
71	Ammaedara	200/299	equestrian augur, flamen perpetuus, aedile	<i>[- - -]ano eq(uiti) R(omano) auguri fl(amini) p(er)p(etuo) aed(ili) / [Job eximiam?] aedilitatis adminis[trationem - - -] / [- - -] populus curiatim et Aug[ustales?] - - -]ERNIS et Augustal(ibus?) e[did(erunt?)]</i>	To [- - -] Roman equestrian, augur, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , aedile, [because of exceptional?] administration of the aedileship [- - -], the <i>populus</i> by <i>curiae</i> and the <i>Augustales</i> (?) [- - -], [- - -] and gave to the <i>Augustales</i> [- - -].	<i>NDEAmmaedara</i> 19 = <i>AE</i> 1999, 1796
72	Bulla Regia	225/274	praetor, patron	<i>[- - -] leg(ato) Kar]/thag(inis) praet(ori) trib(uno) pl(ebis) / quaest(ori) prov(inciae) Baeti/cae viocuro uni/versae curiae im/petrato ab ordine / loco pecunia sua pa[trono et alumno] co/loniae posuerunt</i>	[- - -] legatus?] of Carthage, praetor, tribune of the plebs, quaestor of the province of Baetica in charge of roads, all <i>curiae</i> set this up with their own money at a location ordered by the <i>ordo</i> to a patron and alumnus of the colony.	<i>AE</i> 1964, 178 = <i>Karthago</i> 11 p.6
73	Capsa		flaminica perpetua	<i>Flaviae Urbi/cae flaminii/[cae] [p]erpetuae / [curial]es curi/[ae] [dece]m ob me[r]ita eius sta/tua(m) aere colla/to posueru/nt itemque dedic(averunt) hono/re conten/ta pecunia[m] / remisit</i>	To Flavia Urbica, <i>flaminica perpetua</i> , the <i>curiales</i> of the ten <i>curiae</i> , because of his merits, set up this statue with collected money and likewise dedicated it; being content with the honour, she remitted the money.	<i>AE</i> 1996, 1700
74	Cillium	150/199	wife	<i>Aeliae Va[leriae] Kapi/tolinae Pom/peian[ae] C(ai) Ofil(i) / Libu[- - -]on/iugi c[uriae] u[ni]versae m[uni]cip(ii) / Cillitani ob eximi/um in se mariti / eius amorem</i>	To Aelia Valeria Kapitolina Pompeiana, the wife of C. Ofilius Libu[- - -], all <i>curiae</i> of the <i>municipium</i> of Cillium, because of the love of her husband towards them.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 23207 = <i>ILTun.</i> 338
75	Curubis	161/170	equestrian flamen perpetuus, curator alimentorum, patron	<i>M(arco) Manlio C(ai) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Modesto Quietia/no equo publico et [in qu]inq(ue) decur(ias) adlec/to a divo Pio fl(amini) perp(etuo) [H]viralic(io) et c[ur]ator(i) / alimentorum curia Poblizia / ob singularem in patriam munifi/centiam theatro propria pecunia / eius</i>	M. Manlius Modestus Quietianus, the son of Gaius, of the Quirina tribe, [decorated] with the public horse and enrolled into the five <i>decuriae</i> by the divine Pius, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , former <i>duumvir</i> , manager of food stuffs, the Curia Poblizia set this up with its own money, because	<i>IL Afr.</i> 320 = <i>ILTun.</i> 839 = <i>Bardo</i> 373 = <i>ILS</i> 9407

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<i>exstructo patrono sua p(ecunia) p(osuit)</i>	of his singular munificence by having a theatre constructed with his own money.	
76	Henchir Zian (Zita)	138 at earliest ¹⁹	civic magistrate or possibly <i>magister curiae</i>	<i>Q(uinto) Plaut[io] / Titian[o] / mag(istratu?) e[st] / ceteris [ho]/[n]oribus / [int]egre / [ff]u[ncto] / Curia [Fa]ustina [ob] / merita</i>	To Q. Plautius Titianus, who completed the magistracy(?) and other offices with integrity, the Curia Faustina because of his merits.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 11008
77	Hippo Regius	193/299	<i>duumvir, flamen perpetuus, pontifex</i>	<i>L(ucio) Postumio Felici / Celerino a mil(itiis) flam(ini) / Aug(usti) p(er)p(etuo) pontifici duumvir(o) / ob magnificentiam / gladiatorii muneris / quod civibus suis tri/duo edidit quo omnes / priorum memorias / supergressus est ob/que eius innocentiam / splendoremque et / in patriam suam in/conparabilem amorem / singulae curiae singulas / statuas de suo posuerunt / ut eximiam voluntatem ei(u)s / tanti honoris titulis / adaequarent / l(ocus) d(atu)s d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	To L. Postumius Felix Celerinus, served in the military as an equestrian, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> of the Augustus, <i>pontifex, duumvir</i> , because of the magnificence of his gladiatorial presentation, which he put on over three days to his own citizens by which he surpassed all memory of prior shows, and because of his blamelessness and splendour, as well as incomparable love towards his own native city, each <i>curia</i> set up at its own expense its own statue in order to equal his willingness with the distinction ²⁰ of such a great honour; location provided by decree of the decurions.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 5276a = 17454a = <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.95
78	Hippo Regius	193/299	<i>duumvir, flamen perpetuus, pontifex</i>	<i>L(ucio) Postumio Felici / Celerino a mil(itiis) flam(ini) / Aug(usti) p(er)p(etuo) pontifici duumvir(o) / ob magnificentiam gladiatorii muneris quod / civibus suis tri/duo edid(i)t / quo omnes priorum memo/rias supergressus est / obque eius innocentiam splendoremque et / in patriam suam in/comparabilem amo/rem singulae curiae / singulas statuas / de suo posuerunt ut / eximiam volunta/tem eius tanti hono/ris titulis adaequarent / l(ocus) d(atu)s d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	To L. Postumius Felix Celerinus, served in the military as an equestrian, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> of the Augustus, <i>pontifex, duumvir</i> , because of the magnificence of his gladiatorial presentation, which he provided over three days to his own citizens by which he surpassed all memory of prior shows, and because of his blamelessness and splendour, as well as incomparable love towards his own native city, each <i>curia</i> set up at its own expense its own statue in order to equal his willingness with the distinction of such a great	<i>CIL</i> VIII 5276b = 17454b = <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.96

¹⁹ The name of the *curia* provides the *terminus post quem*, since Antoninus Pius was married to a Faustina. Gasco points out that M. Aurelius and Elagabalus were also married to Faustinae (Gasco 1982: 308 n.492).

²⁰ The sense of *titulis* here could be its more basic one of “inscriptions,” but that translation is unsatisfying, since the honour is multiple statues not inscriptions. The plural form of *titulis* poses difficulty, but it makes most sense to render it in English as a singular.

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
					honour; location provided by decree of the decurions.	
79	Lepcis Minor	90/199	<i>antistes curiae, patronus curiae</i>	<i>L(ucio) Aemilio Ad/iutori antisti/ti sacrorum Li/beri Patris curi/ae Aug(ustae) anni / curia Aug(usta) pa/trono ob meri/ta sua pecunia / posuit</i>	To L. Aemilius Adiutor, priest ²¹ of the sacred rites of Liber Pater for the Curia Augusta for the year, the Curia Augusta set this up with their own money to their patron because of his merits.	<i>CIL VIII</i> 22900 = <i>ILS</i> 3371 = <i>ILTun.</i> 138 = <i>Afr.Rom.</i> 16-3-1877 = <i>AE</i> 1968, +630 = <i>AE</i> 2006, +1671
80	Mactaris	200/249		<i>L(ucio) Iulio Q(uinti) f(ilio) / Horatia Vic/tori Optatia/no curiae ci/vi optimo</i>	To L. Iulius Victor Optatianus, the son of Quintus, of the Horatia tribe, the <i>curiae</i> to the best citizen.	<i>CIL VIII</i> 629
81	Mactaris		former magistrate	<i>[- - - duumviral?]icio ob / [singulare]m inno/[centia]m et [erga] rem / p[ublica]m amorem / curiae universae lo/co ab ordine dato su/a pecunia posue/runt</i>	To [- - - a former <i>duumvir</i> (?)], because of his singular(?) blamelessness and love towards the <i>res publica</i> , all <i>curiae</i> set this up with their own money with the location provided by the <i>ordo</i> .	<i>CIL VIII</i> 11814+p.2372
82	Madauros		<i>duumvir</i>	<i>L(ucio) Caesonio / Honorato / ae[d(ili)] duumvir(o) op/t[i]mo civi cu/rial(es) col(oniae) Ma/daur(ensium) ob me/rita posue/runt</i>	To L. Caesonius Honoratus, aedile, <i>duumvir</i> , the best citizen, the <i>curiales</i> of the colony of the Madaurenses set this up because of his merits.	<i>AE</i> 1931, 40
83	Municipium Aurelium C[- - -]	222/235	<i>duumvir, flamen perpetuus</i> , civic patron	<i>[- - - Te]rtulli / [- - -]dario quaestorio / Ilviralic(io) fl(amini) p(er)p(etuo) ob eximi/um amorem circa patriam / et praestantem fidem qua / sing(ulos) universosq(ue) promeruit / cur(ia) Caelestia patrono</i>	[- - -] of Tertullus [- - -] quaestor, former <i>duumvir</i> , <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , because of his exceptional love for his native city and outstanding good faith with which he won over each and everyone, the Curia Caelestia to its patron.	<i>CIL VIII</i> 829 = 12348
84	Municipium Aurelium C[- - -]	230	<i>duumvir</i>	<i>Front Face: Q(uinto) Considio Nampha/monis filio / Reposito Areiano / aedilico Ilvirali / ob eximiam Ilviratus / administrationem / et singularem erga / cives amorem / universae curiae</i> <i>Left Face: Dedicata / [- - -]II Idus M[a]rtias /</i>	To Q. Considius Repostus Areianus, the son of Namphamon, former aedile, <i>duumvir</i> , because of the exceptional administration of the <i>duumvirate</i> and singular love towards the citizens, all <i>curiae</i> . Dedicated on February [-], when Agricola and	<i>CIL VIII</i> 826+p.1271

²¹ For this translation of *antistes*, see Seston 1968: 74-75; Aounallah *et al* 2006: 1879.

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				<i>Agricola et Clementi/ano co(n)s(ulibus)</i>	Clementianus were consuls.	
85	Municipium Aurelium C[- - -]		wife of local benefactor	<i>Galliae Optatae / coniugi P(ubli) Modi Fe/licis fili(ae) Primi / ad remuneran/dam liberalita/tem mariti eius / perfecti operis / macelli / universae cu[riae]</i>	To Gallia Optata, wife of P. Modius Felix, daughter of Primus, to repay her husband's liberality of the completed work on the market, all <i>curiae</i> .	<i>CIL</i> VIII 12353
86	Municipium Aurelium C[- - -]		<i>duumvir</i> , quaestor	<i>P(ublio) Modio Felicis fi/lio Primo quaesto/ricio Ilviralicio / ad remunerandam / liberalitatem eius / memoriamque per/petuo servandam / universae curiae</i>	To P. Modius Primus, the son of Felix, former quaestor, former <i>duumvir</i> , to repay his liberality and to preserve his memory in perpetuity, all <i>curiae</i> .	<i>CIL</i> VIII 12354 = <i>ILS</i> 6826
87	Municipium Cincarianum	200/249	deceased proconsul	<i>Memoriae Ti/beri Claudi Iuli/ani universi cu/riales mun(icipii) Cin(caritani) / provocati lar/git[i]one matris / eius aer{a}e col/lato de s[uo] po/suerunt l(ocus) d(atu)s d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	To the memory of Tiberius Claudius Iulianus, all <i>curiales</i> of the Cincarian <i>municipium</i> , stimulated by the generosity of his mother, set this up with collected money from their own funds; location provided by decree of the decurions.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 14769
88	Muzuca		<i>amicus</i>	<i>[- - -] / amico omnium / curiae univer/sae</i>	<i>[- - -]</i> to a friend of everyone, all <i>curiae</i> .	<i>CIL</i> VIII 12096
89	Neapolis	200/299	decurion, augur	<i>Memoriae M(arci) Numisi / Clodiani dec(urionis) auguri[s] / homini bono qui dec[e]/dens testamento su[o] / ad remunerandos cu/riales curiae Aeliae HS X / mil(ia) n(ummum) reliquit ob hon[o]/rem eius hanc statu/am idem cur(iales) sua pecuni/a posue{u}r(unt)</i>	To the memory of M. Numisius Clodianus, decurion, augur, a good man who, when he passed, left in his will 10,000HS to repay the <i>curiales</i> of the Curia Aelia, because of his honour the same <i>curiales</i> set up this statue with their own money.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 974+p.1282 = <i>Bardo</i> 395 = <i>ILTun.</i> 801 = <i>ILS</i> 6828
90	Pheradi Maius	210/225	(1) <i>procurator Augusti tractus Karthaginis</i> ; (2) his wife; (3) his children	<i>Q(uinto) Agrio Rusticiano e(gregio) v(iro) proc(uratori) Aug(usti) nostri tractus Karthaginis / proc(uratori) privatae rationis per Italiam proc(uratori) privat(ae) rationis prov(inciae) Mauretaniae / Caesariensis item vice praesidis et proc(uratoris) gentium functo proc(uratori) XX her(editatu)m pro[v(inciae)] Narbon[en]/sis proc(uratori) viae Laurentinae et Ardeatinae item vice proc(uratoris) X[X l]ib[ertatis] functo curatori viae Pedanae / Septimiae Val[eria]nae eius et Q(uinto) Agrio Valeriano Rusticiano equiti Romano</i>	To Q. Agrius Rusticianus, excellent man, procurator of Augustus for our region of Carthage, procurator of the <i>res privata</i> account throughout Italy, procurator of the <i>res privata</i> account throughout the province of Mauretania Caesariensis, likewise filled in as acting governor and procurator of the peoples [there], procurator of 5% tax on inheritances for the province of Narbonensis, procurator of the Laurentian and Ardeatinian roads, likewise filled-in as acting procurator for the 5% tax on manumission,	<i>AE</i> 2003, 1933

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				<i>et Agriae Al[- -]ae Valer[ian]ae fili(i)s / eorum cur[ia]le]s municipi(i) Aure[li] Phe[r]aditani M[aio]ris civibus optimis</i>	manager of the Pedana road, to his wife Septimia Valeriana, and to Q. Agrius Valerianus Rusticianus, Roman equestrian, and Agria Al[- -]ja Valeriana, their children, the <i>curiales</i> of the Aurelian <i>municipium</i> of Pheradi Maius to the best citizens.	
91	Sabratha	100/ 299	<i>flamen perpetuus, duumvir</i>	<i>[C(aio) Fl(avio) Q(uinti) fil(io)] / Pap(iria) Pud(en)ti flam(ini) / perp(etuo) curi/a Au[g]usta / ob m[er]ita</i>	To C. Flavius Pudens, the son of Quintus, of the Papiria tribe, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , the Curia Augusta because of his merits.	IRT 118
92	Sabratha	100/ 299	<i>flamen perpetuus, duumvir</i>	<i>C(aio) [Flavio Q(uinti)] fil(io) Pa[p(iria)] / [P]udenti / [flam(ini)] per[p(etuo)] / cu[r]ia Caele[st(is)] / o[b] merita</i>	To C. Flavius Pudens, the son of Quintus, of the Papiria tribe, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , the Curia of Caelestis because of his merits.	IRT 119
93	Sabratha	100/ 299	<i>flamen perpetuus, duumvir</i>	<i>[C(aio) Fl(avio) Q(uinti) fil(io) Pap(iria) / Pudenti / flam(ini) perp(etuo) / curia Faus[t]/[i]na ob meri/ta</i>	To C. Flavius Pudens, the son of Quintus, of the Papiria tribe, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , the Curia Faustina because of his merits.	IRT 120
94	Sabratha	100/ 299	<i>flamen perpetuus, duumvir</i>	<i>C(aio) [Fl(avio)] Q(uinti) fil(io) Pap(iria) / [P]udenti / [flam(ini)] perp(etuo) / c[uri]a Hadr(iana) / o[b] merit[a]</i>	To C. Flavius Pudens, the son of Quintus, of the Papiria tribe, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , the Curia Hadriana because of his merits.	IRT 121
95	Sabratha	100/ 299	<i>flamen perpetuus, duumvir</i>	<i>C(aio) Fl(avio) Q(uinti) fil(io) / Pap(iria) Pud(en)ti flam(ini) per/pet(uo) curia Io/vis ob merita</i>	To C. Flavius Pudens, the son of Quintus, of the Papiria tribe, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , the Curia of Juppiter because of his merits.	IRT 122
96	Sabratha	100/ 299	<i>flamen perpetuus, duumvir</i>	<i>[C(aio) Fl(avio) Q(uinti) fil(io) Pap(iria)] / [Pudenti] / [flam(ini) perp(etuo)] / [cu]ria Mer/curi ob me/rita</i>	To C. Flavius Pudens, the son of Quintus, of the Papiria tribe, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , the Curia of Mercury because of his merits.	IRT 123
97	Sabratha	100/ 299	<i>flamen perpetuus, duumvir</i>	<i>C(aio) Fl(avio) Q(uinti) fil(io) / Pap(iria) Pud(en)ti fl(amini) per(petuo) / curia Nep/tuni / ob merita</i>	To C. Flavius Pudens, the son of Quintus, of the Papiria tribe, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , the Curia of Neptune because of his merits.	IRT 124
98	Sabratha	100/ 299	<i>flamen perpetuus, duumvir</i>	<i>C(aio) Fl(avio) Q(uinti) fil(io) / Pap(iria) Pud(en)ti fl(amini) / perp(etuo) / [curia(?)] - - - / [- - - ob merita(?)]</i>	To C. Flavius Pudens, the son of Quintus, of the Papiria tribe, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , [the Curia? - - - because of his merits]	IRT 125
99	Segermes	175/ 225	senator, <i>legatus Augusti</i> , patron	<i>[- - - trib(un)o] mi[l(itum) leg(ionis)] - - - trib(un)o mil(itum) leg(ionis) I] / [Min]er(viae) praef(ecto)</i>	[- - -] military [tribune of the . Legion - - -], military tribune of the 1 st Legion] Minerva,	<i>ISegermes</i> 15 = <i>AE</i> 1992,

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<i>eq(uitum) alae I Scubulorum / [prae]f(ecto) eq(uitum) alae I Pannon(iorum) Sabinianae / [cur]atori kalend(arii) rei p(ublicae) Veientiu(m) / [c(larissimo) v(iro) le]g(ato) Aug(usti) provinciae Aquitania[e] / [opti]mo patrono ob meritum ei[us] / [cur(ia) Au]relia Anto[ninian]a statuam / [aeream(?) f]jecit et accepto loco m[un(icipium)] / [Aur(elium) Aug(ustum)] Segermit(anum) dedicavit / [- - -]CO[- - -]</i>	equestrian prefect of the 1 st squadron of the Scubuli, equestrian prefect of the 1 st Sabinian squadron of the Pannoni, manager of the account book of the <i>res publica</i> of the Veientii, [most illustrious man], legate of Augustus for the province of Aquitania, to the best patron because of his merits, [the <i>curia</i> ?] Aurelia Antoniniana made this [bronze?] statue and, having accepted the location, [the Aurelian Augustan <i>municipium</i>] of the Segermitani dedicated it [- - -].	1794 = <i>AE</i> 1996, 1707 = <i>AE</i> 1999, 1773
100	Simitthus	138/ 192	<i>duumvir</i>	<i>[. . V]eturio L(uci) fil(io) [Quir(ina)] / [F]ortunato o[b summam] / [in d]iem vitae a[dfect]io/[n]em et admini[stratio]/[n]em I[rviratus in]com]/[p]arabilem et inn[ocent]iam singularem [uti]/litatibus publicis / commodisque / exhibitam curia/les universi co[l(oniae)] I[ul(iae)] / Aug(ustae) Num[id]icae [Si]m[i]/thensium pro tota[n]tisque meritis ei[us] ae/re collato posu[e]/runt loco da[to] / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	To [...] Veturius Fortunatus, the son of Lucius, of the Quirina tribe(?), because of [the highest] affection each day of his life and incomparable administration of the <i>duumvirate</i> and singular blamelessness demonstrated with the public interests and advantages, all <i>curiales</i> of the Julian Augustan Numidian colony of Simitthus, for so many and so great merits, set this up with collected money; location provided by decree of the decurions.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 1261+p.980 = 10594 = 14612 = <i>ILS</i> 6823
101	Sufetula	190/ 225	<i>flamen perpetuus</i>	<i>L(ucio) Pompeio L(uci) fil(io) Qui/[rin]a[- - -]iano trib(uno)] / [[mil(itum) leg(ionis) II [A]diu[tr]i]]/cis sexsmen(stris) / fl(amini) p(er)p(etuo) populus / universus curi/arum ob singula/rem ac novi erga se / exempli liberali/tatem innocentissi/mo civi statu[am fec]it</i>	To L. Pompeius [- - -]ianus, the son of Lucius, of the Quirina tribe, military tribune of the 2 nd Legion Adiutrix for six months, ²² <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , the whole <i>populus</i> of the <i>curiae</i> , because of his singular liberality towards them which sets a new standard, made the statue for a most blameless citizen.	<i>IL Afr.</i> 138 = <i>Sbeitla</i> 59
102	Sufetula	222/ 250	senatorial <i>curator rei publicae</i>	<i>L(ucio) Caelio Plautio Catullino c(larissimo) v(iro) tribu[nicio] curator rei publicae ob insignem eius / clementiam et circa singulos universosq(ue) / cives praestantia(m) innocentia(m) quam cir/ca</i>	To L. Caelius Plautius Catullinus, most illustrious man, former tribune, <i>curator rei publicae</i> , because of his marked mildness and outstanding blamelessness regarding each and every citizen,	<i>CIL</i> VIII 11332 = <i>ILS</i> 6836 = <i>Sbeitla</i> 41

²² I prefer the reading of Jarrett (1958: 234-235) for this office rather than that of Duval (*ad Sbeitla* 56), for Duval does not produce an argument for returning to the earlier reading of: (*centurio*) *lib(rario) leg(ati) leg(ionis) II [A]diu[tr]i]]cis sexsmen(stris)*.

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<i>frumentariae rei largam mode/rationem et pr(a)estantiam singu/larem omnium virtutum viro / curiae universae statuarum ho/norem pro meritis suis hac titu/li aeternitate signarunt</i>	(as seen with?) his generous regulation regarding the grain supply, and [because of] his singular pre-eminence; ²³ to a man of all virtues all <i>curiae</i> mark the honour of statues with the eternity of this inscription for the sake of his ²⁴ merits.	
103	Sufetula		<i>flamen Augusti, duumvir</i>	<i>C(aio) Turranio C(ai) f(ilio) Quir(ina) / Silvano fl(amini) Aug(usti) q(uaestori) arc(ae?) / praef(ecto) i(ure) d(icundo) Ilviro ob insignem simplicitatem eius / et in Ilviratum erga om/nes inn[ocent]iam curi/ae universae at decla/random testificandamq(ue) / iudicii et adfectionis suae religio/nem aere conlato fecer(unt) et dedicaver(unt)</i>	To C. Turranius Silvanus, the son of Gaius, of the Quirina tribe, <i>flamen</i> of the Augustus, quaestor of the treasury, <i>praefectus iure dicundo, duumvir</i> , because of his marked plainness and blamelessness towards everyone while in the duumvirate; all <i>curiae</i> , to declare and testify to the devotion of their judgement and affection, made and dedicated this with collected money.	<i>CIL VIII</i> 23226 = <i>ILTun.</i> 363 = <i>Sbeitla</i> 62
104	Sufetula		<i>duumvir, aedile</i>	<i>P(ublio) Aelio Saturo / propter insignem morum / clementiam et circa singu/los universosque plenam et / honestam liberalitatem ae/dilicio Ilvirali iuveni pro/bissimo universae curiae / de suo titulum memoriae / hac aeternitate sig/narunt</i>	To P. Aelius Satorus, on account of the marked mildness of his morals and full and honourable liberality regarding each and everyone, former aedile, <i>duumvir</i> , most upright youth, all <i>curiae</i> mark this inscription at their own expense with this immortality of memory.	<i>IL Afr.</i> 134 = <i>Sbeitla</i> 53
105	Sufetula		<i>aedile, duumvir quinquennalis, father of sacerdotes</i>	<i>L(ucio) Rasinio L(uci) fil(io) Quir(ina) Saturnino / Maximiano aedil(i) duumvir(o) q(uin)q(uennali) / ob singulare{m} morum eius / exemplum et in utroque hono/ris gradu fidam clementiam / filiorumque eius sacerdotii edi/tionem ludorum et adsiduam / erga singulos cives suos / liberalitatem universus po/pulus curiarum testimo/nium gratiarum suarum / perpetuum posuit idemque / dedicavit</i>	To L. Rasinius Saturninus Maximianus, the son of Lucius, of the Quirina tribe, aedile, <i>duumvir quinquennalis</i> , because of the singular example of his morals and reliable mildness in both grades of office, and the presentation of games for the priesthood of his sons and constant liberality towards each of his own citizens, the whole <i>populus</i> of the <i>curiae</i> set up and likewise dedicate this eternal testimony of their thanks.	<i>CIL VIII</i> 11349 = <i>Sbeitla</i> 60
106	Sufetula		<i>doctor, aedile</i>	<i>Q(uinto) Iul(io) Q(uinti) fil(io) Quirina / Rogatiano</i>	To Q. Julius Rogatianus, the son of Quintus, of	<i>CIL VIII</i>

²³ The reading of this inscription is difficult. Mommsen must be right to assume errors in the inscribing or drafting of the inscription (*ad CIL VIII 11332*). He believes that the first *praestantia* is erroneously included. I have decided to treat it as a misspelled adjective modifying *innocentia*. In this same clause, Mommsen also believed a *tam* was left out, which would have had the *quam* as correlative.

²⁴ Mommsen further believed that *eius* was meant, rather than *suis* (*ad CIL VIII 11332*).

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<i>ob ho/norem aedilita/tis et medicae pro/fessionis largamq(ue) / liberalitatem dupli/cis editionis ludo/rum in sacerdo/tio liberorum / universae cu/riae</i>	the Quirina tribe, because of the honour of his aedileship and medical profession, and his generous liberality of dual presentation of games during the priesthood[s] of his children, all <i>curiae</i> .	11345 = <i>ILS</i> 7796 = <i>ILTun.</i> 354 = <i>Sbeitla</i> 55
107	Sufetula		son of benefactor	<i>Q(uinto) Octavio / C(ai) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Lu/cullo Ho/noratiano / ob singu/larem mu/nificentiam et largam lib(eralitatem) / Q(uinti) Octavi Aspri / patris univ(er)sae curiae / l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	To Q. Octavius Lucullus Honoratianus, because of the singular munificence and generous liberality of Q. Octavius Asper, his father, all <i>curiae</i> ; location provided by decree of the decurions.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 11348 = <i>Sbeitla</i> 58
108	Sufetula		<i>sacerdos dei Patrii, duumvir</i>	<i>Q(uinto) Fabio Sa/turnino Hono/ratiano sacerdo/ti dei Patrii ob in/nocente actu in / [utro]que IIviratu / [- - -] mi Flav[iani] / [- - -] unive[rsae] / [c]uria[e - - -]</i>	To Q. Fabius Saturninus Honoratianus, priest of the god of the fatherland, because of the blameless conduct during both duumvirates of [his father/son? - - -] Flavianus [- - -], all <i>curiae</i> [- - -].	<i>CIL</i> VIII 240 = 11344 = <i>Sbeitla</i> 54
109	Theveste	117/ 199	wife of a man who was <i>pontifex</i> , <i>duumvir</i> , and <i>munerarius</i>	<i>Aeliae Bene/auxidi uxori / Q(uinti) Titini Securi / pontif(icis) q(uaestoris) praef(ecti) / i(ure) d(icundo) duumvir(i) munerari / curiae et August(ales) / qui inter ceter(as) / liberalitat(es) suas / sportul(as) decur(ionibus) / [- - -] ISS[- - -]</i>	To Aelia Beneauxis, wife of Q. Titinius Securus, <i>pontifex</i> , <i>quaestor</i> , <i>praefectus iure dicundo</i> , <i>duumvir</i> , provider of gladiatorial shows, the <i>curiae</i> and <i>Augustales</i> , who, among other liberalities [gave] <i>sportulae</i> to the decurions [- - -]. ²⁵	<i>CIL</i> VIII 16555 = <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.3069
110	Theveste	100/ 233	<i>flamen annuus</i> , son of <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , grandson of equestrian <i>pontifex</i>	<i>[- - -] P(ubli?) / [- - -] Sa/turnini / [S]aturniani / [flami]n(is) p(er)p(etui) filio / [ne]poti C(ai) Iul(i) Romu/leani eq(uitis) R(omani) pontif(icis) / qui primus / a condita civi/tate sua ob / honorem fla/moni annui / munus [Idi]bus(?) / [o]mnibus senis / [par(ibus)] curiae suae / [dedit] univ(er)sae curiae / [et A]ugustales / [pecuni]a sua / locus datus ex / decreto ordinis</i>	To [- - -] the son of Publius(?) [- - -] Saturninus Saturnianus <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , the grandson of C. Julius Romuleanus Roman equestrian, <i>pontifex</i> , who was the first since the founding of our city to give to his own <i>curia</i> a show on every Ides of six pairs (of gladiators) on account of the office of the annual flamine, all <i>curiae</i> and the <i>Augustales</i> with their own money; location provided on decree of the <i>ordo</i> .	<i>CIL</i> VIII 1888 = <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.3068 = <i>ILS</i> 683

²⁵ It is not clear who is the subject of *qui*. Its position indicates the *curiae* and *Augustales*, but it would be highly unusual for these civic groups to have provided *sportulae* to the decurions and then boast of their “liberalities” at the dedication supposedly in honour of Beneauxis. It perhaps refers to Beneauxis and to Securus, her husband.

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
111	Theveste	150/ 249	(1) <i>munerarius</i> , probable magistrate; (2) a women, probably his wife	<i>M(arco) Valerio M(arci) fil(io) Pap(iria) Flaviano Sabinian[o - - - Ilviro col(oniae) Theves]tis munerario et Aureliae Salvillae AV[- - - coniugi eius ob] / innocentiam honorum et simplic[em vitam] curiae universae] / [e]t Augustales ob quam dedicationem [decur(ionibus) et lib(ertis) Caes(aris) n(ostris) itemque foren/]sibus sportulas curiis et Augustal[ibus - - - dederunt]</i>	To M. Valerius Flavianus Sabinianus, the son of Marcus, of the Papiria tribe, [- - - <i>duumvir</i> of the colony of Theve]ste, provider of gladiatorial shows, and to Aurelia Salvilla Au[- - - his wife, because of the] blamelessness of his(?) offices and plain [life?, all <i>curiae</i>] and the <i>Augustales</i> ; to mark this dedication, [they? gave] <i>sportulae</i> [to the decurions and freedmen of our Caesar, likewise to the advocates, <i>curiae</i> , and <i>Augustales</i> [- - -].	<i>CIL</i> VIII 16560 = <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.3071
112	Theveste	175/ 225	(1) <i>duumvir</i> , augur; (2) his wife	Centre and Right Columns: <i>Q(uinto) Crepereio Germani filio Pap(iria) Rufino auguri aedili praef(ecto) i(ure) d(icundo) duumvir(o) ob in/signem eius vitam quietamque disciplinam et in muneris editione prom(p)tas / liberalitates quas in cives suos exercuit curiae universae et Augustales sum(p)tu proprio posuerunt / cuius honoris remunerandi causa idem Rufinus sportul(as) decurionib(us) et lib(ertis) Caes(aris) n(ostris) itemq(ue) foren/sibus et amicis curiis quoque et Augustalibus / aureos binos et populo vinum dedit et / ludos edidit</i> Left Column: <i>Aureliae Excepti filiae / Ianuariae sponsae / et uxori / Q(uinti) Crepereii Rufini</i>	Centre and Right Columns: To Q. Crepereius Rufinus, the son of Germanus, of the Papiria tribe, augur, aedile, <i>praefectus iure dicundo</i> , <i>duumvir</i> , because of his noteworthy life and quiet discipline and prompt liberalities in the presentation of gladiatorial shows, which he organised for his own citizens, all <i>curiae</i> and the <i>Augustales</i> , at their own expense; for reason of repaying this honour, the same Rufinus gave <i>sportulae</i> to the decurions and the freedmen of our Caesar, likewise two gold coins to the advocates, friends, <i>curiae</i> , and the <i>Augustales</i> , wine to the people, and he provided games. Left Column: To Aurelia Ianuaria, the daughter of Exceptus, fiancée and wife of Q. Crepereius Rufinus.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 16556 = <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.3064 = <i>ILS</i> 6839
113	Theveste	193/ 235	(1) man; (2) two youths?	<i>curiae universae et Augustales ob merita // LDDD // Arabi // Arabi // Sadunti ob merita missos sacco(nes?) // et / iuvenib(us) / utriusq(ue) / adfectio/nis / LDDD.</i> ²⁶	All <i>curiae</i> and the <i>Augustales</i> because of his merits. // Location provided by decree of the decurions. // Arabius! ²⁷ // Arabius! // Saduntius! ²⁸ Because of his merits; money bags released // and	<i>CIL</i> VIII 1880-1884+p.1576 = <i>ILAlg.</i>

²⁶ Gsell (ad *ILAlg.* 1.3075-3080) reports that the blocks of the inscriptions all belonged to the same ensemble, the first five of which were re-used in a late-antique wall. The sixth block was found in a (excavation?) trench near where the baths used to be. Gsell reports that most form together a large moulding, but

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
					to(?) the youths of each one's affection; location provided by decree of the decurions.	1.3075-3080
114	Theveste		equestrian pontifex	<i>[- - -]oro Iuliano eq(uiti) R(omano) e(gregio) v(iro) pontif(ici) / [- - - m]uner(ario) col(oniae) Thevestis et / [- - - ob si]nceram fidem et inno[centiam] qua cum civibus agit / [- - -] universae curiae / et Augustales</i>	To [- - -]orus Julianus, Roman equestrian, excellent man, <i>pontifex</i> , [- - -], provider of shows for the colony of Theveste, and [- - -], [because of] his sincere good faith and blamelessness by which he deals with the citizens, all <i>curiae</i> and the <i>Augustales</i> .	<i>CIL</i> VIII 16558 = <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.3067
115	Thuburbo Maius	181	<i>praefectus iure dicundo, duumvir quinquennalis, sacerdos coloniae</i>	<i>L(ucio) Candonio / Saturno Flavi/ano aed(ili) prae/fec(to) i(ure) d(icundo) duumvir(o) q(uin)q(uennali) / sacer(doti) C(ereris) in colon(ia) / qui pri[m]us in patri/a sua N[.]S CIV[.] / AIORIV[.]A[.]II[.] / curiae C[- - -]</i>	To L. Candonius Saturnus Flavianus, aedile, <i>praefectus iure dicundo, duumvir quinquennalis</i> , priest of Ceres in the colony, who was the first in his own native city [- - -] / [- - -] / the <i>curiae</i> C[- - -].	<i>IL Afr.</i> 282
116	Thuburnica	100/249	aedile	<i>C(aio) Sallustio C(aii) fil(io) / Quir(ina) Felici aedili / quod primus in col(onia) / sua amphitheatrum / suis sumptibus excolue/rit et quod insign(i) lusi/onis edition(e) patriae / suae voluptates ampli/averit addita etiam / singulari ac benigna / erga universos cives / liberalitate curiales / [l]abori grata obsequi/[a] et ut remuneraren(tur) / et ut facti eius gloria / etiam ad posteros perse/veraret de suo posuer(unt) / cur(ante) M(arco) Petronio Felice / d(e)d(icaveruntque) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	To C. Sallustius Felix, the son of Gaius, of the Quirina tribe, aedile: whereas he was the first in his own colony to embellish the amphitheatre at his own expense and whereas he increased the pleasures of his own native city with a marked presentation of games, also with added singular and kindly liberality towards all citizens, the <i>curiales</i> – so that grateful services be paid to his labour and so that the glory of his deed persevere through the ages – set this up at their own expense with M. Petronius Felix curating, and dedicated on decree of the decurions.	<i>AE</i> 1988, 1116
117	Thubursicu Numidarum	209/211	<i>duumviralis, sacerdos Liberi</i>	<i>[- - -]III[- - -] / [- - -]PICA[- - -] / [- - - indul]gentia Seve[ri domni nostri ?] / [et Ant]onini [[et [Getae]]] Au[g]g[[g]](ustorum) / [dignitate]</i>	To [- - -] by the kindness of the Augusti [our lord?] Severus, Antoninus, and Geta, holding [the rank of] those decorated with enrolment into	<i>ILAlg.</i> 1.1301

that one has a different moulding, which he seems to indicate was found on another block belonging to same monument. He admits that the inscriptions “remain enigmatic.”

²⁷ Gsell states that Arabius is a *signum* (*ILAlg.* 1.3078).

²⁸ This too Gsell calls a *signum* (*ILAlg.* 1.3079).

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<i>exornatorium / i[n] turmas adlect[o]rum / uso adqu(e) omnib(us) ho[nor]ib(us) / functo sacerdoti [L]i[beri] / statuam quam ei univ[ersae] / curiae aere co[n]a[to ob meri]ta eius in sin[gul(os) univ[ers]osque] / etiam decrevisse[nt . . .]D[- - -] / [- - -]S[. . .] / [- - -]mo de suo p[osuerunt] / [ad cuius dedica]tionem [- - -] / [- - -] epulandum bi(?) [- - -] / [- - -]IO dederunt [l(ocus)] d(atu)s d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	cavalry troops and having completed all offices, priest of [Liber Pater], this statue, which all <i>curiae</i> had decreed to him because of his merits towards each and everyone, [- - -] they ²⁹ set up at their own expense, at the dedication of which they gave [- - -] for banqueting; location provided by decree of the decurions.	
118	Thubursicu Numidarum		<i>flaminica perpetua</i>	<i>Sallustiae / Nobili flam(iniciae) / perp(etuae) / curiales / ob merita / eius [- - -] / CO[- - -] / [- - -]VM[- - -]N / CI SVI[- - -]C[- - -] / S[- - -]</i>	To Sallustia Nobilis, <i>flaminica perpetua</i> , the <i>curiales</i> , because of her merits [- - -].	<i>ILAlg.</i> 1.1298
119	Thysdrus	286/305	<i>munerarius</i>	<i>[- - - Aur]elio Felici Imp(eratori) Maximiano Aug(usto) [- - -] / [- - -]tata pecunia primo munerario et omni spectac[ulo - - -] / [- - -]rum genere liberali innocentiae munificentiae / [benig]nitatis(?) exemplo plures merenti super bigas³⁰ [- - -] / [- - -]XXI universae curiae posuerunt [- - -]</i>	[- - - by/from/for the well-being of?] emperor Aurelius Felix Maximianus Augustus, [- - -] / [- - -] the first provider of gladiatorial shows with [- - -] money and [- - -] whole performance [- - -] the sort worthy of a free person(?) [- - -] an example of blamelessness, munificence, and benevolence(?) deserving more in addition to the two-horsed chariot statues, [- - -] all <i>curiae</i> set up [- - -].	<i>CIL</i> VIII 22852
120	Uthina	117/138	equestrian son of <i>flamen perpetuus</i>	<i>C(aio) Egnatio Cosmino / Hor(atia) Viniciano / C(ai) Egnati Cosmini fl(aminis) perp(etui) / filio adlecto equo publ(ico) ab / Imp(eratore) Hadriano ob meritum / patris eius qui inter cetera / quae rei p(ublicae) testamento suo / legavit etiam curi(i)s singulis / annuos x LXXV dedit ut natali / eius in publico vescantur / curiae universae s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecerunt)</i>	To C. Egnatius Cosminus Vinicianus, of the Horatia tribe, the son of C. Egnatius Cosminus <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , enrolled [in the equestrian order] with the public horse by the emperor Hadrian, because of the merit of his father who, among other things which he bequeathed in his will to the <i>res publica</i> , also gave to each <i>curia</i> 75 <i>denarii</i> so that they may eat in public on his birthday, all <i>curiae</i> made this with their own money.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 24017 = <i>Uthina</i> 1.27

²⁹ It seems that the honoree is now deceased and that relatives (*dederunt*) have remitted the cost of the statue and set it up themselves.

³⁰ Not enough fragments of the inscription survive to indicate the type of statue base on which this honour stood.

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
121	Uthina	150/ 250	local <i>flaminica perpetua</i>	[B]ultiae Hortensiae / Surdiniae Antoniae / [Post]umae flam(inicae) perp(etuae) / [cur]iae universae et / [cent]onari(i) et subaedian(i) / [ob] altsiduam et frequen[t(em)] / [in] universos cives suos / liberalitatem / l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)	To Bultia Hortensia Surdinia Antonia Postuma, <i>flaminica perpetua</i> , all <i>curiae</i> , the blanket makers and interior construction workers, [because of] her constant and frequent liberality towards all of her own citizens; location provided by decree of the decurions.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 10523 = 12424 = <i>ILS</i> 7260 = <i>Uthina</i> 1.29
POPULUS AS STATED DEDICATOR						
122	Ammaedara	150/ 211	<i>flamen perpetuus, duumvir</i>	C(aio) Mario / Sex(ti) fil(io) / Quir(ina) Fido / quaest(ori) praef(ecto) i(ure) d(icundo) d(uum)v(iro) / flam(ini) perp(etuo) <i>populus emeriten/sis ex p(ecunia) pu[bl(ica)] statuam in bigam / eius contulerat ob merita et li/beralitatem quam annuam / perpetuam epulativam promisit / ex voluntate eius equestres fili(i)s / et pedestrem ipsi posuit</i>	To C. Marius Fido, the son of Sextus, of the Quirina tribe, <i>quaestor, praefectus iure dicundo, duumvir, flamen perpetuus</i> , the <i>populus emeritensis</i> had conferred from public funds a statue in a two-horse chariot because of his merits and liberality [by] which he promised an annual banquet in perpetuity; in accordance with his wishes, it set up equestrian statues to his sons and a pedestrian statue to him. ³¹	<i>Ant. Afr.</i> 2010/12, 164 = <i>AE</i> 2010, 1796
123	Furnos Minus	220/ 228	equestrian <i>curator rei publicae</i> , patron	Q(uinto) Paccio Victori / Candidiano / equo publ(ico) ex/ornato mag(istro) sac(rorum) / Cerer(is) anni CCLXIII / flam(ini) divi Severi / cur(atori) r(ei) p(ublicae) mun(icipii) sui Fur(nitanorum) / Min(orum) universus po/pulus ex aere con/lato patrono / ob incomparabilem / in universos cives / suos affectionem / l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)	To Q. Paccius Victor Candidianus, decorated with the public horse, master of the sacred rights of Ceres in the 264 th year [of the priesthood], <i>flamen</i> of the divine Severus, <i>curator rei publicae</i> of his own <i>municipium</i> of the Furnitani Minores; the whole <i>populus</i> with collected money to their patron because of incomparable affection towards all of his own citizens; location provided by decree of the decurions.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 25808c

³¹ For the unusual language of *epulativam* and *statuam in bigam*, see Benzina Ben Abdallah *ad Ant. Afr.* 2010/12, 165. Benzina Ben Abdallah assumes from *ex voluntate* that Fido is deceased at the time of the drafting of the inscription, but the phrase does not necessarily mean testamentary wishes.

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
124	Furnos Minus	232/ 238	patron and <i>curator rei publicae</i> (twice), Carthaginian decurion, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> of the divine Pius, <i>magister sacrorum Cerealium</i>	<i>L(ucio) Octavio Felici Octa/viano decurioni / col(oniae) Iul(iae) Aur(eliae) Ant(onianae) Kart(haginis) / fl(amin)i divi Pii magis/tro sacrorum Cerealium / anni CCLXXVI professori / aedilitatis patrono et / curatori iterum municipi/pii Aureli Antoniniani Fur/nit(anorum) minor(um) ob insignem / iustitiam et benevolentiam / eius universus populus / ex aere conlato statuam / posuit ob cuius dedicatio/nem ipse ludos scaenicos / et epulum populo dedit / et gymnasium / l(ocus) d(atu)s d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	To L. Octavius Felix Octavianus, decurion of the Julian Aurelian Antonian colony of Carthage, flamen of the divine Pius, master of the sacred rights of Ceres in the 276 th year [of the priesthood], candidate for the aedileship, ³² patron and <i>curator</i> again of the Aurelian Antoninian <i>municipium</i> of the Furnitani Minores, because of his marked sense of justice and good will the whole <i>populus</i> from collected money set up this statue; to mark its dedication, he gave theatrical shows and a banquet to the <i>populus</i> , oil too; location provided by decree of the decurions.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 25808b = <i>ILS</i> 9403 = <i>AE</i> 1909, 162
125	Henchir Bedd	211/ 225	aedile, <i>flamen perpetuus</i>	<i>Ti(berio) Aprario Felici Q(uinti) fil(io) / Papiria Parato aedili/cio fl(amin)i perp(etuo) bono viro a/matori et alumno municip(ii) / sui ob incomparabilem / missilium in honorem / aedilitatis editionem mag/namq(ue) etiam operis sep/tizodi(i) nudae liberalitatis / exstructionem populus / aere conlato posuit l(ocus) d(atu)s d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	To Ti. Aprarius Felix Paratus, the son of Quintus, of the Papiria tribe, former aedile, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , a good man, lover, and alumnus of his own <i>municipium</i> , because of the incomparable presentation of thrown gifts for the office of the aedileship and also the great construction of raw liberality: the building of a <i>septizodium</i> (monumental fountain); the <i>populus</i> set this up with collected money; location provided by decree of the decurions.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 14372 = <i>ILS</i> 5076 = <i>ILTun.</i> 1207 = <i>Afr.Rom.</i> 2007-89
126	Thabarbusis	225/ 274, maybe up to 283	equestrian <i>flamen perpetuus</i> of Calama	<i>Q(uinto) Fl(avio) Lappiano C(ai) Fl(avi) Lappia/ni fil(io) Pap(iria) fl(amin)i p(er)p(etuo) municipii Ka/lamensium splendidissimo / eq(uiti) R(omano) ob insignem singula/remq(ue) eius in cives munifi/centiam ac liberalitatem / qua inter cetera ab univer/sis omne curarum onus / amolitus est in qua re pa/rentum suorum liberali/tates supergressus sit po/pulus Thabarbusitanus / statuam ex HS VI mil(ibus) DCLXI / n(ummum) constantem obtulit / quam oblationem liben/ter et grate susceptam / idem Lappianus reddita /</i>	To Q. Flavius Lappianus, the son of G. Flavius Lappianus, of the Papiria tribe, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> of the <i>municipium</i> of the Calamenses, most splendid Roman equestrian, because of his marked and singular munificence towards the citizens and liberality, by which he, among other things, removed the whole burden of cares from all of us, in which matter he surpassed the liberalities of his own parents, the <i>populus</i> of Thabarbusis offered a statue costing 6,661HS, which offer he gladly and gratefully received; the	<i>AE</i> 1960, 214

³² Probably at Carthage.

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<i>{n}omni pecunia solo ho/nore contentus ampli/us etiam exhibito epulo / et gymnasio cum ci/vibus dedicavit</i>	same Lappianus, having returned all of the money being content with the honour alone, dedicated it providing still more a banquet and oil [for] the citizens.	
127	Thugga	205/ 211	curator aquae, father of equestrian flamen perpetuus	<i>L(ucio) Terentio Romano / patri carissimo / cui cum populus Thugg(ensis) ob aquae / curam pro meritis eius ex aere / conlato tunc statuam ponendam obtulisset / C(aius) Terentius Pap(iria) Iulianus / Sabinianus fl(amen) perp(etuus) v(ir) e(gregius) / de suo posuit loco a re p(ublica) d(ato)</i>	To L. Terentius Romanus, most dear father, although the <i>populus</i> of Thugga, because of his care of the water supply and for the sake of his merits, had at that time offered to set up a statue to him from collected money, C. Terentius Iulianus Sabinianus, of the Papiria tribe, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , excellent man, set it up at his own expense with the location provided by the <i>res publica</i> .	<i>AE</i> 1966, 512 = <i>Dougga</i> 37
128	Uchi Maius ³³	125/ 174	decurion at Carthage, patronus pagi	<i>[[P(ublio) Mario C(ai) f(ilio) Arn(ensi)]] / [[Extricato dec(urioni) c(oloniae) C(oncordiae)]] / [[I(uliae) K(arthaginis) patrono pagi]] / [[cui cum pagus ob]] / [[merita eius statuam]] / [[decrevisset p'leb's memor]] / [[abstinentiae quam rei]] / [[p(ublicae) suae praestitit decrev[i]t]] / [[et [- - loc]o [d(ato) d(ecreto)] d(ecurionum) [- -]]] / [[[- -]X[- -]]]</i>	To P. Marius Extricatus, the son of Gaius, of the Arnensis tribe, decurion of the Concordia Julian colony of Carthage, patron of the <i>pagus</i> , although(?) the <i>pagus</i> had decreed a statue to him, because of his merits, the <i>plebs</i> , mindful of his self-restraint which he offered to his own <i>res publica</i> , decreed and [set it up?] at the location [provided by decree] of the decurions [- -].	<i>CIL</i> VIII 26276 = <i>Uchi</i> - 1-Ugh-app 2 = <i>Uchi</i> 2.83

³³ I consider *memor abstinentiae quam rei p(ublicae) suae praestitit* to be the laudatory language of the '*plebs*.' The *ob merita* I consider to be the praise of the *pagus*.

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
ORDO AND POPULUS/CURIAE/CIVES AS STATED DEDICATORS						
129	Bulla Regia	225/ 274	<i>flamen perpetuus, duumvir</i>	<i>Q(uinto) Sili[c]io L(uci) [f]i[l](io) Qu[i]r(ina) Victo/rino Corneliano Ho[n]o/ratiano fl(amini) p(erpetuo) Ilviral(i) aedil(i) / universus populus sin/ceris suffragiis suis et / ordo splendidissimus / gravissimo iudicio decer/nente Burrenio Felice c(larissimo) v(iro) / cur(atore) rei p(ublicae) n(ostrae) praeter cetera / eius iuxta omnes merita ob / editionem lusionis primo / p(ecunia) p(ublica) p(osuerunt)</i>	To Q. Silicius Victorinus Cornelianus Honoratianus, the son of Lucius, of the Quirina tribe, <i>flamen perpetuus, duumvir</i> , aedile, the whole <i>populus</i> with its sincere votes and the <i>ordo</i> with a most weighty judgement, with Burrenius Felix – most illustrious man and <i>curator</i> of our <i>res publica</i> – decreeing, set it up with public money; in addition to his other merits with respect to everyone, he was the first in connection to the presentation of games. ³⁴	<i>AE</i> 1962, 184b
130	Civitas Saraditana	268 at latest	<i>curator rei publicae</i>	<i>M(arco) Valerio M(arci) f(ilio) IA[- - -] / Caeliano cur(atori) rei [p(ublicae) ob] / insignem erga rem p(ublicam) [et] / p[l]ebem in fisci AINNA / instantiam et in uni/vers[os] cive[s] singula/rem ius[t]i[t]iam ordo / et [populus Sa]raditanus / [- - -] dedic[avit]</i>	To M. Valerius Caelianus, the son of Marcus, [- - -], <i>curator rei [publicae]</i> , because of] marked application towards the <i>res publica</i> and <i>plebs</i> in [overseeing?] the treasury and [because of] his singular sense of justice towards all citizen, the <i>ordo</i> and the Saraditan [<i>populus</i> - - -] dedicated this.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 23822 = <i>ILAFr</i> : 210
131	Curubis		<i>duumvir, aedile, munerarius</i>	<i>[- - -] OSI / [- - -] a]ed(ili) duumvir(a)li / [- - -] is annis mune/rario ob simplicem / vitam amoremque / largum erga cives et / patriam ad remune/ram gratiam edi/torum munus patris / eius et fratris Curubi/tanus ordo expostulan/te populo honorem sta/tuae decrevit</i>	To [- - -] aedile, former <i>duumvir</i> , provider of gladiatorial shows [over a number of] years, because of his plain life and generous love towards the citizens and native city, to give thanks for his father and brother's presentation of gladiatorial shows, the Curubitan <i>ordo</i> , following a demand of the people, decreed the honour of a statue.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 12453 = 24101
132	Gigthis	138/ 161	<i>flamen perpetuus, duumvir</i>	<i>M(arco) Servilio P(ubli) f(ilio) Quir(ina) / Draconi Albuciano / Ilviro flam(ini) perp(etuo) / quod super multa in rem p(ublicam) / merita et amplissimum /</i>	To M. Servilius Draco Albucianus, the son of Publius, of the Quirina tribe, <i>duumvir, flamen perpetuus</i> , whereas beyond his many merits	<i>CIL</i> VIII 22737 = <i>ILS</i> 6780 =

³⁴ The usage of *primo* here is uncertain, for it could be either the adjective in the dative case or the adverb. I prefer the adjective, because, after the lengthy treatment of Burrenius Felix, the drafters might have felt it necessary to include an adjective in the dative to return the focus to the honoree. Either way, the sense would be little changed. *Primo* does not indicate that these were the first ever games in the city. Rather, it is the first time someone has been publicly honoured for putting on games.

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<i>munificentiae studium le/gationem urbicam gratui/tam ad Latifum] maius pe/tendum duplicem susce/perit tandemq(ue) feliciter / renuntiaverit ordo publi/ce ponendam censuit et / cum is honore contentus / pecuniam rei p(ublicae) remisit/set populus de suo posuit</i>	towards the <i>res publica</i> and very abundant zeal for munificence he twice undertook an embassy to The City free of charge to seek the <i>Latium maius</i> and finally announced success, the <i>ordo</i> decided to set up [this statue] publicly and, although he had remitted the money to the <i>res publica</i> being content with the honour, the <i>populus</i> set it up at its own expense.	<i>ILTun.</i> 41
133	Gigthis	138/ 161	<i>flamen perpetuus, duumvir</i>	<i>[M(arco) Servilio P(ubli) f(ilio)] / [Quir(ina) Draconi] / Albuciano / ordo populusq(ue) / remissa rei p(ublica) pec(unia) / de suo posuit ob / merita / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) l(ocus) d(atus)</i>	To [M. Servilius Draco] Albucianus, [the son of Publius, of the Quirina tribe], the <i>ordo</i> and <i>populus</i> , although the money had been remitted to the <i>res publica</i> , set it up at their own expense because of his merits; location provided by decree of the decurions.	<i>CIL VIII</i> 22738
134	Gigthis	150/ 199	benefactor	<i>[L](ucio) Servaeo Q(uinti) f(ilio) / Quir(ina) Firmo / s(enatus) p(opulus)q(ue) Gigthisis ob / merita in rem p(ublicam) et / singularem in sing(ulos) / universosq(ue) munifi/centiam p(ublica) p(ecunia) ponendam / decrevit quam cum / remisisset honore / contentus ordo / populusq(ue) cum incolis / sua p(ecunia) p(onendam) curaverunt</i>	To L. Servaeus Firmus, the son of Quintus, the senate and <i>populus</i> of Gigthis, because of his merits towards the <i>res publica</i> and singular munificence towards each and every one, decreed setting up [the statue] with public money, which, although he had remitted [the money] being content with the honour, the <i>ordo</i> and <i>populus</i> with the <i>incolae</i> took care to set it up with their own money.	<i>CIL VIII</i> 11039
135	Gigthis	150/ 199	benefactor	<i>Q(uinto) Serv[ae]o L(uci) f(ilio) / Quir(ina) Fusco / s(enatus) p(opulus)q(ue) Gigthisis / ob merita in rem / [p(ublicam) et] singularem in / singulos universos/que munificentiam / p(ecunia) p(ublica) ponendam decre/vit quam cum remi/sisset honore con/tentus ordo popu/lusque cum incolis / s(ua) p(ecunia) p(osuerunt)</i>	To Q. Servaeus Fuscus, the son of Lucius, of the Quirina tribe, the senate and <i>populus</i> of Gigthis, because of his merits towards the <i>res publica</i> and singular munificence towards each and every one, decreed setting up [the statue] with public money, which, although he had remitted [the money] being content with the honour, the <i>ordo</i> and <i>populus</i> with the <i>incolae</i> set it up with their own money.	<i>CIL VIII</i> 11040
136	Gigthis		benefactor	<i>M(arco) Ummidi[o] / Quir(ina) Sedat[o] / ornatori</i>	To Ummidius Sedatus, of the Quirina tribe,	<i>CIL VIII</i>

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<i>patriae</i> / <i>expostulante</i> / <i>populo con/sensu</i> <i>decurio/num ordo sta/tuam publice decre/vit quo</i> <i>honore conten/tus M(arcus) Ummidius Sed[atus] /</i> <i>sua pecunia posu[it dedic(avit)]</i>	improver of his native city, following a demand of the people [and] the consensus of the decurions, the <i>ordo</i> publicly decreed the statue, being content with which honour M. Ummidius Sedatus set up [and dedicated] it with his own money.	22743 = <i>ILTun.</i> 44
137	Gigthis		<i>flamen</i> <i>perpetuus</i>	<i>M(arco) Iulio C(ai) f(ilio) Quir(ina) / Mando</i> <i>flam(ini) / perp(etuo) ob multipli/cem eius erga</i> <i>rem / publicam muni/ficentiam</i> <i>expos/tulante</i> <i>universo / populo ordo po/suit</i>	To M. Iulius Mandus, the son of Gaius, of the Quirina tribe, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , because of much public munificence towards his <i>res publica</i> , the <i>ordo</i> set [this] up following a demand of the people.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 22728 = 22733 = <i>ILTun.</i> 37
138	Gigthis		benefactor	<i>M(arco) Iulio C(ai) f(ilio) Puteolan[o] / ob multa</i> <i>in rem pub(licam) m[er]i/[ta quod leg]ationem</i> <i>urb[ic]am / [- - -] causa bis gra/tu[iter susceptam]</i> <i>s[ust]i[n]ui[t] / ac feliciter [a]dminis[travit] / [cu]m</i> <i>ordo statuam d[ecrevisset] / [is]que honore</i> <i>con[tentus] / [pec]uniam rei p(ublicae) re[misisset]</i> <i>/ [popu]lus de suo [posuit] / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	To M. Iulius Puteolanus, the son of Gaius, because of many merits towards the <i>res publica</i> , because he twice bore an embassy to The City [taken up] free of charge for the sake of [- - -] and successfully administered [them?], although the <i>ordo</i> had decreed the statue and he had remitted the money to the <i>res publica</i> being content with the honour, the <i>populus</i> set it up at its own expense by decree of the decurions.	<i>IL Afr.</i> 21
139	Gigthis		<i>duumvir</i>	<i>[. Se]rvaeo Q(uinti) f(ilio) / [Quir(ina)] Honorato /</i> <i>omnibus honorib(us) / patriae suae functo / cui</i> <i>ordo expostul(a)n/te populo ob munifi/cientiam</i> <i>statuam / cum decrevisset isq(ue) / remissa rei</i> <i>p(ublicae) pecun(ia) / de suo ponere vel/let ordo</i> <i>populusq(ue) / r= 's? '(ua) p(ecunia) p(onendam)</i> <i>c(uravit)</i>	To [.] Servaeus Honoratus, son of Quintus [in the Quirina tribe], having completed all of the honours of his city, to whom, although the <i>ordo</i> , with the people demanding, had decreed a statue because of his munificence and he, having remitted the money to the <i>res publica</i> , was wanting to set it up at his own expense, the <i>ordo</i> and <i>populus</i> took care to set it up with the remitted/their own money.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 32+p.921 = 11034
140	Gigthis			<i>C(aio) Sat[rio] Quir(ina)] / [L]u[perco(?)] / or[do]</i> <i>populusq(ue)] / Gigt[hensis] / ob si[ngulare]m in/</i> <i>rem [publicam] / [a]m[o]re[m et</i> <i>bene/v]o[lentiam] / [- - -]ON[- - -] / [- - -]E[- - -] /</i> <i>[- - -]CA[- - -]</i>	To C. Satrius [Lupercus?, of the Quirina tribe?], the <i>ordo</i> [and <i>populus</i>] of Gigthis, because of si[ngular] love towards the <i>res publica</i> [and goodwill - - -].	<i>CIL</i> VIII 33+p.922 = 34 = 11038 = 22731

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
141	Gigthis			<i>L(ucio) Ummidio / Quir(ina) Pacato / ordo populusq(ue) / Gigthenses / con/ferentibus et / incolis ob mul/tiplicem su[- - -] / tat[- - -]fi/c[- - -]c / pac[- - -]lo / confe[- - -]m / pei[- - -]mt / [- - -]susi[- - -]</i>	To L. Ummidius Pacatus, of the Quirina tribe, the <i>ordo</i> and <i>populus</i> of Gigthis – with the <i>incolae</i> also contributing – because of his multiple [- - -].	<i>CIL</i> VIII 30+p.921 = 11044
142	Gigthis		<i>duumvir</i>	<i>Q(uinto) Satrio C(ai) f(ilio) Luper/co ob multa in / rem p(ublicam) merita et / insignem Ilvi/ratus adminis/trationem or/do populusque / Gigthensis de / suo posuit</i>	To Q. Satrius Lupercus, the son of Gaius, because of his many merits towards the <i>res publica</i> and marked administration of the duumvirate, the <i>ordo</i> and <i>populus</i> of Gigthis set [this] up at its own expense.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 22732 = <i>ILTun.</i> 39
143	Gigthis		(1) <i>flamen perpetuus</i> ; (2) wife	<i>C(aio) Servilio Quir(ina) Maur[i]/no flamine perpetuo / M(arci) Servili Plauti flam(inis) per/petui f(ilio) senatus populus[que] / Gigthensium ob merit[a et] / munificentiam stat[uas duas?] / ipsi et Paulinae uxo[ri eius] / viritim aere col[lato - - - po]/nendas censue[runt - - -]/tanie PICO[- - -] / probi[- - -] / posu[erunt(?) - - -]</i>	To C. Servilius Maurinus, of the Quirina tribe, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , the son of M. Servilius Plautius <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , the senate and <i>populus</i> of the Gigthenses, because of his merits and munificence, decided to set up statues to him and Paulina his wife with money collected man-by-man; [- - -] / [- - -] / set [them?] up [- - -].	<i>CIL</i> VIII 22739 = <i>ILTun.</i> 42
144	Gigthis			<i>[- - - H]orte[nsio(?) - - -] / [- - -]arape[- - -] / [senatus popul]usq(ue) G[igthensis] / [- - - o]b merit[a eius] / [- - -] de sua pec[unia fecit] *Punic text follows</i>	[To - - - Hortensius?] / [- - -] / [- - - the senate] and <i>populus</i> of Gigthis, [- - -] because of his merits [made this] with their own money.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 22726 = <i>Bardo</i> 15 = <i>ILTun.</i> 35
145	Hippo Regius	100/299	<i>flamen perpetuus, duumvir</i>	<i>[Q. Au]relio Q(uinti) fil(io) Quir(ina) Honorato / [flamine A]ug(usti) p(er)p(etuo) omnibus honoribus functo / [ob insigne]m in cives amorem et ob honestissi/[mam egregiam]que eius liberalitatem quo testa/[mento dedit illatis(?) HS] C mil(ibus) in die natali Mariae / [- - - Honora]tiana(?) uxoris suae flami[nicae divae Augus]tae(?)³⁵ perpetuo decurio/[nibus item curiis omnibus] et Augustalibus epula[. .]RIA [cl]ar[i]ssim[us ordo]</i>	To Q. Aurelius Honoratus, the son of Quintus, of the Quirina tribe, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> of the Augustus, having completed all honours, [because of marked] love towards the citizens and because of his most honourable [and excellent] liberality, in whose testament [he gave, so that with the deposited] 100,000HS, banquets [may be provided] to the decurions [likewise all <i>curiae</i>] and the <i>Augustales</i> on the birthday of Maria [- - -]	<i>AE</i> 1958, 144 = <i>Libyca</i> 4, 314-5

³⁵ Marec (1956: 315) reads . . . *suae flami[nicae ---]iae* and says that he does not know how to further fill in the lacuna. *Flami[nicae divae Augus]tae* seems most likely. The usage of *perpetuo*, however, remains problematic.

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<i>et populus Hipponiensis / [- - -] ex [.]³⁶ s[p]ortul'i's [et] at referendam memoriae / FAN[- - -] RASTAR[. . . Ma]riae(?) Saturninae uxori eius / [- - -] VR[- - -] IA[- - -] et quae honor(e) content[(a) s(ua) p(ecunia) p(osuit)?]</i>	Honora]tiana his wife [and] <i>flami[nica]</i> of the divine Augusta?], the most illustrious <i>ordo</i> and <i>populus</i> of Hippo [decreed the statue?] from [.] <i>sportulae</i> and to pay homage to the memory of [- - -] Maria Saturnina, his [second?] wife, [- - -] and who, being content with the honour, [set it up with her? own money].	
146	Mactaris	250/ 299, maybe 253/ 268	(1) man of consular rank, <i>comes Augusti</i> ; (2) son of equestrian rank	<i>[L(ucio)? Ant[- - -]/[- - -] praef(ecto) aerario praes[idi] prov(inciae) . . . adlecto] / [inter co]nsulares ab [[Imp(eratore) - - - / - - -] [iuridico - - -] et Umbriae praef(ecto) Min[iciae - - -] / [co]m(iti?) Aug(usti) aedili plebi(s) adl[ecto inter quaestorios ab - - -] / [- - - ordo populusq(ue) M]act(aritanus) ob insignem in pat[riam - - -] / civesque singulo[rum] amore[m] et L(ucio) Ant[- - -] / [Xvir(o)] stlitib(us) iudic(ando) eq(uiti) R(omano) iuve[ni - - -] / [- - - ob m]erita patris atq(ue) in ci[uites] suos obsequentiam - - -]</i>	[- - -] prefect of the public treasury, governor of [- - - enrolled among the] consulars [- - -] / [judge for - - -] and Umbria, <i>praefectus Miniciae</i> , companion(?) of Augustus, aedile of the plebs, enrolled [among the quaestors - - -] / [- - - the <i>ordo</i> and <i>populus</i> of] Mactar, because of marked love towards his native city [and each citizen?] and to L. Ant[- - -], [<i>decimvir</i>] for judging lawsuits, Roman equestrian, youth [- - - because of the] merits of his father and [- - -] towards the citizens [- - -].	<i>CIL</i> VIII 11810 = <i>Bardo</i> 102 = <i>ILTun.</i> 527
147	Madauros	200/ 233	deceased equestrian <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , son of a <i>flamen perpetuus</i> who had been twice <i>duumvir</i>	<i>M(arco) Cornelio Frontoni Quir(ina) Gabin[ia]no eq(uiti) R(omano) / ex inquisitione allecto fl(amini) p(er)p(etuo) Ilvi[ral]i hono[re]s/tae memoriae viro M(arci) Corneli Vict[or]ini fl(amini) p(er)p(etui) / bis duumvir filio spendidissimus o[rd]o et po[pulus] coloniae Madaurensium ob insignem / in se amore[m] et frumenti copiam t[em]p[or]e in op[er]a sibi largite[r] praestitam hono[re]m bigae / et statuae decrev[er]unt pecunia [publi]ca quam / Corneliae Romani[ll]a Postumiana e[st] Vi]ctorina / Claudiana et Eulogia Romanilla f[il]iae et here[des] eius sua pecun[i]a posuerunt s[p]o[r]tulis / decurionibus et curialibus dat[is]</i>	To M. Cornelius Fronto Gabianus, of the Quirina tribe, Roman equestrian enrolled after a search, ³⁷ <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , former <i>duumvir</i> , a man of respectable memory, the son of M. Cornelius Victorinus <i>flamen perpetuus</i> twice <i>duumvir</i> , the most splendid <i>ordo</i> and <i>populus</i> of the colony of the Madaurenses, because of his marked love towards them and the supply of grain generously provided in a time of need, decreed the honour of a <i>biga</i> and statue with public money, which the Corneliae: Romanilla Postumiana, Victorina Claudiana, and Eulogia Romanilla – his daughters and heirs – set up with their own money, with	<i>ILAlg.</i> 1.2145

³⁶ Marec (1956: 316) says that a bar was over the letter and so a number, perhaps the interest from the principal.

³⁷ Gsell calls the phrase *ex inquisitione* “unusual” (*ad ILAlg.* 1.2145).

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
					<i>sportulae</i> provided to the decurions and <i>curiales</i> .	
148	Madauros		<i>duumvir</i>	[[T(ito) [F]lav[io - - -]]] / aed(ili) Ilv[iro - - -] / homi[ni praestanti] / adser[tori legum] / ob mul[ta et praeclara] / [m]eri[ta in rem publicam] / conl[ata pecunia] / ordo sp[lendidissimae] / col(oniae) Ma[daurensium] / et p[opolus statuam] / suis su[mptibus posuerunt] / ob cuiu[s dedicationem] / idem Fl[avius - - -] / spo[rtilas] / decur[ionibus dedit] / et cur[iis epulum(?) et] / popu[lo gymnasium(?)] / [- - -]	To T. Flavius [- - -] aedile, <i>duumvir</i> , [- - - outstanding?] man, defender [of laws?], because of many [and - - -] merits towards the <i>res publica</i> , with collected [money] the <i>ordo</i> of the [most?] splendid colony of the Madaurenses and the <i>populus</i> [set up a statue] at its own expense; to mark the dedication the same Flavius [- - - gave] <i>sportulae</i> to the decurions and [a banquet?] to the <i>curiae</i> [- - -].	<i>AE</i> 1931, 41
149	Sabratha	100/ 299	<i>duumvir, flamen Liberi Patris, flamen perpetuus</i>	C(aio) Flavio Q(uinti) fil(io) Pap(iria) Pudenti flam(ini) Liberi Patris Ilviro flam(ini) perpetuo cuius pater Fl(avius) Tullus post / multas liberalitates per quas patriam suam exornavit aquam privata pecunia induxit item lacus n(umero) XII exstru/xit eosdemque crustis et statuīs marmoreis excoluit praeterea HS CC mil(ia) num(mum) ad tutelam eiusdem / aquae rei publ(icae) promisit et intulit quod ipse quoque Pudens super numerosam munificentiam quam in / cives suos contulit etiam muneris gladiatori spectaculum primus in patria sua per dies quinq(ue) / splendidissimum ediderit ordo Sabrathensium populo postulante quadrigam ei de publico ponend(am) censuit / Fl(avius) Pudens honore contentus sua pecunia posuit	To C. Flavius Pudens, the son of Quintus, of the Papiria tribe, <i>flamen</i> of Liber Pater, <i>duumvir</i> , <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , whose father Flavius Tullus, after many liberalities through which he decorated his own native city, introduced a water source with his private money, likewise constructed pools to the number of 12 and embellished them with marble panelling and statues; in addition he promised and deposited 200,000HS for the upkeep of this same water source; whereas he, Pudens, also – above the numerous acts of munificence he conferred upon his own citizens – was the first to put on a very splendid spectacle of a gladiatorial show over five days, the <i>ordo</i> of the Sabrathenses, following a petition of the people, decided to set up the <i>quadriga</i> to him at public expense; Flavius Pudens being content with the honour set it up with his own money.	<i>IRT</i> 117
150	Sufetula	222/ 235	<i>procurator Augusti (ab epistulis?), duumvir, father</i>	L(ucio) Caecilio L(uci) f(ilio) Athe/naeo aedilicio Ilvirali / iuveni munerario fl(amini) p(er)p(etuo) / eq(uiti) R(omano) [[a militiis proc(uratori) / Aug(usti) n(o)stri] ab [epistulis(?)]]] / ob insignem	To L. Caecilius Athenaeus, the son of Lucius, former aedile, <i>duumvir</i> , provider of gladiatorial shows as a youth, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , Roman equestrian, former equestrian officer in the	<i>CIL</i> VIII 11340 = <i>Sbeitla</i> 48

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
			of a <i>flamen perpetuus</i>	<i>morum / clementiam et erga singulos / universosq(ue) cives liberalitatem / et administrationem Hviratus / innocuam et singularem vo/luptatum editionem obque / fili(i) eius Caecili Donati Aufidia/ni fl(aminis) p(er)p(etui) honorem splendidis/simus ordo et universus popul(us) / curiarum col(loniae) Sufetulensis / aeternum gratiarum / suarum testimonium po/suit idemque dedicavit</i>	military, <i>procurator ab epistulis</i> (?) of our Augustus, because of the marked mildness of his morals and liberality towards each and every citizen and his harmless administration of the <i>duumvirate</i> and the singular presentation of entertainments on account of the office of his son Caecilius Donatus Aufidianus, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , ³⁸ the most splendid <i>ordo</i> and whole <i>populus</i> of the <i>curiae</i> of the colony of Sufetula set up and dedicated this eternal testament of their thanks.	
151	Thaenae	177/ 192	equestrian <i>duumvir</i> (<i>quinquennalis</i> ?) , comes of Commodus, brother of praetorian prefect	[. Aemi]lio Q(uinti) fil(io) Pap(iria) Pudenti / [cent]urioni legionis III Aug(ustae) / [it(em)] leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) it(em) iterum l(e)g(ionis) / [II A]ug(ustae) it(em) leg(ionis) XI Claudia / [adl]ecto in comitatu Imp(eratoris) / [Com]modi Aug(usti) Pii Fel(icis) duumvir/[o q(uin)q(uennali?)] col(oniae) Thaenitanae fratri / [Q(uiti) Ae]mili Laeti praef(ecti) praet(orio) ob / singularem innocentiam / et in promerendis singulis / universisq(ue) civib(us) examina/tam adfectionem ordo Thaen(ensium) / statuam equest(rem) ponendam / de pub(lico) dec(reto) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)	[To .] Aemilianus Pudens, the son of Quintus, of the Papiria tribe, centurion of the 3 rd Legion Augusta, [likewise] of the 2 nd Legion Augusta, likewise of the 9 th Legion Claudia, enrolled in the entourage of emperor Commodus Augustus Pius Felix, <i>duumvir</i> [<i>quinquennalis</i> ?] of the colony of Thaenae, the brother of [Q.] Aemilius Laetus, praetorian prefect, because of his singular blamelessness and affection proven by winning over each and every citizen, the <i>ordo</i> of the Thaenenses after a public decree to set up the equestrian statue on decree of the decurions with public money.	<i>BCTH</i> 1946/49, 306 = <i>AE</i> 1949, 38
152	Thubba	249 at latest	<i>flamen perpetuus</i> at Carthage or Thubba; <i>curator rei publicae</i> ? ³⁹	<i>P(ublio) Cluvio Felici Tertulli[a]n[o(?)] / fl(aminis) p(erpetuo) col(oniae) Iul(iae) A(ureliae?) A(ntonianae?) [- - -] / splendidissimus [ordo] / petito eti[am] un[iversi po]/puli I[- - -]C[- - -]I[- - -] / SI[- - -] inco]m/parabili iustitia i[n]tegrita]te bonitate clemen[tia] / administrata statu[am] /</i>	To P. Cluvius Felix Tertullianus, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> of the Julian Aurelian(?) Antoninian colony [- - -], the most splendid [<i>ordo</i>] on petition of the whole <i>populus</i> , [- - -] since [the <i>res publica</i> ?] had been administered with an incomparable sense of justice [and] with integrity,	<i>CIL</i> VIII 25376 = <i>ILTun.</i> 1169

³⁸ The translation of this last clause does not strictly follow the grammar of the Latin, but it is unlikely that the *ordo* and *populus* honoured Athenaeus just because they had awarded his son the perpetual flaminiate. The *obque* is likely explaining the cause of the entertainments and not an additional and separate reason for the current statue.

³⁹ Tertullianus' *elogium* seems more appropriate for a *curator rei publicae* than for a *flamen perpetuus*.

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<i>aere collato posuer[unt]</i>	goodness, mildness, sets up this statue with collected money.	
153	Thubursicu Numidarum	112/180	provincial priest of Africa, <i>duumvir</i> , <i>flamen perpetuus</i>	<i>L(ucio) Ca[lpur]nio / Pap[ir(ia) Au]gus[tal]i Aspr[ena]tis f[il(io) aed]ili / duumvir[o flamini] / perp(etuo) [sacerdoti] / pr(ovinciae) Af[r(icae) cui pr]i[mo] o[rdo et popul]us / in cu[rias cont]ribu[tus] a[ere conla]to / ob merita [statuam(?)] dedic(averunt)</i>	To L. Calpurnius Augustalis, of the Papiria tribe, the son of Asprenas, aedile, <i>duumvir</i> , <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , [priest] of the province of Africa, the first to whom the <i>o[rdo]</i> and <i>popul]us</i> distributed into <i>curiae</i> dedicated [a statue] with collected money because of his merits. ⁴⁰	<i>ILAlg.</i> 1.1295 = <i>AE</i> 1998, 1580
154	Thubursicu Numidarum	275	<i>flamen perpetuus</i>	<i>[E]gnatulei / [Na]vigium Egnatuleium / [Po]mpeium fl(aminem) p(er)p(etuum) bonum / [ci]vem et propter uni/[v]ersa officiorum in patriam et cives fide/lissima ac sedula offi/cia omnium superio/rum ac pr(a)esentium / amorem pr(a)ecurren/tem ordo sanctissimus / ac florentissimus popu/lus in unum concinens / Thubursicensium Nu/midarum post tabula[e] / dationem qua eum si/bi debitum iandudum / locum adscribi fecit / etiam huius statuae pe/renni gratia ut volvit prosecutus est / feliciter</i>	Egnatuleius! Navigius Egnatuleius Pompeius, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , a good citizen and on account of all of his most faithful services towards his native city and citizens, and in fact his painstaking services for all those who came before and his superior love for those here now, the most sacred <i>ordo</i> and no less the most flourishing <i>populus</i> of the Thubursicenses Numidae harmonising into one, after giving a tablet [of patronage] which long ago made him owed this location by us, also for the sake of this everlasting statue as it causes him to be in our thoughts, it has been successfully attended.	<i>ILAlg.</i> 1.1296
155	Thugga	268/284	<i>flamen perpetuus</i> , aedile	<i>[- - - Ti]tisenio Pap(iria) Feli/[ciss]imo Corneliano / [- - - a]edilicio fl(amin)i perp(etuo) / [ob lu]dorum magnifi/[cent]iam et multiform/[es libera]litate quib[/us h]onestatem in re/[m publ]icam et patriam c[u]m / [sui]s exegit / [res] publica splendi/[dis]simae col(oniae) Thugg(ensis) / [ex s]uffragiis populi / [et d]ecreto decurio/[nu]m p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i>	To [- - -] Titisenius Felicissimus Cornelianus, of the Papiria tribe, [- - -], former <i>duumvir</i> , <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , because of the magnificence of the games and the many and diverse liberalities, with which he, along with his relatives, proved his honourableness towards the <i>res publica</i> and native city, the <i>res publica</i> of the most splendid colony of Thugga by the votes of the people and decree of the decurions with public money.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 26618 = 26626 = <i>IL Afr.</i> 539 = <i>Dougga</i> 88
156	Ureu	250/299	senator, patron	<i>Didasi / L(ucio) Octavio Aur[eliano?] / Didasio c(larissimo) v(iro) M[- - -] / civi genitili ob</i>	Didasius! To Lucius Aur[elianus?] Didasius, most illustrious boy, native citizen; because of his	<i>AE</i> 1975, 880

⁴⁰ For discussion of the meaning of *primo*, Chapters 2.6 and 4.5.

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<i>[sin]gu[la]/rem in protegendis [civib(us)] / fidem et paratum [er]ga [o]mn[e]s / amorem thermas [et aquam(?) corrup]/tam post diluviem [- - -]/to servato recte(?) [- - -] / propria liberalitate [ex]o[rnavit] / excoluit perfecit dedi[c]avit / bene merito civi et pa[tr]ono [splen]/didissimus ord[o et] populus [mun(icipii)] / [U]ruensium statuam [posueru]nt d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) [p(ecunia) p(ublica)]</i>	singular good faith in protecting the [citizens] and ready love towards everyone, he decorated, embellished, completed, and dedicated the baths [and water supply?] which had crumbled after a flood, having rightly watched over [- - -] with his own liberality; to a well deserving citizen and patron, the most splendid <i>ordo</i> and <i>populus</i> of the [municipium] of the Uruenses, set up and dedicated the statue on decree of the decurions [with public money].	
157	Utica	200/ 249	(1) consular patron; (2) female relative	<i>Q(uito) Octavio Volusio Thuscen[io - - -] / c(larissimo) v(iro) co(n)s(uli) sallio Collino praet(ori) cand(idato) s(erv)iro eq(uitum) R(omanorum) - - - Xviro] / stlitib(us) iud(icandis) et Geminiae Vulcaciae I[- - -] / mirae bonitatis et eximiae innoc[ent]iae feminae ordo spl(endidissimus) col(oniae)] / Utik(ensis) cum populo patrono a parent[ibus - - - fecit(?)]</i>	To Q. Octavius Volusius Thuscenius, most illustrious man, Salian priest on the Colline Hill, candidate for the praetorship, [commander of the - - - troop of Roman equestrians?], <i>decimvir</i> for adjudicating lawsuits, and to Geminia Vulcacia [- - -], [a woman] of wonderful goodness and exceptional blamelessness, [the most splendid <i>ordo</i> of the colony] of Utica along with the <i>populus</i> [made this] for their patron by parentage(?)	<i>CIL</i> VIII 1182+p.931, 1974 = 9260 = 14312
158	Vallis		two sons of a <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , <i>duumvir</i> , patron	<i>[- - -] / VIS[- - -] / flaminis perpet(ui) duumvi/ralis patroni municipii / sui Vallitani ad remune/randa merita utriusque / eorum ordo decurion[um] / decreto publico fec[it]</i>	[- - - the son?] of a <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , <i>duumvir</i> , patron of his own <i>municipium</i> of Vallis, to repay the merits of both of them, the <i>ordo decurionum</i> made this on public decree.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 14786
159	Vallis		patron, the <i>flamen perpetuus</i> and <i>duumvir</i> of <i>CIL</i> VIII 14786?	<i>[- - -]vir(i) II / patroni munic(ipii) sui / Vallitani ad remune/random adfectionem / eiusdem Optati quam / et patriae et civibus mu[n]ifice praestat ordo dec(urionum) / decreto publico [f]ecit</i>	[- - - the son? of a] twice <i>duumvir</i> (?), patron of his own <i>municipium</i> of Vallis, to remunerate the affection of this same Optatus, which he munificently furnishes to his native city and citizens, the <i>ordo decurionum</i> made this on public decree.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 1282 = 14785
160	Vina	250/ 299	equestrian <i>curator rei publicae</i> ,	<i>[- - - vir]o offic[i]s - - -] / [- - -] erga nos remque p[ro]p[ri]a[m] nostram innu[er]a[m]libus comprobato / Aurel(io) [F]lavio decurio/ni</i>	[- - - to a man?] proven [- - -] by his innumerable services towards us and our <i>res publica</i> , Aurelius Flavius, decurion, former aedile, former quaestor,	<i>AE</i> 1961, 200 = <i>Karthago</i> 9 p.110

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
			<i>duumvir</i> , decurion of Carthage	<i>aedi[l]i(cio) q(uaestorio) duoviralicio / d(ecurioni?) Karth(aginiensium) c[u]ratori eq(uiti) R(omano) ordo / Vinensiu[m] et universi cives / civi ama[n]tissimo posueru[nt]</i>	former <i>duumvir</i> , decurion of the Carthaginians, <i>curator [rei publicae]</i> , Roman equestrian; the <i>ordo</i> of the Vinenses and all citizens set this up to a most loving citizen.	
JURIDICAL DENOMINATIVE AS STATED DEDICATOR						
161	Chaouat			<i>M(arco) Plotio / Vero ci/ves ob / patris / merita</i>	To M. Plotius Verus, the citizens, due the merits of his father.	<i>CIL VIII</i> 25373
162	Lepcis Magna	250/ 299	local benefactor	<i>Amatori patriae et civium suor[um qu]od ex indulgentia sacra / civibus suis feras dentatas quattuor vivas donavit / ex decreto splendidissimi ordinis bigam decrev(eru)nt / Porfyri Porfyri</i>	To a lover of his native city and of his fellow citizens, since he, out of sacred kindness, gave four carnivorous living beasts, they dedicated the <i>biga</i> on decree of the most splendid <i>ordo</i> . Porfyrius! Porfyrius!	<i>IRT 603 = LeptisMagna</i> 50
163	Madauros	150/ 180	philosopher	<i>[. Apuleio ph]ilosopho / [Pl]atonico / [Ma]daurenses / cives / ornament[o] / suo d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) [p(ublica)]</i>	[To . Apuleius], Platonic philosopher; the citizens of Madauros to their own ornament, on decree of the decurions with public money.	<i>ILAlg. 1.2115</i>
164	Neferis	218/ 222	<i>tribunus cohortis</i>	<i>L(ucio) Aurellio Festi filio / Hirrio Festo sing(ulari) trib(uni) / coh(ortis) I urb(anae) homini op(timo) civi incompara(bili) ob eximiam eius / ben'e`volentiam in ci/ves suos cives Neferitani uni/versi posuerunt</i>	To Lucius Aurellius Hirrius Festus, the son of Festus, aide to the tribune of the 1 st Urban Cohort, the best man, an incomparable citizen, because of his exceptional goodwill towards his fellow citizens, all citizens of Neferis set this up.	<i>AE 1973, 576</i>
165	Sabratha	190/ 299	equestrian <i>duumvir quinquennalis designatus</i>	<i>C(aio) An[i]c[i]o Qu[ir]ir(ina) / Fronto[ni] / equo publ(ico) o[r]nato / Anici Bassi[ani fil]io / q(uaestori) aedil(i) duumvir(o) duumvir(o) q(uin)q(uennali) / [d]esig(nato) amatori patriae / [c]ives ob merita / [cur]ante Q(uinto) Flavio Hiceta</i>	To C. Anicius Fronto, of the Quirina tribe, decorated with the public horse, the son of Anicius Bassianus, quaestor, aedile, <i>duumvir</i> , and <i>duumvir quinquennalis</i> designate, lover of his native city, the citizens because of his merits with Q. Flavius Hiceta curating.	<i>IRT 95 = AE</i> 1950, 155
166	Sicilibba	200/ 235	<i>aedilis curulis ab actis senatus</i> , quaestor, patron	<i>Q(uinto) Comio Armigero / Crescenti c(larissimo) v(iro) aedili / curuli ab actis senatus quaestori seviro / turmae secundae Arn(ensis?) / eq(uitum Romanorum) X`v(i)ro(?) stlitibus / iudicandis patro/no incompara(bili) municipes Sicilibbensium</i>	To Q. Comius Armiger Crescens, most illustrious man, curule aedile responsible for the minutes of the Senate, quaestor, commander of the 2 nd troop Arn(ensis?) of Roman equestrians, <i>decimvir(?)</i> for adjudicating lawsuits, incomparable patron, the <i>municipes</i> of Sicilibba.	<i>CIL VIII</i> 25822 = <i>Bardo 201 = AE</i> 1904, 175

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
167	Suas		Father-in-law	<i>C(aio) Iulio Maeandro / socero / L(uci) Popili Primi / Afri et cives / Romani Suenses / ex aere collato / ob meritum / d(ecreto d(ecurionum)</i>	To C. Julius Maeander, father-in-law of L. Popilius Primus, the Afri and the Roman citizens of Suo with collected money because of his merit on decree of the decurions.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 25850 = <i>ILS</i> 6776
168	Vicus Maracitanus		aedile of Carthage	<i>[- - - fil(io) Pa]p(iria) / Opta[to . . .]o / aed(ili) [- - -] / c(oloniae) I(uliae) K(arthaginis) [- - -] / [- - -] / [- - -]V[- - -]que erga / singulos univer/sosque adfectio/nem cives Ma/racitani / s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecerunt)</i>	To [- - -] Optatus [- - -], of the Papiria tribe, aedile, [- - -] of the Julian colony of Carthage [- - -] / [- - -] / [because of - - -] and [- - -] affection towards each and everyone, the Maracitan <i>cives</i> made this with their own money.	<i>AE</i> 1949, 107
DEMONYM AS STATED DEDICATOR						
169	Theveste	likely 211/212	equestrian procurator Augusti	<i>M(arco) Aemilio / Clodiano / e(gregio) v(iro) proc(uratori) Aug[g(ustorum) n]n(ostrorum) / patrimonii / reg(ionis) Leptiminensis / item privatae / reg(ionis) Tripolitanae / ob insignem eius / [innoce]nti[am] / Sabrathenses / publice</i>	To M. Aemilius Clodianus, excellent man, patrimonial procurator of our Augusti of the Lepcis Minus region, likewise for the private region of Tripolitania, because of his marked blamelessness the Sabrathenses publicly.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 16543+p.2731 = <i>ILS</i> 1439 = <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.3062
170	Theveste	likely 211/212	equestrian procurator Augusti	<i>M(arco) Aemilio / C[lodiano] / [e(gregio) v(iro) proc(uratori) Augg(ustorum) nn(ostrorum)] / [pat]rimonii / reg(ionis) Leptiminensis / [item privatae] / reg(ionis) Tripolitanae / ob singularem eius / innocentiam / Oeenses / publice</i>	To M. Aemilius Clodianus, excellent man, patrimonial procurator of our Augusti of the Lepcis Minus region, likewise for the private region of Tripolitania, because of his marked blamelessness the Oeenses publicly.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 16542+p.2731 = <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.3063
171	Thugga	1/25 CE ⁴¹	senator, military tribune, son	<i>Passieno Ru/fo tribuno mil(itum) / legionis XII Ful/minatae Pass[ieni] / Rufi filio [Thug]/genses pro [ami]/citia quae eis [cum] / patre est libentes / dederunt</i>	Passienus Rufus, military tribune of the 12 th Legion Fulminata, the son of Passienus Rufus, the Thuggenses gladly gave this for his friendship, which, along with [that of] his father, is theirs.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 26580 = <i>ILS</i> 8966 = <i>ILTun.</i> 1422 = <i>AE</i> 1902, 252
172	Thugga	c.205	flaminica, mother of a flaminica	<i>Asiciae Victoriae / fl(aminica)⁴² Thuggenses ob muni/[ff]ic[i]entiam et singula/rem liberalitatem eius / in rem p(ublicam) quae ob flamonium / [V]ibiae Asicianes fil(iae) suae HS C / mil(ia)</i>	To Asicia Victoria, <i>flaminica</i> , the Thuggenses set this up because of her munificence and singular liberality towards the <i>res publica</i> , who, on account of the flaminicate of Vibia Asiciane, her	<i>CIL</i> VIII 1495+p. 938 = 26590

⁴¹ From the letter style, the inscription seems to have been restored some time in the second century.

⁴² This is my suggestion for completing the abbreviation (based on *CIL* VIII 26591=*ILTun.* 1427=*Dougga* 73). No other edition makes a suggestion.

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<i>n(ummu)m pollicitast ex quorum re/[d]itu ludi scaenici et sportulae / decurionibus darentur d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) / utriusque ordinis posuer(unt)</i>	own daughter, promised 100,000HS, from [which revenue] <i>ludi scaenici</i> and <i>sportulae</i> to the decurions are to be given; on decree of the decurions of both <i>ordines</i> .	
173	Uchi Maius	150/ 229	senatorial woman	<i>[V]aleriae P(ubli) f(iliae) / Marianillae / [c]larissimae fem(inae) / [Uc]hitani Maiore[s] / [ob] eximiam eius li/beralitatem / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i>	To Valeria Marianilla, the daughter of Publius, most illustrious woman, the Uchitani Maiores, because of her exceptional liberality, on decree of the decurions with public money.	<i>CIL VIII</i> 26273 = <i>Uchi</i> 1 Ugh.12 = <i>Uchi</i> 2.68
174	Vicus Maracitanus	193/ 211	centurion, secretary of praetorian prefect	<i>L(ucio) Iulio L(uci) fil(io) Pap(iria) / Victori (centurioni) coh(ortis) I urb(anae) / Sever(ianae) laterculensi / ostiario scriniario / praeff(ectorum) pr(aetorio) eemm(inentissimorum) vv(ironum) / innocentissimo vir[o] / [ob] nimia mer[ita] - - - / [- - -] / [- - -] IIORORVMI[- - -] / admirabilem benevo(lentiam) erga singulos / universosq(ue) optimo / civi Maracitani s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecerunt) d(edicaverunt)</i>	To L. Iulius Victor, the son of Lucius, centurion of the 1 st Urban Severian Cohort, brick maker, porter, secretary of praetorian prefects – two most eminent men –, a most blameless man, because of his merits beyond measure [- - - and] admirable goodwill towards each and everyone, the Maracitani made and dedicated this to the best citizen with their own money.	<i>AE</i> 1949, 108 = <i>AE</i> 1950, 185
JURIDICAL STATUS TERM AS STATED DEDICATOR						
175	Avioccala	220- 240	senatorial woman, patron	<i>Seiae Modes/[tae . . .]iae / [- - -]iae Corne/liae [P]a[t]rui/nae Publianae / c(larissimae) f(eminiae) civi et patr(ona)e / ob insign(na) eius me/rita quibus in/lustrat origi/nis suae patriam / civitas Avioccal(ensium) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i>	To Seia Modesta [- - -]ia [- - -]ia Cornelia Patruina Publana, most illustrious woman, citizen and patron, because of her marked merits, by which she adds lustre to the native city of her own origin, the <i>civitas</i> of the Avioccalenses on decree of the decurions with public money.	<i>CIL VIII</i> 23832
176	Carthage	151 or 180		<i>[- - -]ia singu(laris?) - - - / [- - -]iitatis E[- - -] / [- - -] c]olonia [- - -] / [- - -] Con]diano e[t - - -] co(n)s(ulibus)</i>	[- - -] of singular [- - -] for the public interests? - - - / [- - -] the colony of Carthage(?) [- - -] / [- - -] when Condianus and [- - -] were consuls.	<i>CILPCarth.</i> 96
177	Curubis	250/ 299	<i>duumvir quinquennalis</i>	<i>Ponti / C(aio) Helvio C(ai) f(ilio) Arn(ensi) Honora/to aedil(i) Ilvir(o) Ilvir(o) q(uin)q(uennali) II[I] / et curat(ori) aliment(orum) distrib(uendorum) / ob insignes liberalita/tes in rem pub(licam) et cives / amorem viro bono / col(onia) Iulia Curubis d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	Pontius! To C. Helvius Honoratus, the son of Gaius, of the Arnensis tribe, aedile, <i>duumvir</i> , three-times <i>duumvir quinquennalis</i> , manager for distributing food stuffs, because of his marked liberalities towards the <i>res publica</i> and love [towards] the citizens, the Julian colony of	<i>CIL VIII</i> 980+p.1282= <i>ILTun.</i> 838 = <i>ILS</i> 6817+p.188

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<i>p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i>	Curubis to a good man; on decree of the decurions with public money.	
178	Hippo Regius		mother of benefactor	<i>[- - -] eius et ob ipsius [- - -]/lar() SAM [Ph]ronima univer[- - -] / prompta voluntate ut civi statua[m] / publ(ice) ponendam decr(everit) cui Vibia Sev[era] / [ho]nore con[tent]a sua pec(unia) [posuit] / propter quod ad remunerandam op[time] / adfectionem et pietatem atq[ue)] libe[ralitatem] / filiae suae perpetuo memoriam du[lcissimam(?)] / [- - -] decurionibus sportu[las] / [- - -] HS ep[ul]andi gratia Aug[ustali]/bus quodannis dandos statuit / corpori quoq(ue) Augustalium ad sportulas / aureos binos</i>	<i>[- - -] because of her and the [- - -] of [- - -] Phronima, the whole [colonia/civitas/res publica?] with prompt willingness to decree setting up a statue publicly to a citizen, to her Vibia Severa being content with the honour set it up with her own money, on account of which, to remunerate best the affection, sense of duty, and liberality of her daughter, she as a most sweet(?) memorial [- - -] established giving each year [- - -HS?] to the decurions as <i>sportulae</i> [and] to the <i>Augustales</i> for the sake of banqueting, and also two gold coins for <i>sportulae</i> to the organisation of the <i>Augustales</i>.</i>	<i>Libyca</i> 2.1, 1954, 393-5, #9
179	Thibaris		magister pagi, quaestor at Carthage, patron	<i>L(ucio) Cornelio P(ubli) f(filio) Arn(ensi) / Maximo / mag(istro) pag(i) "q"(uaestori) dec(urioni) c(oloniae) I(uliae) K(arthaginis) / sacerd(oti) Aescula/pii bis praef(ecto) i(ure) d(icundo) / pagus Th(i)barit(anorum) / patrono / ob munificent(iam) / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i>	To L. Cornelius Maximus, the son of Publius, of the Arnensis tribe, <i>magister</i> of the <i>pagus</i> , quaestor, decurion of the Julian colony of Carthage, priest of Aesculapius, twice <i>praefectus iure dicundo</i> , the <i>pagus</i> of the Thibaritani because of his munificence, on decree of the decurions with public money.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 26185= <i>ILTun.</i> 1361
180	Thugga	50/99	flamen perpetuus	<i>[Faustino ?] / Felicis / Sidiathonis filio / flam(ini) Aug(usti) perp(etuo) / civitas Thuggensis / ob meritum</i>	To Faustinus(?) Felix, the son of Sidiatho, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> of the Augustus, the <i>civitas</i> of Thugga because of his merit.	<i>AE</i> 1997, 1650
181	Thugga	90/150	flamen perpetuus	<i>Calpurnio Faustino / Faustini filio flamine / Aug(usti) perp(etui) civitas Thug(ga) / ob eximiam eius in ci-ves suos liberalitatem / qua siquando necessitas / rei frumentariae postu/lavit frumentum populo / quantumcumque habuit / multo minore pretio quam / [tunc erat - - -]n[- - -]</i>	To Calpurnius Faustinus, the son of Faustinus, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> of the Augustus, the <i>civitas</i> of Thugga, because of his exceptional liberality towards his own citizens, by which, if ever the necessity of a grain shortage demanded, he had some grain for the <i>populus</i> at a much lower price than [- - -].	<i>Dougga</i> 74= <i>AE</i> 1997, 1651
182	Thugga	138 at	son, brother of	<i>[L(ucio) OR T(ito)] Calp[u]rni[o] Feli/ci civitas</i>	To [.] Calpurnius Felix, the <i>civitas</i> of Thugga,	<i>AE</i> 1997,

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
		latest	patron	<i>Thug/gensis ob merita / et ipsius et patris / eius Faustini cu/ratoribus Iulio Ro/gato Mucio Kapitone</i>	because of the merits of himself and his father Faustinus, with Julius Rogatus [and] Mucius Kapito curating.	1652
183	Thugga	138 at latest	patron, son	<i>M(arco) C(alpur)nio / Fau(stino ci)vitas / Th(ugg(ensis)) patro/no o[b] merita / et ip[s]ius et pat[ri]s eius / Faus[tini curat]oribus / Iulio R[ogato] Mu[cio] Kapi/[tone]</i>	To M. Calpurnius Faustinus, the <i>civitas</i> of Thugga, because of the merits of himself and his father Faustinus, with Julius Rogatus [and] Mucius Kapito curating.	<i>AE</i> 1997, 1653
184	Thugga	166/168	equestrian flamen Vespasiani at Carthage	<i>C(aio) Marcio Q(uinti) f(ilio) / Arn(ensi) Clementi / flamini divi / Vespasiani c(oloniae) I(uliae) K(arthaginis) in / quinque decurias / adlecto ab Imp(eratore) Anto/nino Aug(usto) Pio ob munifi/centiam L(uci) Marci Sim/plicis fratris eius et ho/norem memoriae ipsius / pagus et civit(as) Thugg(ensium) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica) / [curato]rib(us) C(aio) Modio Rustico / [L(ucio) Numissio H]onorato Iulio / [Macro Sallustio Iuliano Q(uinti) f(ilio)]</i>	To C. Marcius Clemens, the son of Quintus, of the Arnensis tribe, flamen of the divine Vespasian for the Julian colony of Carthage, enrolled into the five <i>decuriae</i> by emperor Antoninus Augustus Pius, because of the munificence of L. Marcus Simplex his brother and to honour the memory of this man [i.e. Clemens], the <i>pagus</i> and <i>civitas</i> of the Thuggenses, on the decree of the decurions with public money, with curators: C. Modius Rusticus, L. Numissius Honoratus, Julius Macer Sallustius the son of Quintus.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 26604 = <i>Dougga</i> 82
185	Thugga	166/168	deceased father of a benefactor	<i>Q(uinto) Marcio Quir(ina) / Maximo ob munifi/centiam L(uci) Marci Sim/plicis fili(i) eius et ob / ipsius merita pagus et / civitas Thuggensis / post mortem d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica) / curatoribus C(aio) Modio / Rustico L(ucio) Numissio Honorato / Iulio Macro Sallustio Iuliano Q(uinti) f(ilio)</i>	To Q. Marcius Maximus, of the Quirina tribe, because of the munificence of L. Marcius Simplex, his son, and because of his own merits, the <i>pagus</i> and <i>civitas</i> of Thugga after his death on decree of the decurions with public money, with curators: C. Modius Rusticus, L. Numissius Honoratus, Julius Macer Sallustius the son of Quintus.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 26605 = <i>Dougga</i> 81
186	Thugga	166/168	equestrian flamen perpetuus divi Augusti at Carthage, patronus pagi et civitatis	<i>L(ucio) Marcio Q(uinti) f(ilio) / Arn(ensi) Simplici / [pat]rono pagi et / [civit]atis flami[ni] / [perp]etuo flami[ni] / [divi Au]g(usti) c(oloniae) I(uliae) K(arthaginis) aed[ili] / [in qu]inque decur[ias] / [ab I]mp(eratore) Antonino [Aug(usto)] / [adle]cto ob egregiam ei[us] / [munifi]centiam pagus et c[ivi]/[tas] Thugg(ensis) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	To L. Marcius Simplex, the son of Quintus, of the Arnensis tribe, patron of the <i>pagus</i> and <i>civitas</i> , flamen perpetuus, flamen of the divine Augustus of the Julian colony of Carthage, aedile, enrolled into the five <i>decuriae</i> by emperor Antoninus [Augustus], because of his excellent munificence, the <i>pagus</i> and <i>civitas</i> of Thugga on decree of the	<i>CIL</i> VIII 1494 = 26609 = <i>Dougga</i> 83

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<i>p(ecunia) p(ublica) curator[ib(us)] / [C(aio) Mod]io Rustico L(ucio) Num[issio] / [Hon]orato Iulio Macro / Sallustio Iuliano Q(uinti) f(ilio)</i>	decurions with public money, with curators: C. Modius Rusticus, L. Numissius Honoratus, Iulius Macer Sallustius the son of Quintus.	
187	Thugga	180/ 192	<i>flamen perpetuus</i>	<p><i>Pagus et [civitas Aureli]a Thugga ob meritu[m s]ua pecunia fec[erunt d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)]</i></p> <p>Column One: <i>quod M(arcus) Pa[cuvius Felix Victo]rianus Pacu/vi Satur[i et Nahaniae Vict]oriae fil(ius) codi/cillis sui[s templum Me]rcuri HS L m(ilibus) fie/[ri iussit - - ipsi ampl]ius ob honorem / [flam(onii) perp(etui) HS LXX m(ilia) pol]liciti sunt ex quib(us) / [templum Mercuri et c]ellas duas cum sta/[tuis et porticum et absides] / [fecerunt item porticum et aream? macelli] / [pago patriae extruxerunt et excolerunt]</i></p> <p>Column Two: <i>[civitati] Thugg(ae) HS XXV [mil(ia) Q(uintus) Pacuvius] / [Saturus fl(amen) perp(etuus) da]t[urum pollicitus est] / [ex quorum reditu quotannis dec(urionibus) sportulae] / p[raestarentur et ob diem muneris ludos scae]/ [nicos et sportulas dec(urionibus) utriusque ordinis] / [et universo populo dedit - - -] / [- - -] / [- - -] / Sex(to) Egnatio Pri[mo - - -]</i>⁴³</p>	<p>The <i>pagus</i> [and Aurelian <i>civitas</i>] of Thugga because of his merit made this with their own money [on decree of the decurions].</p> <p>Whereas M. Pacuvius Felix Victorianus, son of Pacuvius Saturus [and Nahania Vict]oria, [ordered] in the codicils of his will that [a temple] of Mercury be built for 50,000HS [- - - they⁴⁴ gave] more and promised [70,000HS] on account of the honour of the [perpetual flamine], out of which [they made] the Temple of Mercury and two chambers with sta[tues, a portico, and apses, and likewise they constructed and embellished the portico and forecourt of the market for the <i>pagus</i> of their native city.]</p> <p>[Q. Pacuvius Saturus, <i>flamen perpetuus</i>, promised to give 25,000HS to the <i>civitas</i> of] Thugga, [from which revenue <i>sportulae</i> are to be provided to the decurions each year, and on the day of the gift he gave theatrical shows and <i>sportulae</i> to the decurions of both <i>ordines</i> and - - - to the whole <i>populus</i> - - -] / [- - -] / [- - -] / with Sextus Egnatius Primus [- - -]</p>	IL Afr: 517
188	Thugga	164/ 204	equestrian patron	<i>[- - - equo publico ornato(?) ab impera]/[toribus M(arco) Antonino et L(ucio) Vero] / Aug[ustis Armeni]acis Me[dicis] / Parthicis maxim[is] / pagus et civitas Thugg(ensis) o[b merita] / patrono</i>	[- - - decorated with the public horse? by the emperors M. Antonius and L. Verus,] Augusti, [Armeni]aci, Me[dici], Parthici Maximi, the <i>pagus</i> and <i>civitas</i> of Thugga to their patron and	ILTun. 1514

⁴³ Text restored with the aid of *Dougga* 34, which seems to use almost identical words to commemorate Saturus and Victoria's dedication of the temple.

⁴⁴ That is the parents, Saturus and Victoria.

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<i>et advocato el[loquentis]/simo d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i>	most eloquent advocate [because of his merits], on decree of the decurions with public money.	
189	Thugga	161/204	<i>sacerdos?</i> <i>Aesculapii</i>	<i>[- - -] / Aesculapi ob eximiam / eius liberalitatem / pagus et civitas Aurelia / Thugga d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i>	[- - - priest] of Aesculapius, because of his exceptional liberality, the <i>pagus</i> and Aurelian <i>civitas</i> of Thugga, on decree of the decurions with public money.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 26625 = <i>ILTun.</i> 1438 = <i>Dougga</i> 128
190	Thugga			<i>[- - - pa]gus et civitas Thugg[ens(is)] / [ob] egregium eius in se amore[m] / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i>	[- - -] the <i>pagus</i> and <i>civitas</i> of Thugga, [because of] his/her/their excellent love towards them, on decree of the decurions with public money.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 26630 = <i>ILTun.</i> 1441
RES PUBLICA AS STATED DEDICATOR						
191	Thibaris	150/199	deceased senatorial patrona, mother of senator	<i>Seiae Potitiae / Consortianae / c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(eminae) matri Ros/ci Potiti Memmi/ani c(larissimi) v(iri) ob insignem eius et innu/merabile(m) libera/litatem qua ordi/ne(m) et patriam do/natione sua ampli/ficavit patronae di/cernente ordine r(es) p(ublica) / Thibaritanor(um) / p(ecunia) p(ublica) p(osuit)</i>	To Seia Potitia Consortiana, woman of most illustrious memory, mother of Roscius Potitus Memmianus, most illustrious man, because of her marked and innumerable (acts of) liberality, by which she boosted <i>ordo</i> and native city with her giving, the <i>res publica</i> of the Thibaritani set this up with public money to its patron on decree of the <i>ordo</i> .	<i>IL Afr:</i> 511
192	Thibaris	228	daughter of Carthaginian decurion	Front Face: <i>Sextiliae Clodi/ae Fadianillae / filiae L(uci) Sextili Fe/licis Clodiani / dec(urionis) col(oniae) Antoni/anae Kart(h)ag(inis) / r(es) p(ublica) Thib(aritanorum) ob meri/ta patris eius / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i> Left Face: <i>Dedicata ex VI Kal(endas) / Ian(uarias) Modesto II / et Probo co(n)s(ulibus)</i>	To Sextilia Clodia Fadianilla, the daughter of L. Sextilius Felix Clodianus decurion of the Antonian colony of Carthage, the <i>res publica</i> of the Thibaritani because of the merits of her father, on decree of the decurions with public money. Dedicated December 27, when Modestus II and Probus were consuls.	<i>IL Afr:</i> 512
193	Thignica	138/192	4 statues: 2 equestrian to Carthaginian decurions, <i>sacerdotes Aesculapi</i> ; 2 pedestrian to	<i>[- - - D(?)]onatus dec[uriones] ob statua[?]s duas [in] patriae et civium suorum [honorem promissas ad]le[cti] arcum cum [- - -] / [- - -] duabus et col[umnis] ma[r]mor[e]i[s] n(umero) octo et s[t]atuis marmoreis n(umero) sex[s] et c[. . .] et str]atura areae quae F[- - -]AR[- - -]VM[- - -] / [- - -] patriae suae cu[m] P(ublio[?]) Memmio Felice</i>	[- - - and - - - Donatus(?), enrolled as decurions, on account of two statues(?) [promised for the honour] of their native city and their fellow citizens, set up and dedicated along with [P.?] Memmius Felix Sabinianus and Q. Memmius Rufus Fortu[natianus, public priest], both enrolled as decurions at the Concord Julian colony of	<i>CIL</i> VIII 1413+p.938 = 15205 = 25907b = <i>ThignicaHM</i> 1

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
			their brother and mother	<i>Sabinian[o] et Q(uinto) Memmio Rufo Fortu[natiano sacerdote pu]blico adlectis de[curion]ibus c(oloniae) C(oncordiae) I(uliae) K(arthaginis) / [sacerd]otibus Aesculapi p[osuer]unt idemque dedicav[e]runt ad quorum remun[erandam munificentia]m re[s] publica sua [c[ivita]tis Thign[icen]/sis statua[s pedestres - - - Mem]mio Rufo fratri eorum et Caeciliae [- - - matri eorum et ipsis (?)] equestres in foro posuit⁴⁵</i>	Carthage, priests of Aesculapius, an arch with two [bays?], marble columns to the number of eight, marble statues to the number of six, [- - - and] paving of the surrounding area, which [- - -] / [- - -] for his native city; to repay their munificence, their own <i>res publica</i> of the <i>civitas</i> of Thignica set up in the forum pedestrian statues to [- - -] Memmius Rufus their brother and Caecilia [- - - their mother?] and equestrian statues [to themselves?].	
194	Thubursicu Numidarum	173/174	consul, proconsul provinciae Africae, patron	<i>[C(aio) Septi]mio Severo co(n)s(uli) [proc]o(n)s(uli) prov(inciae) Afric(ae) leg(ato) [Aug]g(ustorum) pro pr(aetore) Germa(niae) [inf(erioris)] leg(ato) Aug(usti) pro pr(aetore) Ly[ciae e]t Pamphylicae XV[v(iro) s(acris) f(aciundis) so]dali Hadrianali [leg(ato) le]g(ionis) XVI F(laviae) F(irmae) cur(atori) viae [- - -]o pr(aetori) tri(buno) pl(ebis) quaest(ori) IIIIvir(o) viar(um) cur(andarum) [res p(ublica) mu]nicipi Thuburs(icensium) Numidar(um) optimo patron[o] d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i>	To C. Septimius Severus, consul, proconsul of the province of Africa, propraetorian legate of the Augusti for Lower Germany, propraetorian legate of Augustus for Lycia and Pamphylia, <i>quindecimvir</i> for sacred rites, <i>sodalis</i> of Hadrian, [legate] of the 16 th Legion Flavia Firma, manager of the road [- - -], <i>praetor</i> , tribune of the <i>plebs</i> , <i>quaestor</i> , <i>quattuorvir</i> for supervising the roads, [the <i>res publica</i>] of the <i>municipium</i> of the Thubursicensis Numidae to the best patron, on decree of the decurions with public money.	<i>ILAlg.</i> 1.1283 = <i>AE</i> 1967, +536 = <i>AE</i> 1917/18, 60 = <i>AE</i> 1919, +46
195	Thugga	205/260	benefactor	<i>C(aio) Sedio Hono[rato] Africano ob / egregiam indolem / et summum obsequi[um] in cives patriamq(ue) / respondens exem[plo] familiae ac ma[ior]um suor(um) res p(ublica) mun(icipii) / Sept(im)i Aur(eli) lib(eri) Thugg(ensis) / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i>	To C. Seditius Honoratus Africanus, because of his excellent nature and highest obedience to the citizens and native city which answers the example of his family and his own ancestors, ⁴⁶ the <i>res publica</i> of the free Septimian Aurelian <i>municipium</i> of Thugga, on decree of the decurions with public money.	<i>ILAfr.</i> 571 = <i>Dougga</i> 85

⁴⁵ This is a difficult text to interpret. My translation can only be tentative. Part of the problem is that the five inscription fragments form an architrave, not a statue base. It may belong to the arch and, thus, not be directly commemorating the statues awarded by the *res publica*.

⁴⁶ Strictly speaking, *respondens* must be augmenting *res publica*, since it is in the nominative case. The *suor(um)* (i.e. rather than *eius*), however, indicates that Honoratus is the intended subject and this reading does fit the sense of the text better. Louis Maurin also seems to translate the clause in this manner, although the French is not completely clear (*ad Dougga* 85).

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
196	Thugga	222/ 260	benefactor	<i>C(aio) Sedio African[o] / ob insignem m[uni]ficentiam eius et am[o]/rem in patriam mul[tis] / ac magnis documen[tis] declaratum / res p(ublica) munic(ipii) Sep[t(imi)] / Aureli lib(eri) Thug[g(ensis)] / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i>	To C. Seditius Africanus, because of his marked munificence and love towards his native city made clear with many and great proofs, the <i>res publica</i> of the free Septimian Aurelian <i>municipium</i> of Thugga, on decree of the decurions with public money.	<i>IL Afr.</i> 570 = <i>Dougga</i> 84
197	Thugga	260/ 268	equestrian <i>advocatus fisci,</i> <i>sacerdos</i> <i>Lanuvinus</i>	<i>Honor[i] / A(ulo) Vitellio Pap(iria) Felici Honorato / eq(uiti) R(omano) / f(isci) a(dvocato) at vehicula per Flaminiam / [et] Transpadum et partem No/rici f(isci) a(dvocato) at fusa per Numidiam / f(isci) a(dvocato) at patrimonium Karthag(inis) / p(rae)p(osito) agenti per Campaniam Cala/briam Lucaniam Picenum anno/nam curanti militibus Aug(usti) n(ostri) sa/cerdoti Lanuvino pro liberta/te publica volu'n'taria et gratu/ita legatione functo ob merita / et obsequia eius in patriam et / in cives amorem res p(ublica) col(oniae) [[Lic(iniae)]] / Thugg(ensium) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i>	Honorius! To Aulus Vitellius Felix Honoratus, of the Papiria tribe, Roman equestrian, advocate of the imperial treasury for vehicular service throughout Flaminia, the country beyond the Po, and in part of Noricum, advocate of the imperial treasury for the resources in Numidia, advocate of the imperial treasury for the patrimony of Carthage, placed in charge as agent in Campania, Calabria, Lucania, and Picenum responsible for the food supply for the soldiers of our Augustus, priest of Lanuvium, for the sake of public liberty completed an embassy willingly and at no expense, because of his merits and services to his native city and love towards the citizens, the <i>res publica</i> of the Licinian colony of the Thuggenses on decree of the decurions with public money.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 26582 = <i>ILTun.</i> 1424 = <i>Dougga</i> 70 = <i>ILS</i> 9018
198	Uchi Maius	181/ 230?	sacerdos at Rome	<i>[- - -] / [[- - -]L[- - -]] sacerdoti / urbis Romae Aeternae ob / eximiam in causis patri/ae fidem et in universos / civis adfectionem res / publica Uchitanor(um) Maior(um) / d(edit) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	To [- - -] / [- - -] priest of the city of Eternal Rome, because of his exceptional good faith in legal cases of his native city and affection towards all citizens, the <i>res publica</i> of the Uchitani Maiores gave this on decree of the decurions.	<i>Uchi</i> 2.78 = <i>AE</i> 2000, 1728
199	Uchi Maius	244/ 249	praetorian prefect, patron	<i>M(arco) Attio / Corneliano / praefecto prae/torio eminentissimo / viro civi et patrono / ob incomparabilem / erga patriam et cives / amorem res publica / coloniae Marianae Au/gustae Alexandrianae / Uchitanorum Maiorum / [d(ecreto)</i>	To M. Attius Cornelianus, praetorian prefect, a most eminent man, citizen and patron, because of incomparable love towards his native city and citizens, the <i>res publica</i> of the Marian Augustan Alexandrian colony of the Uchitani Maiores [on	<i>CIL</i> VIII 15454 = 26270 = <i>ILS</i> 1334 = <i>Uchi</i> -1-Ugh-app 3

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<i>d(ecurionum) p(ecunia)] p(ublica)</i>	decree decurions with] public [money].	= <i>Uchi</i> 2.69
200	Uchi Maius	235/ 299	patron, son of equestrian patron	<i>C(aio) Mamio Vet[tio] / Agrio Aemil[ia]/[n]o C(ai) Mami Ve[t]ti / Casti e(gregii) v(iri) patr[oni] / [fi]lio alumno / amantissimo / patrono res p(ublica) / col(oniae) Uchitanor(um) / Maiorum d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i>	To C. Mamius Vettius Agrius Aemilianus, the son of C. Mamius Vettius Castus an excellent man [and] patron, the <i>res publica</i> of the colony of the Uchitani Maiores to an alumnus and most loving patron, on decree of the decurions with public money.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 26272 = <i>Uchi</i> - 1-Ugh-app 6 = <i>Uchi</i> 2.73
UNKNOWN HONOREE						
201	Ammaedara	200/ 299	<i>duumvir</i>	<i>Splendonii / L(ucio) Clodio L(uci) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Titia/no qui in I[- - -]ANI et Ilvir(atu) / admodum floret[- - -] / [- - -]IIOR cultorib(us)q(ue?) / [- - -]ium edi[d]er(unt?) / [- - -]</i>	Splendonius! To L. Clodius Titianus, the son of Lucius, of the Quirina tribe, who in [- - -] and the duumvirate [- - -] flourish to a great extent [- - -]	<i>AE</i> 1999, 1799
202	Ammaedara		⁴⁷	<i>[- - -]edii / [- - -] Quietus Ilvir / [- - - II]vir q(uin) [q(uennalis)] [- - -]EI[- - -] / [- - -] in biga[m?] ⁴⁸- -] / [- - - p]ro dec(urionatu) quod ips[e - - -] / [- - -]IS studio et [- - -] / [- - -] incohata [- - -]</i>	[- - -] Quietus, <i>duumvir</i> , [- - -] <i>duumvir</i> <i>quinquennalis</i> , [- - -] gave the opinion that a statue(?) for a <i>biga</i> [should be decreed? - - -] / [- - -] for the sake of the decurionate, whereas he [- - -] with zeal and [- - -] / [- - -] begun [- - -]	<i>NDEAmm.</i> 20 = <i>AE</i> 1999, 1797
203	Belalis Maior			<i>[- - -] / [o]b mer[ita eius] / aere conla[to] / loco ab ordi/ne dato posuerunt</i>	[- - -] because of his merits they set this up with collected money at the location provided by the <i>ordo</i> .	<i>AE</i> 1978, 844
204	Bulla Regia	191/ 195	consular daughter	Front Face: <i>[Iul]iae Me[m]mia[e] / [- - -]cae Rut[ae] Aemi/[liana]e Fidia[nae] claris/[s]imae et nobilis[s]imae f]eminae / [C(ai) Memmi I]ul(i) Albi consularis / [viri patr]oni et alumni fil(iae) ob / [praecipu]am operis sui thermarum / [magnifi?]centiam qua et patriam / [suam e]xornavit et saluti civium / [- - -]ico consulere / [- - - dignata] est / [- - -] bene et eius / [- - - pa]tronae et [- - -]</i>	Front Face: To Iulia Memmia [- - -] Ruta Aemiliana Fidiana, most illustrious and noble woman, the daughter of [C. Memmius] Iulius Albus, consular [man], patron and alumnus, because of the [phenomenal] magnificence of her own work of the baths, with which she embellished her native city and took thought for the well being of the citizens [- - -] / [- - -] well and her / [- - -] to their patron [- - -]	<i>ILAfr.</i> 454

⁴⁷ It is unlikely that Quietus, a *duumvir quinquennalis*, is the honoree, since the honoree seems to have made a benefaction upon entry into the decurionate.

⁴⁸ I added the 'm' based on another inscription from Ammaedara: *populus Emeritensis ex p(ecunia) pu[bl(ica)] statuam in bigam eius contulerat*, *AE* 2010, 1796 = App. H.122.

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				<p>Back Face: <i>NV[- - -]M / OBT[- - -]NIAE[- - -]ORI[- - -]IS / domini patri[s - - -] / [- - -] aedili[- - -]rio etia[m - - -] / A oreque[- - -]EVMDOCITNV[- - -] / TVAN[- - -]ITAI[- - -]IVLVMCV[- - -]IS [- - -] / VOS PER[- - -]ISSEI[- - -] h[o]rtatur ad rem[unera]n]/da vestr[a] o[m]nia(?) ita enim et singulis [- - -]/liu[m] VER[- - -] pu[b]lici ad promerendos EI[- - -] / esti[.]mer[.] semper C() C() item CI[- - -]AIAIO[- - -] / vos condigner[- - -] dari posset VCII[- - -] / mihi QVET [v]e[s]tris [u]tilitatibus esset V[- - -] / NIVSNIVO[.]E[- - -] fortuna [h]omini NOV[- - -] / [- - -]arunt [- - -]TVNVM SO[- - -] / [- - -]B[- - -]VMDO[.]SEII[- - -]mate LAVAC[- - -] / in[- - -] suos nunc ita [- - -]m]inima ad [- - -]/qu(e) [- - -]ae SV[- - -]EDI[- - -]vae iussit [- - -] / AM[- - -]NRV[- - -]IEA[- - -]tis ex sestert[iis] M [tr]ibus num[m]um de meo vobis FA[.]L[.]TA[- - -] / O[- - -]onem SVI[.]AS [- - -] / [- - -]NASII[- - -]VMA[.]VI[- - -] / [- - -]itate OP[- - -] / [- - -]i]n epistulis quae IV/A[- - -]ve therma [- - -] / [- - -]va[l]jere [- - -]V[.]jani</i></p>	<p>Back Face: This appears to be a letter from the honoree outlining her benefaction to the city (Cagnat <i>ad CRAI</i> 64.4 (1920): 325-326).</p>	
205	Bulla Regia	110/ 112	provincial priest	<p><i>L(ucio) Iulio L(uci) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Cereali q(uaestori) aed(ili) praef(ecto) i(ure) d(icundo) flam(ini) / [A]ug(usti) perp(etuo) municipi(i) su[i] flam(ini) Aug(usti) provinciae / [A]fric(ae) anni XXXX quem h/onorem ex municipio / [s]uo Bullensi(um) Regio(rum) prim[us] gessi]t huic cum pr[ovinci]ae Afric(ae) leg[at]us(?) - - -]</i></p>	<p>To L. Iulius Cerealis, the son of Lucius, of the Quirina tribe, quaestor, aedile, <i>praefectus iure dicundo</i>, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> of the Augustus of his own <i>municipium</i>, <i>flamen</i> of the Augustus for the province of Africa in the 40th year [of the priesthood], who was the first from his own <i>municipium</i> of the Bullenses Regii to hold the office, to him [- - -].</p>	<p><i>AE</i> 1964, 177 = <i>AE</i> 1967, 547 = <i>Karthago</i> 11 pp.3-4</p>
206	Calama	161/ 169 or	<i>flaminica perpetua</i> , daughter	<p><i>Anniae Aeliae Restitutae / flam(inicae) perp(etuae) ob in/signem liberalita/tem pollicitatio/nis eius HS CCCC(milium) n(umum) / at theatrum</i></p>	<p>To Annia Aelia Restituta, <i>flaminica perpetua</i>, because of the marked liberality of her promise of 400,000HS to build a theatre, to whom, although the <i>ordo</i> had decreed for this reason that five</p>	<p><i>CIL</i> VIII 5365 = 17495 = <i>ILAl</i>g. 1.286</p>

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
		198/ 217	<i>flamen perpetuus</i>	<i>faci/endum cui cum or/do ob eam causam sta/tuas quinque de pu/blico pon[i] censuis/set etiam ob merita / L(uci) Anni Aeli Clemen/tis flam(inis) Aug(usti) p(er)p(etui) patris / eius cui aere conla/to universi cives sta/tuam posuissent / [- - -] unive[rsus(?) - - -] / [- - -] d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	statues be set up at public expense, also because of the merits of L. Annius Aelius Clemens, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> of the Augustus, her father, to whom all citizens had set up a statue with collected money, . . . the whole . . . by decree of the decurions.	
207	Calama ⁴⁹			<i>[- - -] decreti vestri qua de [- - -] / [- - -] honestate cumulari S[- - -] / [- - -] OSEVS splendoris essen[t - - -] / [[- - -]] / [- - -] desiderastis effici A[- - -] / [- - -] MODO numerossius CV[- - -]</i>	<i>[- - -] of your decree, by which [- - -] was amassed honestly [- - -] / [- - -] splendor [- - -] / [[- - -]] / [- - -] you desired that [- - -] be done [- - -] / [- - -] more numerously [- - -].</i>	<i>CIL VIII 5374 = ILAlg. 1.292</i>
208	Carthage	1/199	<i>sacerdos</i>	<i>M(arco) Serv[ilio] . . . fil(io) / Arn(ensis) O[- - -] / [s]acerdo[ti - - -] / [- - -] VARINIARI[- - -] / [o]b meritum d[(e)d(icaverunt?)] / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	To M. Servilius [- - -], of the Arnensis tribe, [- - -], priest [- - -] / [- - -], they dedicated this because of his merit on decree of the decurions.	<i>CIL VIII 24641</i>
209	Carthage	138/ 235	<i>flamen perpetuus</i>	<i>[- - -] O[ctavio] I[- - -] / [flamini] perpetuo div[i - - -] / [- - -] quod pollicitus mu[nificentia? - - -] / [- - -] aedem Concordia[e renovavit(?) - - -] / [cum por(?)]ticis et reliquis or[namentis - - -] / [d(ecreto)] d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i>	To [- - -] Octavius [- - -], <i>flamen perpetuus</i> of the divine [- - -], since, having promised acts of munificence(?) / [- - -] restored the shrine of Concordia [- - - with] porticoes(?) and the remaining de[corations - - -], on decree of the decurions with public money.	<i>CIL VIII 12569</i>
210	Carthage		<i>equestrian flamen perpetuus, duumvir, curator (rei publicae?)</i>	<i>L(ucio) Flavio Felici / Gabiniano v(iro) e(gregio) / fl(amini) p(er)p(etuo) et Ilviralicio / splend(idae) col(oniae) Karthag(inensium) curator / suo ab[sti]n[e]n[t]i[ssimo(?)] / LAI[- - -] IS[- - -]</i>	To L. Flavius Felix Gabinianus, excellent man, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> and former <i>duumvir</i> of the splendid colony of the Carthaginians, to their own most self-restrained <i>curator</i> [- - -].	<i>CIL VIII 1165</i>
211	Carthage			<i>[- - -] quae si[- - -] / [- - -] pie et innocent[e - - -] / [- - -] d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)</i>	<i>[- - -] dutifully and blamelessly, on decree of the decurions with public money.</i>	<i>CILPCarth. 117</i>
212	Gigthis		<i>wife of a flamen</i>	<i>[- - -] viri(?) op[ti]mi munifi[centia] / [m]ariti C(ai) Servili M[au]/[ri]ni flam(inis) perp(etui) p(ecunia)</i>	<i>[- - -], munificence of her husband, a very good [man?], C. Servilius M[auri]nus, flamen</i>	<i>CIL VIII 22740 =</i>

⁴⁹ Inscribed on a pedestal. Gsell says that this seems to be part of a letter from a proconsul to the *ordo* of Calama (*ad ILAlg.* 1.292). Line 4 might have contained the name of a now condemned emperor.

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
			<i>perpetuus</i>	<i>p(ublica) [p(osuit)]</i>	<i>perpetuus</i> , [it] set this up with public money.	<i>ILTun.</i> 43
213	Henchir Bedd		equestrian <i>flamen</i> <i>perpetuus</i> , patron	<i>M(arco) Munio / Primo Opta/tiano eq(uiti)</i> <i>Rom(ano) / [f]l(amini) perp(etuo) civi /</i> <i>largi[ss]imo / et ampliter / munifico / patronis</i>	To M. Munius Primus Optatianus, Roman equestrian, <i>flamen perpetuus</i> , a citizen most generous and abundantly munificent, to the patrons. ⁵⁰	<i>CIL</i> VIII 14373
214	Madauros	274	consular patron, <i>pontifex dei</i> <i>Solis</i>	<i>[- - -] consulari / [provin]ciae Cypri / [pontifi]ci in</i> <i>urbe / [sanct]issima dei / [Solis a]uguri popu[li</i> <i>Roma]ni Quiritiu[m] / [job in]/signia eius m[e]/</i> <i>[rit]a et factae porticu[s] / [n]ovae proprio sum(p)/</i> <i>[t]u ab arcu ad foru[m] / [ac]tus eius comm[e]/</i> <i>[m]orationem pa[tron]o co[l]oniae I[- - -]E[- - -] /</i> <i>[- - -]VA / [- - -]</i>	To [- - -], the consular [governor] of the province of Cyprus, <i>pontifex</i> of the god Sol in the most sacred City, augur of the Roman <i>populus</i> of the Quirites, because of his marked merits and to commemorate his action of building at his own expense a new portico [stretching] from the arch to the forum, to the patron of the colony [- - -].	<i>ILAlg.</i> 1.2117
215	Sabratha	100/ 199		<i>[- - - mul]tas libera[li]tates - - -] / [- - -] sua pecunia</i> <i>[- - -] / [- - -]T qu[a]driga[m - - -]</i>	<i>[- - - because of] many liberalities [- - -] / [- - -]</i> <i>with his/its own money [- - -] / [- - - set up] a</i> <i>quadriga [- - -].</i>	<i>IRT</i> 139
216	Sicca Veneria			<i>[- - -]L[- - -] / [- - -]AM[- - -] / ad remu[er]andam</i> <i>- - -] / liberalit[at]em - - -] / statuam [- - -]</i>	<i>[- - -] to repay his/her/their liberality [- - -] a</i> <i>statue [- - -].</i>	<i>CIL</i> VIII 15887
217	Thubursicu Numidarum	100/ 199	senator	<i>[P(ublio) P]os[t]umio [F(lavio) Pap(iria)] /</i> <i>Romulo III[Iviro viar(um)] / curandar(um)</i> <i>[trib(uno) mil(itum)] / leg(ionis) XVI Flav[iae]</i> <i>quaest(ori)] / provinciae [- - -] / trib(uno) plebis</i> <i>d[esignato] / a Thubursici[tanis] / primo lato</i> <i>c[lavo exor]/nato [- - -]</i>	To [P.] Postumius [Flavius] Romulus, [of the Papiria tribe], <i>quattuorvir</i> for the supervision of roads, [military tribune] of the 16 th Legion Flavia, [quaestor] of the province of [- - -], designated tribune of the plebs, the first among the Thubursicitanis to be decorated with the broad stripe [- - -].	<i>ILAlg.</i> 1.1290
218	Thugga	1/100	<i>princeps</i> <i>civitatis</i>	<i>Iulio Felici Candidi f(ilio) / principi civitatis / civi</i> <i>bo[no - - -]</i>	To Iulius Felix, the son of Candidus, leading man of the <i>civitas</i> , a good citizen [- - -].	<i>Dougga</i> 48 = <i>AE</i> 1966, 510
219	Thugga	117/ 161	<i>flamen</i> <i>perpetuus</i> , patron	<i>[M(arco) Gabini]o Qui(rina) [B]asso / [flamini</i> <i>Aug(usti) p]erpetuo [patro]no pagi et / [civitatis</i> <i>Thugg(ensis) ob ex]imiam [eius mun]ificienti/</i> <i>[am . . . in c]ivita[tem - - -] Thugg(ensem) quod / [-</i> <i>- - Frugi]feri et Libe[ri Patr]is quina mil(ia) / [- -</i>	To [M. Gabinius] Bassus, of the Quirina tribe, [<i>flamen</i>] <i>perpetuus</i> [of the Augustus], patron of the <i>pagus</i> and [<i>civitas</i> of Thugga, because of] his exceptional munificence [and - - -] towards the <i>civitas</i> [- - -] of Thugga, since [he gave] five-	<i>CIL</i> VIII 1496+p.1494, 2616 = <i>Dougga</i> 137

⁵⁰ Presumably, this statue base was part of a larger installation of statues to patrons (Cagnat and Rheinach *ad BCTH* 1886 #19, p.111; cf. *ad CIL* VIII 14373).

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
				-] n(ummum) sacra o[- - -] numinum / [- - -] reditu quod / [- - -] quod is utram/[que - - -] n veterem / [- - -] que eis et / [- - -] m auxe[- - -] / [- - -] o[- - -] des[- - -]	thousand HS apiece to [- - -].	
220	Thugga	166/ 169	equestrian <i>praefectus fabrum, patronus pagi, son</i>	<i>Q(uinto) Calpurnio Papiria / Rogatiano patrono pagi / [e]t civitatis Thuggensium / [p]raefecto fabrum equo publi/[co ex]ornato ab Imperatoribus / [M(arco) Anto]nino [et L(ucio) V]ero Augustis Arme/[niacis Medic]is Parthicis max(imis) statu/[am publice dec]retam ob merit[us] M(arcus) Cal/[purnius - - -] Vict[or(?)] pater eius hono/[re con]tentus de suo posuit d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</i>	To Q. Calpurnius Rogatianus, of the Papiria tribe, patron of the <i>pagus</i> and <i>civitas</i> of the Thuggenses, <i>praefectus fabrum</i> , decorated with the public horse by the emperors M. Antoninus and L. Verus: Augusti, Armeniaci, Medici, Parthici Maximi; the statue publicly decreed because of his merits M. Calpurnius [- - -] Victor, his father, being content with the honou, set it up at his own expense by decree of the decurions.	<i>CIL VIII</i> 26594
221	Thugga	205 at latest	patron	<i>[- - -] patrono pagi et civitat(is) [Aureliae Thuggae] / [- - -] pr[im]us omnium eximiam [- - -] / [- - -] e[rga] pagum et civitatem ex[- - -] / et concordiam P[.]VA[- - -]</i>	To [- - -] patron of the <i>pagus</i> and [the Aurelian] <i>civitas</i> of Thugga, [- - -] the first out of everyone [- - -] exceptional [- - -] towards the <i>pagus</i> [- - -] and concord [- - -].	<i>CIL VIII</i> 26629 = <i>ILTun.</i> 1440
222	Thugga	268/ 284	<i>duumvir</i>	<i>L(ucio) Instanio Pap(iria) Commodo Asicio A[diutor(?)] / splendidissimae col(oniae) Thugg[ae] - - -] / du(u)m[?]viralicio aedilicio [- - -] / libentissime adque abstin[en]tissime ad] / s[acr]as auresine one[re] rei [p(ublica) - - -]s</i>	To L. Instanius Commodus Asicius A[diutor?], of the Papiria tribe, [- - -] of the most splendid colony of Thugga, former <i>duumvir</i> , former aedile, [since he undertook an embassy] before the ears of the emperor ⁵¹ most gladly and in a very self- restrained manner without any burden on the <i>res publica</i> [- - -].	<i>CIL VIII</i> 26601 = <i>Dougga</i> 78 = <i>AE</i> 1993, 1754
223	Thugga		<i>flaminica perpetua</i>	<i>[Iu]liae M[axi]/mae flam(inicae) p[er]p(etuae) / ob insignem / splendorem / [- - -] filioru[m] - - -]</i>	To Iulia Maxima, <i>flaminica perpetua</i> , because of the marked splendor [- - -] of her sons [- - -]	<i>CIL VIII</i> 26628 = <i>IL Afr.</i> 540
224	Thugga		youth, post mortem?	<i>- - -] Felici LI / [- - -] ino optime / [- - -] iuveni cui / [- - -] pa[?]gi(?) et civit(at)is / [- - -] grusiae / [- - -] ma]tris(?) eius / [d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)] p(ecunia) p(ublica) post / [mortem(?) - - -]</i>	To [- - -] Felix [- - -] best [- - -] youth, to whom [the <i>ordines</i> ?] of the <i>pagus</i> and <i>civitas</i> , [- - -] by the - - -] of his mother(?), on decree of the decurions with public money after [his death? - -	<i>CIL VIII</i> 26596

⁵¹ For interpretation of this line, see Dupuis 1993: 66-68.

	City	Date	Honoree(s)	Text	Translation	Citation
					[-].	
225	Tuccabor		<i>flamen perpetuus?</i>	<i>M[- - -]I P/[- - -]fl(amini?) p]erp(etuo?) / [- - -]ria / [praeter legitim]am promississet mul/tiplicata pecunia perfecit et / dedicavit et ob dedicatio/nem pugilum certamina / edidit et decurionibus / sportulas et populo gymna/sium epulum dedit et hoc / amplius pro sua liberalita/te cameram superposuit et / opere museo exornavit [vac.] / [- - -] cum M[- - -]FEIS Felice et / Rufino IIIRIS ded(icavit) ob quam / dedicat(ionem)⁵² epul(um) dec(urionibus) et pop(ulo) [g]ym(nasium) ded(erunt)</i>	To M(arcus?) [- - -] / [- - - <i>flamen?</i>] <i>perpetuus?</i>), [- - -], he completed and dedicated [- - -] with many-times more money [in addition to the statutory] fee he had promised, and to mark the dedication he put on boxing matches and he gave <i>sportulae</i> to the decurions and oil to the <i>populus</i> , and this more for the sake of liberality he placed overhead an arched ceiling and decorated (it?) with mosaics; [- - -] with [- - -] Felix and Rufinus, [his sons?] dedicated; to mark the dedication, they gave a banquet to the decurions and oil to the <i>populus</i> at the dedication.	<i>CIL VIII 1323</i> = 14855 = <i>ILTun. 1288</i>
226	Uchi Maius		patron	<i>[- - -] / [- - - Uch]itanorum [Maiorum - - -] / [- - -] Novensi su[b - - -] / [- - - op]timo pa[trono(?) - - -] / [- - -] qui dedi[- - -] / [- - -]ano M[- - -] / [- - -]gi[- - -] / [- - -]</i>	[- - -] of the Uchitani Maiores [- - -] / [- - -] / [- - -] the best patron(?) [- - -] / [- - -], who gave [- - -].	<i>Uchi 2.86 =</i> <i>AE 2006,</i> 1692
227	Vallis		<i>duumvir, defensor Causarum</i>	<i>[- - -]goris [omnib(us)] / [ho]n[oribu]s patriae sua[e] / [f]u[n]cti defensoris causar[um] / publicarum mun(icipii) sui Vallitani / [qui in]vestigatione [- - -]</i>	To [- - - (the relative of) - - -] having completed all offices of his own native city, defender of public legal cases for his own <i>municipium</i> of Vallis, who during the inquiry [- - -].	<i>CIL VIII</i> 14784
228	Zama Regia	209/ 211	<i>procurator Augusti</i>	<i>L(ucio) Iulio L(uci) fil(io) Pap(iria) / Victori Modia/no e(gregio) v(iro) proc(uratori) ddd(ominorum) / Auggg(ustorum) nnn(ostrorum) trac/tu{u}s Numidiae / a frumentis ob / eximiam erga se / benevolentiam / [et] integritate[m - - -]</i>	To L. Iulius Victor Modianus, the son of Lucius, excellent man, procurator of the grain supply of our lords Augusti for the region of Numidia, because of his exceptional goodwill towards them and his integrity [- - -].	<i>ILTun. 575 =</i> <i>BCTH</i> 1943/45-49

⁵² The name of the dedicator(s) evidently is lost in the lacuna just before *cum* on line 14. It is not clear that a public group was ever involved in this honour. Reading the *ded.* on line 15 as *dedicavit*, *dedicat.* on line 16 as *dedicationem*, and *ded.* on line 16 as *dederunt* are my suggestions.

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